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FIG. 1

FIG. 2

Etschmiadzin, Monastic Library: Miniatures of the Etschmiadzin Gospel Tempietto; Christ Enthroned between Peter and Paul (after Strzygowski)



FIG. 3—Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: Ivory Plaque. Christ Healing the Paralytic; a Prophet Two Evangelists



FIG. 4—Drawing of a Miniature of the Etschmiadzin Gospel. Abraham's Sacrifice (after Strzygowski)

NOTES ON EAST CHRISTIAN MINIATURES

*Cotton Genesis, Gospel of Etschmiadzin, Vienna Genesis, Paris Psalter
Bible of Leo, Vatican Psalter, Joshua Roll, Petropolitanus XXI
Paris gr. 510, Menologion of Basil II*

BY C. R. MOREY

THE scene which is reproduced on the cover of this number of *The Art Bulletin* is perhaps the most charming composition which Early Christian art has left us, sustaining as it does the pure melody of Hellenistic allegory, unperturbed as yet by obscurant mysticism. It is the third day of Creation, and the Lord Who has brought forth the trees and plants looks upon His work, attended by a flight of three winged figures which are the delightful impersonations of the Days. The Lord is conceived as the Logos, and thus conforms in type to Christ; He wears His hair short and curly and carries a scepter-cross. The miniature comes from the Cotton Genesis¹ of the British Museum and it is only by chance that it is preserved to us, by virtue of the otherwise reprehensible habit of borrowing valuable books which was one of the characteristics of the famous antiquary Peiresc. Sir Robert Cotton lent him the manuscript in 1618, and Peiresc kept it a long time, intending to make engravings of all its miniatures, but Cotton having finally insisted on the return of the codex, the drawings for the engravings were never finished and only two of them are left. It is fortunate that one of the two preserved this miniature, for the manuscript was almost wholly destroyed in the fire that wrecked the Cotton Library in 1731, and only blackened fragments of the richly illustrated Genesis remain.

Mr. Lethaby, the latest to study these fragments, assembled an imposing array of circumstantial data which indicated that the manuscript was illustrated in Alexandria, making incidentally the interesting point that one of the pictures that illustrate the story of Joseph gives us a remarkably good, if summary, view of the great pyramids of Gizeh. But he unfortunately overlooked the one piece of direct evidence for an Alexandrian origin of the miniatures, which is precisely this little curly-headed Logos and His scepter-cross.

For this type of Christ is the conception of the Saviour which prevails throughout a long series of Early Christian ivories dating from the beginning to the middle of the sixth century, and ranging in quality of style from the imposing compositions which illustrate the life of Jesus on the famous Cathedra of Maximianus in Ravenna to the type of pyxis that was sold as souvenir to pilgrims who visited the shrine of St. Menas at Alexandria.²

1. Bibliography of the Cotton Genesis: *Vetusta Monumenta*, pub. by the Society of Antiquaries, 1731; Owen, *Collatio Codicum Cotton.*, 1778; Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra*, 1843-5, color-plate III; Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, III, pls. 124-5; British Museum, *Cat. Ancient Mss.*, Part I, Greek, 1881, p. 20; Tikkanen, *Die Genesis-Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig*, 1889; Omont, *Fac-*

similés des miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs dans la Bibliothèque Nationale, 1902; W. R. Lethaby, *Archaeological Journal*, LXIX, 1912, pp. 88 ff.; LXX, 1913, pp. 162 ff.

2. The following examples, dating before 700, of Christ carrying a cross have been listed by the Princeton *Index of Christian Art*:

Compare with the Logos of the Cotton manuscript, for example, the Saviour Who heals the Paralytic on a plaque in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 3); the identity in coiffure, gesture, pose, and scepter is striking. These ivories have recently been assembled and discussed as a group by Edward Capps, Jr., in an article in *The Art Bulletin*, and he has pointed out in this article and another of the same periodical on the *Style of the*

IVORIES: Bonn, Provincial Museum, pyxis from Bavaria (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, VI, pl. 439, 2); Cairo, Museum, comb from Antinoë (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, pl. XVII); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, diptych (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 452, 1, 2); Etschmiadzin, Monastery, book-covers (Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, pl. I); Florence, Museo Nazionale, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 437, 5; here the type is used for the Infant Jesus of the Epiphany); Legnano, Trotti collection, from the Stroganoff collection, panel from the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 418, 3); Naples, Museum, panel from the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 419, 3); New York, Metropolitan Museum, pyxis (Edward Capps, Jr., *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927, p. 8, note 43, fig. 5); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, book-covers (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 458, 1, 2); Paris, Musée de Cluny, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 438, 4); Paris, Cluny, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 3; see also Edward Capps, Jr., *l. c.* p. 7, note 29, where this pyxis is identified with that from St. Maclou, Bar-sur-Aube, which was listed as a separate pyxis by Von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, II, p. 253); Paris, Louvre, the Barberini diptych (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, p. 4, fig. 1); Paris, Louvre, pyxis from La Voute-Chilhac (Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, V, pl. CCCLXVII); Pesaro, Cathedral, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 1); Ravenna, Cathedral sacristy, panels of the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 418, 4; pl. 419, 1); Ravenna, Museum, book-cover from Murano (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 456); Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano, pyxis (Edward Capps, Jr., *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927, pp. 331-340); Vienna, Figdor Collection, pyxis (*Röm. Quart.* 1898, p. 37, fig. 6). An imitation of the type, but with the hair falling on the shoulders in Carolingian or post-Carolingian fashion, is found on a pyxis of the Sneyd collection at Keele Hall (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 4) and on the four plaques of the Micheli collection in Paris (Garrucci, *Storia*, pl. 448). Capps, *l. c.*, has already pointed out that the Micheli plaques are mediæval imitations of Early Christian iconography, and the same is true in my opinion of the Sneyd pyxis.

LAMPS: About twenty lamps are known which display a short-haired Christ, standing on a serpent or beasts, and usually planting upon the body of the animal under his feet the long arm of a cross; occasionally the cross is shortened and lifted so that it approaches the scepter of our type. The ultimate provenance of these lamps, so far as it is known, is Egypt and Africa. Cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, pp. 150 ff.; De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1867, p. 12; 1874, p. 130; 1890, p. 13; Delattre, *Rev. de l'art chrét.*, 1892, p. 136; 1893, p. 37; Héron de Villefosse, *Le Musée archéologique*, 1871, I, pp. 113-117.

MINIATURES: Etschmiadzin, Monastery, Gospels in Armenian (Christ enthroned between Sts. Peter and Paul; Strzygowski, *Byz. Denkm.* I, pl. II, 2); London, British Museum, Cotton Genesis (Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pl. 124, 4).

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: A terra cotta paten from Alexandria, with a beardless figure, flanked by putti, holding a large gemmed cross (Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s. v. *Croix*, fig. 3422; it is difficult to identify the figure as Christ); Berlin, Antiquarium (Von Gans collection) gold medallion from Egypt, adorned with a relief of the Miracle of Cana, in which a short-haired beardless Christ touches the jars with a cross-scepter (Dennison, *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XII, pl. XVI); Cairo, Museum, earthenware vessel-cover (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 248, no. 7142; this figure may be that of a saint); a terra cotta basin found at Orléans, with an incised design representing a short-haired, beardless figure, holding a cross-staff that rests on the head of a serpent beneath his feet, probably Christ (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Basilic*, fig. 1391); Ravenna, Orthodox Baptistry, stucco relief (youthful Christ, holding a book, and a cross over His shoulder, trampling a lion and serpent; Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, I, fig. 11); Rome, Vatican, bronze medallion, beardless Christ with short hair, holding a cross, with two angels, and two stags drinking from the Rivers, two trees, and two stars (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 480, 5); Strassburg, Forrer collection, textile from Akhmim (Forrer, *Frühchristliche Altertümer aus Achmim-Panopolis*, pl. XVIII, 1; this figure is conceivably a St. George); Syracuse, stamped terra cotta basin bottom (a short-haired, nimbed, beardless figure, holding a long cross and blessing; Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 466, 1).

MOSAICS: The examples of Ravenna (Chapel of S. Pier Crisologo; Tomb of Galla Placidia; S. Michele in Affricisco, now at Berlin) show a variant in the long hair of the Saviour that falls upon the shoulders; the example in the tympanum of the city gate of Ravenna, as depicted in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, is too uncertain to be of use in this connection. The examples of *Christus Crucifer* in the Early Christian mosaics of Rome (S. Lorenzo f. l. m.; S. Paolo f. l. m., S. Teodoro) are all of the bearded type.

The **SARCOPHAGI** frequently, and particularly in the columnar division, display the type of Christ holding a cross, but the cross is of the long variety, and the Saviour's hair is long (Apt, Cathedral; two examples in the Museum of Arles; Avignon, Museum; an unpublished sarcophagus in the Museo Archeologico at Milan, no. 453; a lost sarcophagus reproduced in Peiresc's drawings in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in Le Blant, *Étude sur les*

*Consular Diptychs*³ the peculiarities of style and iconography which show that the group was produced in Egypt. The Cathedra of Maximianus is assigned now by the majority of scholars to Alexandria; the specific evidence for this attribution was fully set forth ten years ago by Baldwin Smith.⁴ The only one of our group of ivories whose ultimate provenance is known is a comb which was found at Antinoë in Egypt, but another which shows the characteristic style of the group displays as well the figure of St. Menas between two kneeling camels, which marks the object as produced for the pilgrim trade at Alexandria.

Our little Logos then may be accepted as a sort of artistic trade-mark which stamps a "made in Alexandria" on the works of art in which it occurs. Or rather it may be so accepted if we can explain why a Saviour with short curly hair carries the cross as a scepter in a miniature of a Gospel Book (Fig. 2) written in Armenian in the tenth century and now preserved in a monastery at Etschmiadzin—sufficiently remote from Egypt and Alexandria!

But it is to be noted that the Gospel Book of Etschmiadzin is one of the famous *pasticci* of mediaeval art, since Strzygowski has shown that while its Armenian text is signed and dated in the year 989 A. D. the illuminated pages forming a separate gathering of eight leaves in the front of the book and the two leaves with miniatures on each page that are sewn in on cut-off guards at its end, are not the work of the Armenian scriptorium in which the text was written ("after old and true models," says the subscription), since this has left some very dubious examples of its skill in drawing in the form of crude marginal miniatures in the text, and the author of these could not possibly have done the pictures and ornament of the first gathering. The ivory plaques which form the covers of the book belong in style and iconography to that same group of Alexandrian works which was noted above as exhibiting our type of the sceptered short-haired Christ. The covers and miniatures are thus earlier works reused by the Armenian who put the book together in the tenth century.

If the ivory covers are Alexandrian, and the miniatures were not made for the manuscript, its present location tells us nothing at all as to the nationality or school of the miniaturists, and we must deduce this information from the miniatures themselves. The arcaded frames that form such fertile ground for vegetation (Fig. 2) are familiar to us as first cousins to the similar frames for the canon tables (lists of parallel passages in the Gospels) of the Syriac Gospel Book of the Laurentiana at Florence (Fig. 32), written by the monk Rabula in the Mesopotamian monastery of Zagba in 586 A. D. Furthermore, the Armenian scribe found these frames empty and filled the first nine pages of them with the Hypothesis (explanation of the canon tables) and his own canons, in Armenian. The tenth page was decorated with

sarcophages chrétiens d'Arles, p. 68, pl. LXVIII; the sarcophagus of Probus in St. Peter's, Rome; a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery in the Lateran).

It is to be noted that of the above categories into which the examples have been classed, the only one which consistently parallels the type of the Cotton Genesis in the use of the cross as a scepter is that of the ivories; to which may be added the scepter held by the enthroned Christ of the Gospel of Etschmiadzin. Somewhat more removed from this notion of the cross is its use in the manner of a magician's wand by the Christ Who performs the miracle of Cana on the gold medallion from Egypt in the Berlin

Antiquarium. In the type of the triumphant Saviour trampling the beasts of Psalm XCI, on the lamps, the cross is usually long and planted on the head of a beast; sometimes it is carried over the shoulder, as also in some of the miscellaneous objects. The types of *Christus Crucifer* in the sarcophagi and mosaics depart from that of the Cotton manuscript in giving the Saviour long hair, and even a beard.

3. *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1926-27, pp. 331-340; X, 1927-28, pp. 61-102.

4. *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*, in *Amer. Jour. of Archaeology*, 1917, pp. 22-38.

the tempietto illustrated in Fig. 1, while pages 11-15 have figured miniatures. Now the first three of these groups of figures are inserted in the same sort of frames which are used for the canon pages, but the last two, representing the Virgin and Child and the Sacrifice of Isaac, are inclosed in "three-band" borders, i. e., consisting of two dark bands separated by a slender line of lighter hue (Fig. 4), which is the type of border used in the Cotton Genesis. This suggests that two hands were at work at the miniatures of the first gathering of the Etschmiadzin Gospel Book, and inasmuch as the figured groups have the air of being fitted to spaces within the arcaded frames which were not designed for them it would seem likely that these frames, in the case of the three miniatures mentioned, were designed like the others for canon tables, and the insertion of the figure groups was an afterthought on the part of another artist who also did the two last miniatures of the gathering that are inclosed in the "three-banded" borders.

Now the arcaded frames with their little gardens of fruits and flowers and birds on top belong quite clearly to the Syrian style of illumination, but the figure groups of this set of miniatures do not march with other Syrian figure drawing, being quite different, for example, from the halting imitation of Hellenistic figure design such as is found in the miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula, and much closer in its frank flatness and reduction of form to line, in its clean-cut handling of the latter, and in the lack of weight in the paper dolls which it invites us to believe are human beings to the frescoed saints that one finds on the walls of the chapels of Bawît and Saqqara in Egypt, of the sixth and seventh centuries (Fig. 5). And if we interrogate the iconography of the other figured miniatures of the series it becomes evident that we have to do with an artist working in the tradition of Coptic style, if not an Egyptian himself. In one of them (Fig. 4) we find Abraham sacrificing Isaac at an altar which stands at the top of a flight of steps and is fashioned after the manner of "Isis" altars actually found in Alexandria or represented in Alexandrian stelæ, with its upper edge scalloped into a trilobate silhouette. This detail in the Sacrifice of Isaac determines according to Alison Smith (MacDonald) an Egyptian inspiration for the scene.⁵

To the same training in Coptic iconography we may therefore attribute the curly-haired Saviour Who holds the scepter-cross, seated between Peter and Paul (Fig. 2). The mixture of Egyptian with Syrian style and iconography need not surprise us if we remember the close connection existing between the Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Syria in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Syrian monasteries that were founded on the Nile, the employment of Alexandrian workmen by Modestus when he undertook the restoration of Jerusalem's holy places after the Persian raid of 614,⁶ and the obvious "give-and-take" in iconographic notions that tends to obliterate the distinction between Syro-Palestinian and Alexandrian-Coptic work of the sixth and seventh centuries.

We may return then to the Cotton Genesis with faith unshaken, so far as the Etschmiadzin example is concerned, in the validity of the youthful Logos and His cruciform scepter as a sign manual of Alexandrian workmanship, and agree with Mr. Lethaby. This final

5. *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art*, in *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, 1922, pp. 159-169. Against Dalton's derivation of this type of altar from the Persian fire altar, see Capps, *Art Bull.*, X, 1927-28, p. 73,

note 57. Cf. also Rostovtzeff, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1911, p. 66.

6. J. Breck, *Bull. of the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, XIV, 1919, pp. 242-244.



FIG. 5—Bawît, Chapel III: *Fresco of Enthroned Madonna with Saints (after Clédal)*



FIG. 6—Venice, St. Mark's: *Mosaics in Narthex. Creation Scenes*



FIG. 7—Venice, *St. Mark's*: Mosaics in Narthex. *History of Noah*

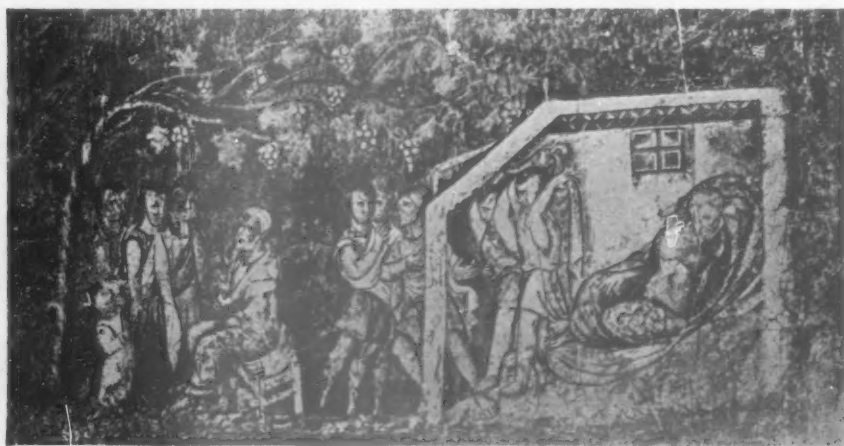


FIG. 8—Vienna, *Staatsbibliothek*: Miniature of the *Vienna Genesis*. *Noah's Drunkenness* (after Wickhoff)



FIG. 9—Vienna, *Staatsbibliothek*: Miniature of the *Vienna Genesis*. *The Flood* (after Wickhoff)

confirmation of the long-suggested attribution of the Genesis to Alexandria would be of inestimable importance were it not for that disastrous fire of 1731. What a flood of light would be thrown on the Alexandrian style in late antiquity if we had intact those picturesque landscapes and architectural vistas whose tantalizing fragments now intrigue the eye!

For partial compensation in this loss we may thank J. J. Tikkanen of Helsingfors, who, in one of the most brilliant pieces of archaeological reconstruction ever accomplished in the field of mediaeval art, proved that the Genesis mosaics that decorate the cupolas of the narthex of St. Mark's at Venice were copied, if not from the Cotton Genesis itself, at least from an illustrated manuscript so much like it that the mosaics may serve as a sound substitute for the first twenty or so of the missing miniatures, due allowance being given to the capacities of the mosaic artist of the thirteenth century in the direction of conventionality and lifelessness. Mr. Lethaby has himself notably confirmed Tikkanen's discovery by showing that the distribution of the miniatures on the pages of the Cotton manuscript indicates that there were just twenty-six miniatures devoted to the story of Genesis as there are twenty-six mosaic pictures of the Genesis scenes in St. Mark's.

In the first dome of the narthex (Fig. 6) the drama of Creation unfolds itself as once it did in the Cotton Genesis. The Dove broods over the waters; light appears and is divided from darkness by the Logos, with the winged figure of the First Day hovering over the orbs. In the next picture the Logos divides the waters by the firmament on the second day duly recorded by a second winged figure which joins the first. Next the Creator separates the land and sea, and in the following picture creates the trees and plants, attended by three Days. The identity of this composition in essential respects with Peiresc's copy of the Cotton miniature, reproduced as our cover design, is obvious and may serve to show the reader the importance of Tikkanen's discovery. From this compartment the story passes into the second zone and the successive days of Creation may be followed by the increasing number of their personifications until the group reaches seven, in the compartment to the left below our picture of the Third Day. "*Et benedixit diei septimo;*" the Seventh Day bows his head to receive the blessing of the enthroned Creator.

Passing through the history of Adam and Eve, and the story of Cain and Abel, we come to the account of the Flood, of Noah's sacrifice and drunkenness, his cursing of Ham, and his burial, all of which is depicted in the mosaics on the soffit of the arch adjacent to the Creation cupola. On one side of the arch (Fig. 7) we see Noah tasting the wine of his vineyard, and next the inebriated patriarch naked in bed, with Ham viewing his nakedness, and telling of it to Shem and Japheth. These two accordingly cover their father in the next compartment, "*incedentes retrorsum,*" while Noah in the next picture curses the prying son in the presence of his brothers. Then follows the burial of Noah.

Now this series of scenes throws welcome light on a puzzle inherent in one of the miniatures of the famous Genesis of Vienna (Fig. 8), in which we see the vine arching laterally as in the mosaic of St. Mark's but under it we find the patriarch, not sampling its fruit but seated in the act of cursing Ham, who is here accompanied by the infant Canaan. To the right we see Ham coming out of his father's chamber to tell his brethren, as at St. Mark's, but inside the chamber we see not his spying upon his father but the two brothers in the act of covering their father, and rendered by the unskilful miniaturist as if they were

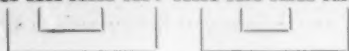
walking away, the "walking backward" having been altogether beyond his feeble powers of portrayal. The Vienna miniature is evidently syncopated, since there is no proper sequence of the incidents, but until one compared it with the series of scenes in the mosaics of St. Mark's it was difficult to see how the artist got it so mixed up. With this comparison in mind it is easy to see that the miniaturist has condensed a sequence like that of St. Mark's, which we must suppose to have existed in the Cotton Genesis as well; the two scenes in the interior of Noah's chamber are combined into one, and the space under the vine is utilized for the group of the cursing of Ham.

This being the case we may probably rightly assume a similar combination of two scenes in the miniature of the Flood, which in the Vienna Genesis (Fig. 9) is remarkably like the mosaic of the Flood in St. Mark's (Fig. 10) both in the lines that represent the rain and the attempts at foreshortening visible in some of the floating bodies. The miniaturist seems to have added the Ark from an adjacent composition, transforming its stepped mastaba-like roof into a sort of Mesopotamian ziggurat. The conclusion that imposes itself from these comparisons is that the artists of the Vienna Genesis had before them a Genesis illustrated after the manner of the Cotton manuscript, and that we are to seek the archetypes of the Vienna miniatures not in Asia Minor, where the manuscript was written and decorated, but in Alexandria.

This would help to solve an otherwise puzzling problem, viz., the appearance in the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis of the same picturesque landscape composed in depth, which is still visible in the mountain views and seascapes, and architectural perspectives that appear dimly in the fragments of the Cotton Genesis. The Vienna Genesis belongs unquestionably to the same Anatolian school which produced the miniatures of the Gospel Book of Rossano and of the fragment of Matthew from Sinope in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, yet these two show no trace whatever of the perspective background which crops up again and again in the Vienna manuscript. There is again not enough difference in date between the Genesis (though it is unquestionably earlier than the Rossanensis and Sinopensis) and these two manuscripts, to account for the disappearance, between the date of the Genesis and that of its later congeners, of the landscape which constitutes the striking feature of the Vienna miniatures. The conclusion must be that this perspective background is not indigenous to the Anatolian school, but borrowed from the manuscript that its artists copied.

There were, I think, six of these artists⁷ who worked on the forty-eight miniatures of the Genesis. The one who did the initial miniatures and who had the lion's share of the

7. Bibliography of the Vienna Genesis: Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pls. 112-113; Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 465; Hartel and Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (reproductions of the miniatures, description of the manuscript, and critique of the style); Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I, p. 298; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 444. The leaves of the manuscript are now separated and placed under glass, but Hartel's description shows that they were formerly combined into double sheets as follows: Folios XI-XIV and XIX-XXII were gathered in two *binions* XI XII XIII XIV XIX XX XXI XXII;



fourteen folios were combined in seven *unions*, I-II, III-IV, V-VI, VII-VIII, IX-X, XV-XVI, XXIII-XXIV; two folios, XVII and XVIII, were unconnected with any other. The illustration of manuscripts, when several artists were employed, was usually arranged by distributing the gatherings among the miniaturists; following this rule, we find in fact that the gatherings can be distributed among six artists (not five, as Wickhoff concluded, following, apparently, the erroneous principle that the miniatures by one hand must necessarily be consecutive). These six we may name A, B, C, D, E, F, and assign to them the gatherings as follows:



FIG. 10—*Venice, St. Mark's: Mosaics in Narthex. The Flood*

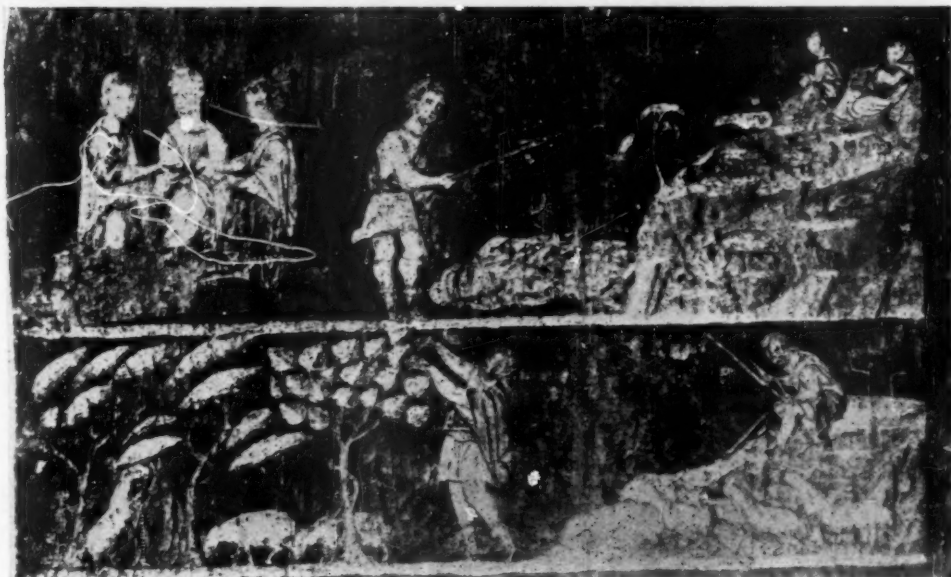


FIG. 11—*Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis
Jacob's Compact with Laban (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 12—*Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis
Joseph Sent to His Brethren (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 13—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Joseph Interprets the Dream of Pharaoh (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 14—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Reuben Demands Benjamin of Jacob (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 15—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Jacob Blesses the Sons of Joseph (after Wickhoff)*

work (miniatures 1-16, 21-28) makes his figures large and achieves but little depth in his background (Fig. 8). But the others show far more ability to understand and reproduce the backgrounds of their model, as, for instance, the second artist, whose curly-headed figures are reduced in scale, as compared with the first painter, to make them fit the deeper landscape and more distant viewpoint from which he conceives his scenes (Fig. 11). An even better understanding of his picturesque archetype is shown by the third artist, who tells so charmingly (Fig. 12) the story of Joseph's departure to his brethren, his parting with little Benjamin, his meeting with the man who directed him to Dothan. In the angel, of whom there is no mention in the text of Genesis, we may probably recognize an Alexandrian personification such as the Days of the Cotton manuscript; the column with its fillet is an old favorite of Hellenistic landscape found frequently in the frescoes of Pompeii, and the same attention to picturesque detail giving the effect of distance introduced the building on the mountain to the right, which the archetype, or the Anatolian copyist, has Christianized into a basilican church.

The fourth painter, who did miniatures 33 to 36 inclusive, is more successful in preserving the idyllic quality of the Hellenistic landscape (Fig. 13); the bits of architecture which serve to symbolize his interiors are sharply foreshortened into depth, draped in Pompeian fashion with awnings or fillets, and sometimes thrown into relief by the juxtaposition of a tree—another favorite *motif* with Campanian painters and the sculptors of the landscape reliefs of the same period. The fifth painter (Fig. 14) is still occupied with the perspective background, but he throws it out of focus by a faint impressionistic rendering of walls, exedras, and portals, with now and then a little walled city in the distance. With the sixth painter (who has a mannerism of painting the legs of his figures dark with white streaks across them) the landscape has become mostly a summary rendering of mountainside (Fig. 15).

Wickhoff notes that the miniatures from no. 34 on are painted on a colored background whereas all but one (the Rainbow group) of the preceding compositions are painted directly on the vellum. From this and the character of the work of the last three painters (miniatures 33-48) he deduced that the painstaking style of the previous group had delayed the work so much that "fresco" or "easel" painters were called in to finish it, one of whom had already assisted in the Rainbow picture, which has also the painted background of the

A depicts the hair in parallel locks; renders little or no distance in his landscape; gives large scale to his figures; renders interiors by section. Miniatures 1-16, 21-28 on folios I-VIII (the first four *unions*), and XI-XIV (the first *binion*).

B uses curly hair and a small scale in his figures, proportioned to his more distant conception of landscape. Miniatures 17-20 on folios IX-X (fifth *union*).

C, in sharp contrast to the preceding two, exhibits a bold modeling of the nude and a marked opposition of lights and darks; he is strongly Hellenistic in the details of architecture, his picturesque landscape, the freedom of his postures, and the symbolic rendering of interiors (i. e., not by section, but by some characteristic feature, such as a doorway or an exedra). Miniatures 29-32, on folios XV-XVI (sixth *union*).

D employs a unified layout of scene and setting, a diagonal perspective in his architecture, and stringy hair. Miniatures 33-36, on folios XVII, XVIII (the unconnected folios).

E is a poor draughtsman, using a faint, impressionistic architecture and sketchy legs and feet; his handling of light and shade is coarse, coming out particularly in the heavy contour given the jaw; he uses symbolic interiors, and is fond of little walled cities in the distance. Miniatures 37-44, on folios XIX-XXII (second *binion*).

F uses a Christ type for his aged heads, and a high-placed eye in the face of Joseph; his chiaroscuro is looser and more suave than is the case with the preceding painter; a mannerism of this miniaturist is the drawing of the legs in black silhouette with white streaks across them. Miniatures 45-48, on folios XXIII-XXIV (seventh *union*).

final series. Thus Wickhoff accounts for the large scale of the figures, the unified composition, and the aspect of an easel picture which characterize the final third of the illustrations of the Genesis.

This explanation suits the case better than that of Ainalov, who supposed that the "easel pictures" were copied from actual "pictures" and not from the same manuscript model which is to be assumed for the first and larger portion of the series. For it is to be noted that in spite of the more *arrangé* effect of the final miniatures, their action is still predominantly from left to right, as is the case in the main with the preceding series. There seems no reason therefore to consider the variety of handling as an indication of different models, but rather as reflecting the different reactions and capacities of a group of artists confronted with the task of reproducing or adapting a single model in an unfamiliar style.

The outstanding feature of this model must have been its perspective background, and the miniaturists of the Genesis handle it with varying degrees of awkwardness. The figures are seldom in scale with it; in the hands of the first and second painters (Fig. 11) the mountainside becomes invariably a triangle removed to one side of the picture to avoid its combination with the actors in the scene and the consequent problem of depth. The same is true even of the dextrous draftsmanship of painter no. 3; and no. 4 also, in spite of his evident delight in the architectural picturesque, nevertheless finds it convenient to keep such *motifs* out of the way of his figures and to leave the architecture at times in impressionistic incompleteness (Fig. 13). The sketchiness of the background *motifs* of painters no. 5 and no. 6 (Figs. 14 and 15) has been pointed out above. All through the series one senses a translation into two dimensions of a three-dimensional archetype.

The format of this archetype is indicated throughout those miniatures which have not been turned into "easel" pictures by the very frequent division into two registers or strips, and is particularly clear in Fig. 16, which reproduces the incident of Jacob's crossing the ford Jabbok and his wrestling with the angel. The model which the artists copied was evidently a rotulus like that of the Book of Joshua in the Vatican Library (Fig. 17), which was divided into sections for adaptation to book form. Sometimes the artist reproduced one section in his miniature, as was particularly the case with the freer translation adopted by the "easel" painters at the end of the manuscript, but more often one section was superimposed upon another, the details of landscape and architecture being rearranged to suit the copyist's two-dimensional prepossessions. The interest of the miniature just mentioned lies in the fact that here the two sections have not been severed, but the bridge across Jabbok is twisted backward to maintain the continuity of the scene, which in the original developed from left to right. This miniature explains why the action from left to right of the upper zone is so often reversed in the lower, in the pictures consisting of two registers.

The assumption of a model like the Rotulus of Joshua is confirmed by the fact that the Vienna Genesis, like the Rotulus, is a picture book rather than an illustrated text, at least in the sense that in both cases the text is not complete but excerpted with reference to the illustrations. That the rotulus copied was Alexandrian is indicated not only by its perspective background of landscape and architecture, found also in the Cotton Genesis, and foreign to Anatolian tradition, but by certain other features in which Egyptian rather than



FIG. 16—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis
Jacob Wrestles with the Angel (after Wickhoff)



FIG. 17—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Rotulus of Joshua
Execution of the King of Ai (after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 18—Paris, Louvre: Detail of the Barberini Ivory Plaque



FIG. 19

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. David as Harper; Coronation of David (after Oumont)



FIG. 20

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. David as Harper; Coronation of David (after Oumont)



FIG. 21

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. David Kills the Lion; the Daughters of Israel Glorify David (after Omont)

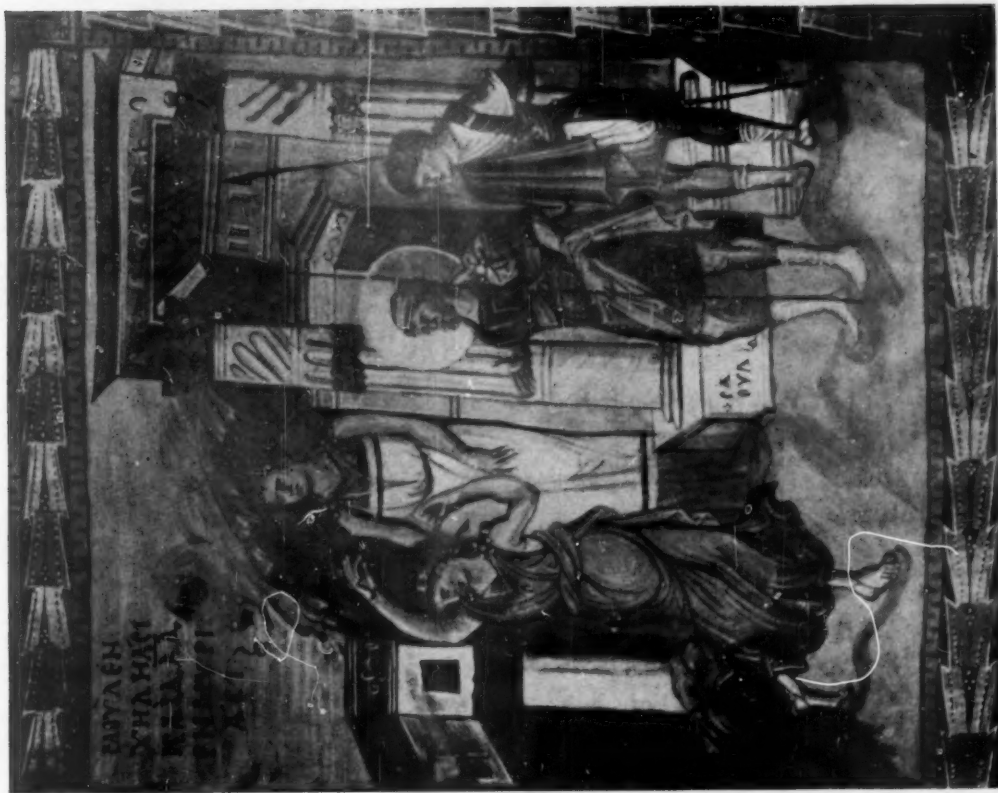


FIG. 22



FIG. 23

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Moses on Sinai; Prayer of Isaiah (after Omon)



FIG. 24

Asiatic usage are reflected. One is the flying "trumpet" fold with peculiarly upward cast, which is a persistent feature of the Alexandrian ivories listed in note 2, and visible in the mantles of the barbarians bringing gifts in the lower panel of the Barberini plaque (Fig. 18) as well as in the mantles of Jacob and his angelic opponent as they wrestle near the ford of Jabbok (Fig. 16). Further indications of Alexandrian tradition crop up here and there in the Vienna miniatures: the couch and colonnade which form the background for the temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's wife reappear in abbreviated form on the Cathedra of Maximianus, the ivory panels of which form the nucleus of the Alexandrian group above-mentioned, and the type used for the aged Jacob is the same both in the miniatures and on the Cathedra. Indeed the emphasis placed upon the tale of Joseph in both Cathedra and Genesis—the whole back of the Cathedra, and twenty-one out of forty-eight miniatures in the Genesis being devoted to his story—points to Alexandria and Egypt as the locality that would be disproportionately interested in this hero of Egyptian Jews and Christians. Still another feature, strange to Asiatic tradition but familiar to Alexandrian practice, is the use of abstract personifications, some trace of which survives in the female figure, probably an impersonation of Repentance, which accompanies Adam and Eve as they leave the Garden of Eden. We have already seen an explanation of the angel, unmotivated by the text, who pilots Joseph on his way to his brethren (Fig. 12), as a possible translation of an Alexandrian personification like the Days of the Cotton Genesis. The lavish use of such figures in Christian Egypt is sufficiently attested by the Faith, Hope, Justice, and Prayer that are rendered by female figures on the ceiling of El-Bagawat and similar figures at Bawît.

But the strongest evidence for an Alexandrian model lies after all in the perspective background, an exotic element in the school to which the Genesis belongs, and awkwardly handled as such by the miniaturists of this manuscript. What could be done with it by an artist to whom the tradition was native and familiar, even at a date much farther advanced into the Middle Ages, may be seen in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter.⁸ Viewing the beautiful composition of David the Harper (Fig. 19), one sees what the original of the Genesis miniatures must have been. Here is the column with its fillet that we saw in the landscape of Joseph's journey to his brethren (Fig. 12); the mountain god of Bethlehem crouches at the foot of the mountain slope that is so conventionally rendered in the Genesis miniatures. Tree foliage relieves the hardness of the rock on which Melody and David sit; to the left above is the distant Bethlehem. There is no glaring disproportion between the size of the figures and their setting; the composition expands as naturally into depth as do those of the Vienna Genesis into lateral extension.

8. Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 139. Bibliography: Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler in Paris*, Berlin, 1833, p. 217; Labarte, *Hist. des arts industriels*, III, Paris, 1866, p. 46; Bordier, *Description des miniatures et des ornements des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1883, p. 4; Kondakov, *Hist. de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 41; Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 160; Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Helsingfors, 1897, p. 112; Dobbert, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXI, 1898, p. 15; J. von Schlosser, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des frühen Mittelalters* (Sitzungsber. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl. Bd. 123, 1890), p. 162; Wickhoff, *Jahrb. Oesterreichischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIV, 1893, p. 199; *idem*, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 92; Kraus,

Gesch. der christl. Kunst, 1896, I, p. 453; Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters*, p. 123; *idem*, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik* (Denkschriften Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist., Kl. 1906), p. 182; Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pls. I-XV, with text; Berliner, *Zur Datierung der Miniaturen des Cod. Par. gr. 139*, 1911; Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 290; Millet, in A. Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, I, pp. 222-223; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 448, 468; Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, p. 607; Myrtille Avery, *Alexandrian Style at S. Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1925, pp. 145, 148.

It is true that this power of re-creating the antique, inherent in this miniature down to such details as the mountain god, whose posture repeats the formula used in the Odyssey landscapes of Augustus' time, is not present in all the hands that were engaged on the Psalter's miniatures. The Coronation of David (Fig. 20), patterned after the ceremony of the elevation of the emperor which was introduced into Roman custom by the barbarian elements of the army in the fourth century, is by a hand which has even more difficulty in managing architectural background and free movement than the illustrators of the Vienna Genesis. The same contrast is seen in the miniatures of David killing the lion, encouraged by the personification of Force (Fig. 21), and that in which the women of Israel are depicted glorifying David, to the evident uneasiness of Saul (Fig. 22). The clumsy handling of landscape and architecture here is fully matched by the lack of articulation in the figures; Saul's attendant, for instance, looks out toward the scene and the spectator in spite of the fact that his head is placed on a body in rear view. The other miniature is, in contrast, full of lively movement and ample space; the same figure that peeped around the rock behind the harping David emerges from the same place here; here again is the column, and the distant view of architecture.

The hand of this artist is seen again in the miniature of Moses on Sinai, with the mount personified by the naked figure in the lower left corner (Fig. 23). He repeats here the rocky ledges of the harping David and the killing of the lion, while in the Prayer of Isaiah, who stands between personifications of Night and Dawn (Fig. 24), he fills his background with the impressionistic foliage that rises behind David in the miniature of Fig. 19. Night has the same beautifully domed head and Hellenistic features, the same clasping of the tunic on one shoulder only, and the same rectangular fold in the center of the waist below the girdle, which mark her sisters Melody and Force.

We find our artist again employed on the two miniatures that represent the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25) and the answer to Hezekiah's prayer for longer life (Fig. 26) after his demise had been predicted by Isaiah. The "degrees" of the story were translated as "steps" in the Greek version, so that the hope of divine favor is here rendered as the shadow of the sun retreating up the steps of the king's house. In both miniatures we see our artist's characteristics plainly: Night in the Red Sea miniature deploys her veil over her head as she does in the Prayer of Isaiah; the Abyss, who pulls Pharaoh into the depths by the hair of his head, is the same boldly modeled figure that represents the mountain of Sinai (Fig. 23); the Prayer who stands behind the orant Hezekiah (Fig. 26) has the same noble head that our painter gave his personifications in the other miniatures, and the same rectangular *motif* below her girdle. Hezekiah has the face of Pharaoh (Fig. 25), of Moses facing the Hand of God (Fig. 23), and of the David who kills the lion (Fig. 21). Again we note, in contrast to the Genesis, the ease wherewith the artist in the Hezekiah miniature holds his figures into scale with their background by moving the architecture backward into his space and allowing only a portion of the king's palace to appear. He found an imitator in the artist who did the miniatures of the Anointing of David (Fig. 27) and the combat of David and Goliath (Fig. 28). This artist's architecture and foliage evidently strive to reproduce the other's, but with unsure drawing and little sense of space; in the combat the landscape is omitted altogether. His personifications, Meekness in the Anointing, and Power and Vainglory (attending David and Goliath respectively) in the combat, have lost the nobility of those of his master; a mannerism of the miniaturist is to be noted



FIG. 25

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Crossing of the Red Sea; Prayer of Hezekiah (after Omont)



FIG. 26

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Crossing of the Red Sea; Prayer of Hezekiah (after Omont)



FIG. 27

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Anointing of David.



FIG. 28

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Combat of David and Goliath (after Omont)

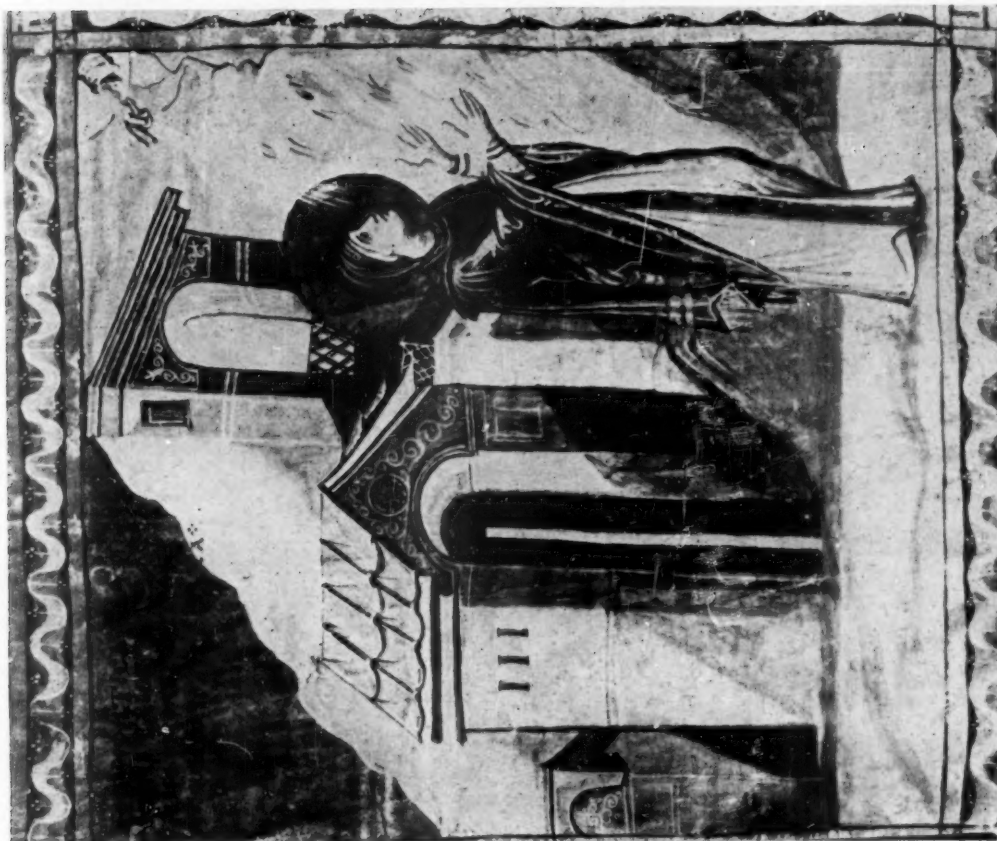


FIG. 29

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Prayer of Hannah; Story of Jonah (after Omont)

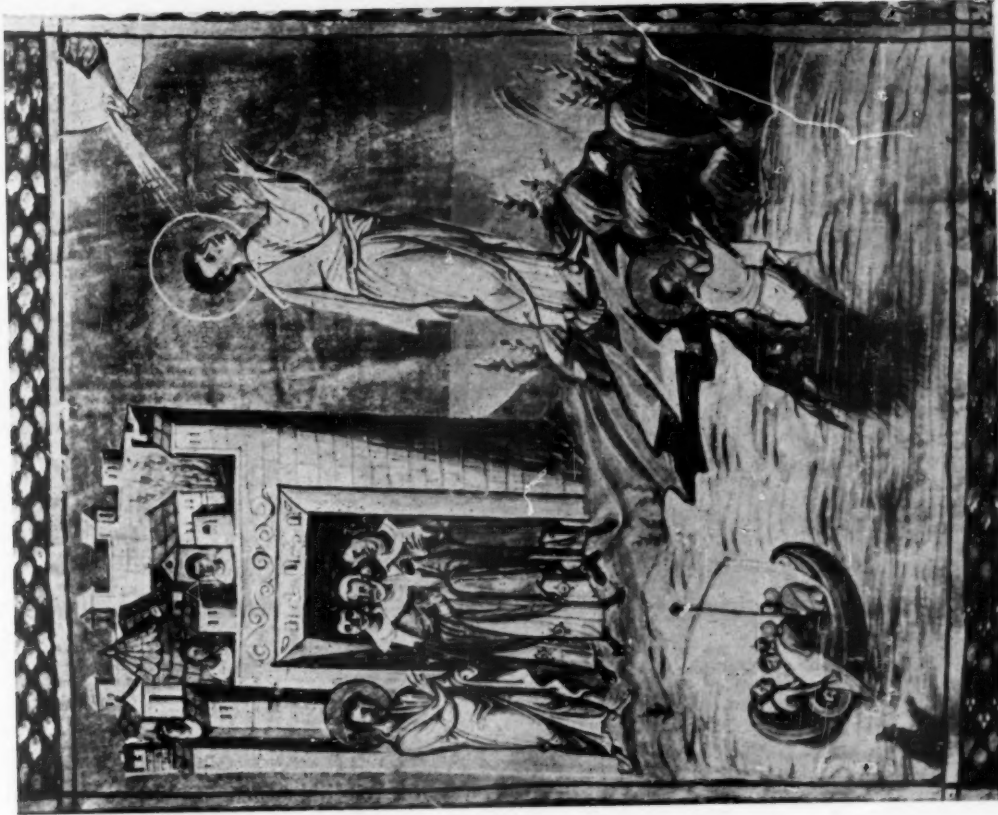


FIG. 30



FIG. 31—Bawit, South Church: Relief of Jonah
Cast up by the Sea Monster



FIG. 33—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the
Menologion of Basil II. Story of Jonah

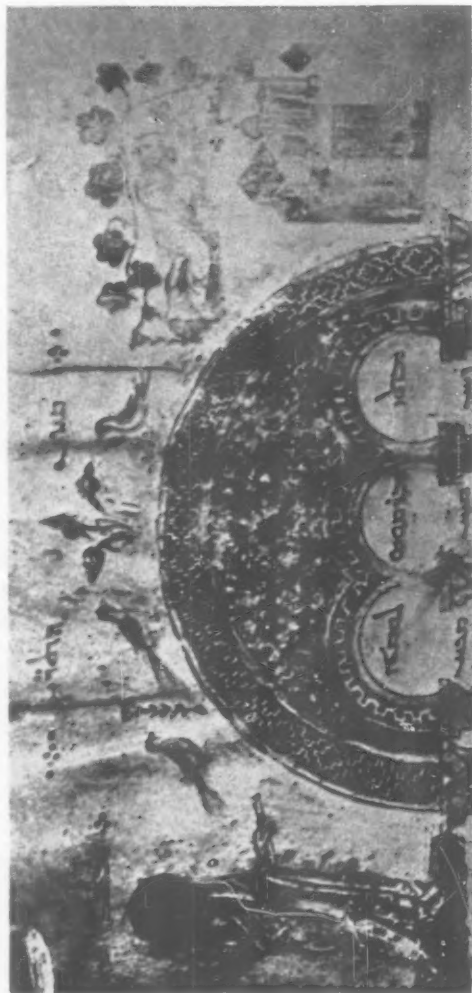


FIG. 32—Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana: Detail of Canon Table of the
Gospel of Rabula. Jonah under the Gourd Vine



FIG. 34—Rome, Lateran
Christian Epitaph

in the knotted fold of the tunic that has slipped down from the shoulder of Meekness and Power. The eyes in both miniatures are small, the action stiff and awkward, and the features pinched, with often a too emphatic rendering of the cheek bone.

Contrasting with all the three painters whose work we have hitherto traced in the miniatures of the Psalter is the wholly different artist who painted the Prayer of Hannah (Fig. 29) and the Story of Jonah (Fig. 30). He introduces us to Hannah by a long title: "The Prophetess Hannah, mother of Samuel, making confession to the Lord and saying," after the manner of the titles of the miniatures of the Asiatic Codex of Rossano, whereas elsewhere in the Psalter (save in the case of the glorification of David by the women of Israel) the scene is explained only by individual labels on the figures, as also in the Rotulus of Joshua. He handles his architecture without understanding in the Hannah miniature and out of scale in that of Jonah; the landscape is summarily treated and terminated at the horizon by a gold background. He never uses a profile, wherein again he shows kinship with Asiatic painters, who usually bring the head far enough around to show the farther side of the face (cf. the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis, of the Codex of Rossano, and of the Sinope Matthew). Evidently the full profiles of his model made his native practice in this regard somewhat difficult, for the rendering of the further profile in the faces of Hannah and Jonah has resulted in an ugly bulging contour. A mannerism of the artist which we shall see repeated in Asiatic work is the use of *rinceaux* to decorate buildings; the little city of Nineveh is another trace of Asiatic connection, consistent with Asiatic habit of symbolizing locality rather than rendering it, and thus resembling the cities of the Codex Rossanensis (cf. also the Gospel of Rabula, Fig. 32). To complete the evidence for the Asiatic nationality of this painter we have the rendering of Jonah clothed throughout his adventure with the sea monster, and especially the peculiar physiognomy of the monster itself.

Egyptian usage in this regard, continuing as late as the fifth or sixth century, is reflected in a limestone relief from Bawît (Fig. 31), and in a miniature of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, of which the copy (of the ninth century according to Stornaiuolo) in the Vatican Library repeats the iconographic types of the original written and illustrated in the sixth century in Alexandria. Jonah is nude and the monster has the smooth hide, long proboscis, and small head of the Hellenistic monster that figures in the Jonah scenes of the catacombs and sarcophagi. But Jonah here is clothed, as he is also in the representation of the prophet lying beneath the vine in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula at Florence (Fig. 32). The monster too is different, having in our miniature a canine muzzle and a hairy hide. Mitius⁹ believed that he could distinguish this type as "Syrian" from the other, Alexandrian, portrayal of Jonah, with the added feature in the latter of the triangular sail on Jonah's ship. The "Syrian" type (a more correct term would be "Asiatic") is found again in the Jonah story of the Menologion of Basil II in the Vatican Library (Fig. 33), of the end of the tenth century, where we find a miniature much resembling that of the Psalter, with Jonah clothed, the same little symbolic city of Nineveh that also appears in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 32) and the dog-headed hairy sea monster.

Mitius regretted the absence of earlier examples by which to trace the origin of this division of the Jonah types in East Christian art; earlier evidence of the existence of the

9. *Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums*, 1897, pp. 78 ff.

Asiatic form is nevertheless not altogether lacking. In the Lateran is an epitaph written in Latin with Greek letters of a family headed by a certain Veratius Nicatoras on which is incised among other Christian symbols the scene of Jonah disgorged by the monster (Fig. 34). Schneider-Graziosi attempted to show that the figure of the prophet was no more than the enormous proboscis of a monster meant to serve as pendant to the lion,¹⁰ but reference to Marucchi's facsimile plate proves him wrong.¹¹ It is to be noted that the line across the back and neck of the prophet indicates that he was meant to be considered clothed, and in the rendering of the monster there is no difficulty in recognizing the dog-headed hairy monster of the Paris miniature.

Now this epitaph comes from a certain burial place between the Via Appia and the Via Latina which has furnished several others with similar foreign names and occasional indications of nationality which are invariably of Asia Minor.¹² The formula which terminates the Lateran inscription—*ὁ βίος ταῦτα*—is itself characteristic of Asiatic epitaphs. De Rossi believed that since the sepulcher lay within the wall of Aurelian, the epitaphs might be of the third century, in spite of the cross monograms, which do not appear on the dated Christian epitaphs of Rome until well along in the fourth century. However this may be, the epitaph is evidence of the existence in Asiatic minds at least as early as the fourth century of a specific iconography of the Jonah story quite different in details from that which obtained in Alexandria and the Latin West.

We need not rely then on Kondakov's statement,¹³ that the costume of the Ninevites in the Paris miniature is Syrian, to convince ourselves that the artist was a disciple of Asiatic practice, including in the term Asiatic the focus of Asiatic culture which was Constantinople. After the Asiatic miniaturist we find one other represented in the Paris Psalter, the artist who composed the Exaltation of David, standing between Wisdom and Prophecy (Fig. 35), and the curious scene of the Penitence of the King (Fig. 36), in which a pious mediaeval hand has eliminated, behind the throne of the seated David, the *fons et origo mali*, viz., Bathsheba. Nathan stands before David, whose gesturing hands betray the perturbation of spirit wrought by the prophet's denunciation, and to the right the king is seen again groveling on the ground, while above him, leaning on a sort of *prie-Dieu*, is the personification of Repentance. The identity of hand is betrayed not only by the similarity of the male and female types in one miniature to those in the other—for instance one feels sure that if Wisdom turned her head she would reveal the profile of Repentance—but by identities in detail—e. g., the star ornament on David's shoes in both miniatures, and the jewel with border of pearls which adorns the diadems of Repentance and Wisdom above the forehead.

We have then an artist (A, let us call him) working in a tradition of lithe movement, lavish use of personifications, perspective background of monuments, trees, and distant or nearby architecture scaled in proper proportion to the figures and adequately suggesting depth—and working therein with the ease and happy facility of one to the manner born,

10. *N. Bull. di archeologia cristiana*, 1914, p. 34.

11. *I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, pl. LVII, 8. Mitius lists the epitaph among his monuments, but without noting its Asiatic connections; *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 99, no. 126.

12. De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1886, pp. 15 ff.; 1892, p. 127.

13. *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 36.



FIG. 35

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Exaltation of David (after Oumont)



FIG. 36

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Penitence of David (after Oumont)

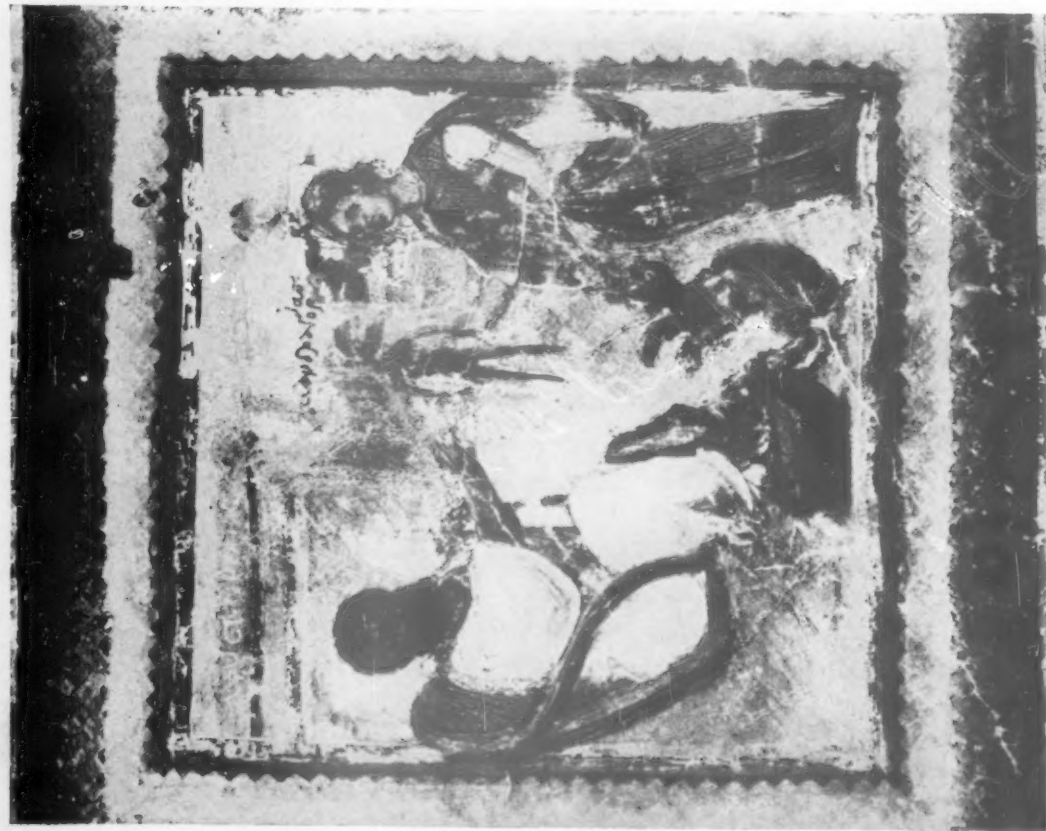


FIG. 37—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Dioscurides
Dioscurides and Discovery Viewing the Effect (on a Dog) of the
Mandrake (after Gersinger)

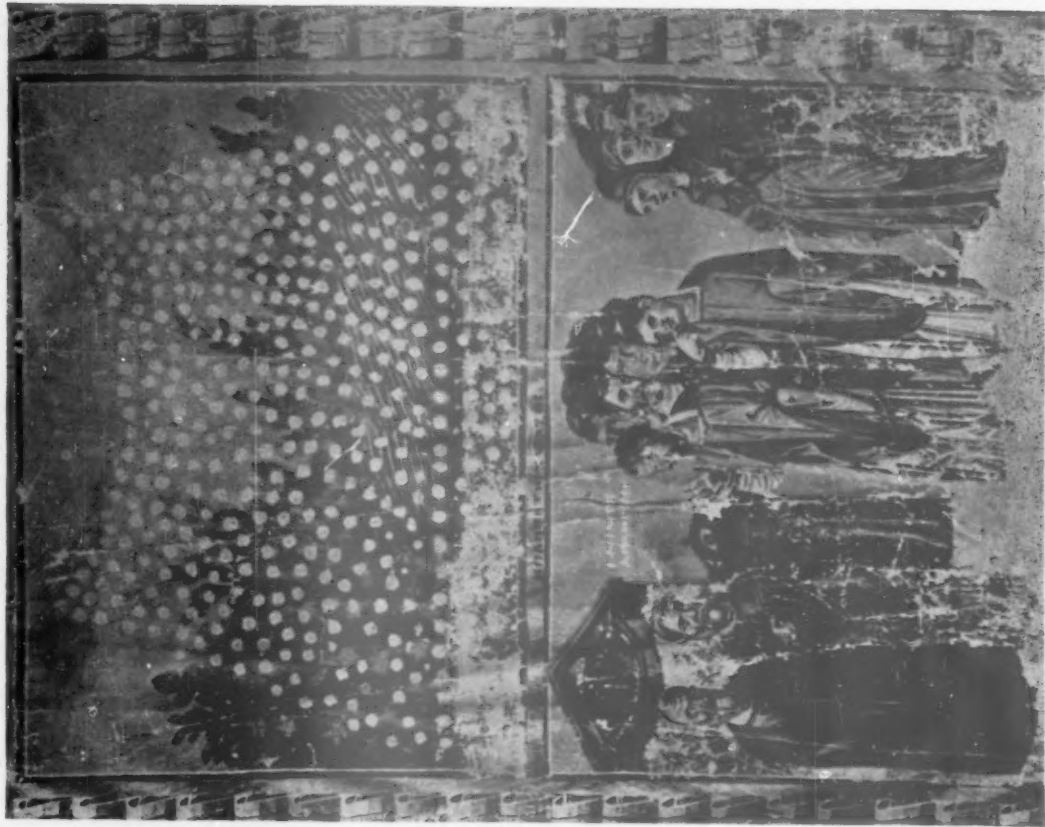
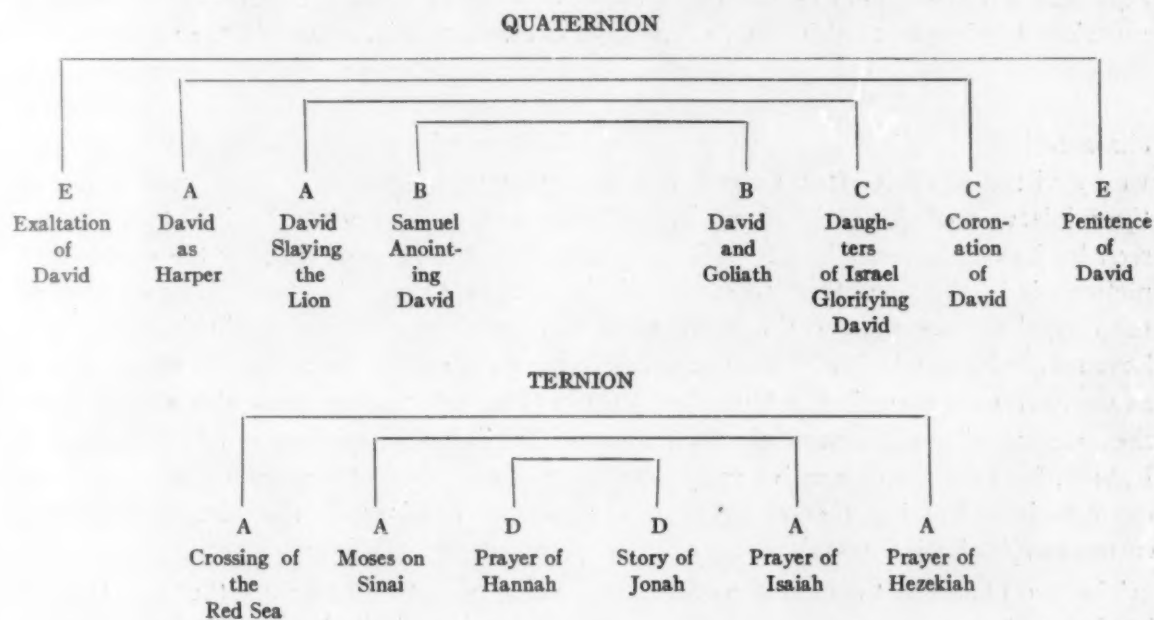


FIG. 38—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of
Gregory Nazianzenus. Homily on the Hail (after Omont)

handling familiarly a native style. He is the author of David the Harper, David Slaying the Lion, the Crossing of the Red Sea, Moses on Sinai, the Prayer of Isaiah, and the Prayer of Hezekiah. Being thus the author of six out of the fourteen miniatures, he is by this token the head of the atelier which produced them, as well as by his obvious superiority of style. Another artist, B, strives in the Combat of David and Goliath and the Anointing to compass the master's bold modeling and free movement, but is unable to attain to more than a reasonably good imitation thereof, as also in the architectural background which he ventures in the Anointing, while completely renouncing his master's landscape in the Combat. The lowest artistic level in the group is reached by C, who displays his ignorance of anatomy, his bungling architecture, and his sorry composition in the Daughters of Israel glorifying David, and the Coronation. D is the author of the two miniatures of pronounced Asiatic style, the story of Jonah and Hannah's Prayer. E, an artist of static poses, rather schematic modeling, and none too good understanding of architectural background, was the painter of the Exaltation of David, and of his Penitence. In an article in *The Art Bulletin* in 1924¹⁴ the present writer pointed out that the above identification of hands in the Psalter miniatures is solidly supported by Omont's reconstruction of their original arrangement. The miniatures are at present each on its own folio (verso) but Omont's convincing rearrangement unites them two by two on sheets which were gathered into a quaternion which originally preceded the text of Psalms, and a ternion which was inserted before the text of Canticles (the Prayers) as follows:



The letter denoting each of our five artists has been placed above the title of each miniature, and it will be seen that the miniatures were distributed to the painters in sheets on each of which two miniatures were to be painted. A received four of the sheets and finished two of them himself; in the case of the other two the second miniature on each

14. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 42.

sheet was finished by that hopeless bungler C. B did only one sheet, as also D and E. The miniatures on each sheet are paired in our illustrations, as follows: Figs. 19-20 (Artists A and C); 21-22 (A and C); 23-24 (A); 25-26 (A); 27-28 (B); 29-30 (D); 35-36 (E).

In spite of the marked differences in style and school which appear in the work of our five artists, it cannot be said in explanation thereof that the miniatures were done at different dates or places. Aside from community of format and parchment we have the decisive evidence on this point of the borders which, while varying in *motifs* throughout the series, do not vary in accordance with the variation of the five painters. In other words, the borders must have been a practice of the atelier or the work of one artist who did the borders for all the miniatures. Even in a case of maximum stylistic divergence between the miniatures themselves, e. g., David Killing the Lion by A, and the Daughters of Israel Glorifying David by C, we find the inner band of the border rendered in like manner in both cases with a meander pattern.

Now these borders, within the period which concerns us, belong to a type of limited use. It is in fact possible to find parallels for them in only two manuscripts of certain provenance, viz., the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37) and the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus at Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510). The miniatures of the Vienna Dioscurides ornament a book which was written for Anicia Juliana at Constantinople in the early part of the sixth century, while the Homilies of Gregory was illuminated in the same city for Basil I and his empress Eudoxia between 880 and 886. The borders in the Dioscurides represent a development of the earlier, simpler type of banded border which we have mentioned before as used in the Gospel of Etschmiadzin (Fig. 4) and in the miniatures of the Cotton Genesis. It consists usually of two dark bands separated by a narrower strip of lighter hue, done in white or gold. The employment of it in the Cotton Genesis is characteristic since it goes with the type of miniature with perspective background which we by virtue of the Cotton Genesis may recognize as Alexandrian. It is found again in the miniatures of the Ambrosian Iliad at Milan and passes on into Latin art as may be seen by its employment in the Vatican Vergil. This tradition of framing the manuscript pictures is in sharp contrast to early Asiatic practice as seen in the Genesis of Vienna, the Gospel of Rossano, and the fragment of Matthew from Sinope, wherein the miniatures have no border at all. We of course exclude from consideration the frames for canon tables, as we have seen them in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 32), and we must also exclude from the number of possible parallels the frames of the full-page miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula, for here the decorative *motif* constitutes the whole of the narrow border, and the characteristic framing thereof between two narrow bands and the almost invariable corner *motif* (cf. Figs. 19-30) are absent.

The two bands that enclose the ornamental filling seem to me to show that this type of border, which corresponds to the broad garland borders similarly framed that are characteristic of Italian mosaics in the fifth century, was ultimately derived from the "three-banded" border which we find in the Cotton Genesis, and whose presence in the Gospel of Etschmiadzin, along with indications of Egyptian iconographic and stylistic tradition, lead us to suppose that the miniatures at the beginning of that codex were done by a hand trained in Coptic tradition. A similar narrow banded border appears as the frame for the miniatures in the Vatican copy of the sixth century *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a work composed in Alexandria. The new development given the border



FIG. 39

Rome, Vatican Library:

Miniatures of the Bible of Leo. Scenes in the Life of Moses; Coronation of Solomon
(after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 40

Scenes in the Life of Moses; Coronation of Solomon
(after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 41

Coronation of Solomon



FIG. 42—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the Bible of Leo. Anointing of David (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 43—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Moses Receiving the Law (after Omont)

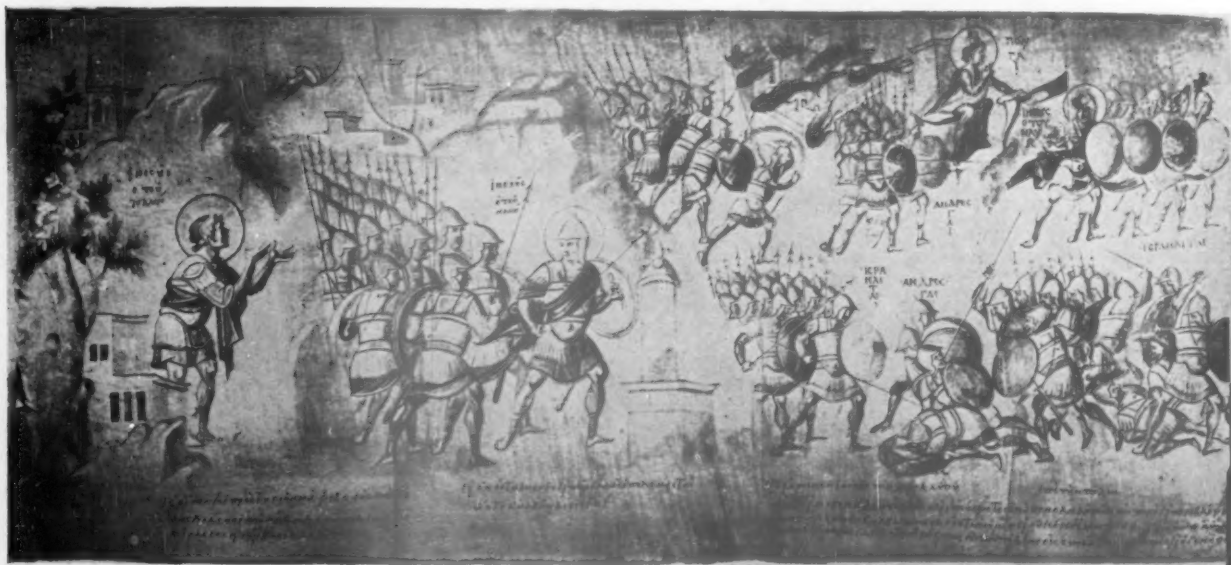


FIG. 44—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Rotulus of Joshua. Prayer of Joshua Attack on the City of Ai (after Vatican Facsimile)

in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter is, so far as the evidence shows, a *motif* characteristic of the scriptoria of Constantinople, since the earliest example in manuscripts is that of the Vienna Dioscurides, and we find it again at the end of the ninth century in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), where it sometimes takes a form very close to that employed in the Paris Psalter (cf. Fig. 22 with Fig. 38).

The borders of the Paris Psalter may therefore be taken as a good indication that the miniatures were produced in Constantinople (whence the manuscript was brought in the sixteenth century) since the only parallels of proved provenance came from the ateliers of that city.

We have, however, further and more direct evidence to prove that the miniatures are Constantinopolitan, arising from the peculiar relation which exists between them and an illustrated Bible in the Vatican Library (Reg. gr. 1)¹⁵ which was executed in the middle or more probably in the first half of the tenth century for a certain Leo, patrician and incumbent of various offices in the imperial household at Constantinople, whose portrait appears on folio 2v. where he is represented offering the volume to the Virgin. Other miniatures of the manuscript show a remarkable identity with those of the Paris Psalter, ranging from the similarity of the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 39; compare Fig. 25), in which we find the additional episodes of Moses removing his shoes before the Burning Bush, and the appearance of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, to the closer correspondence of the miniatures of Moses on Sinai (Fig. 40; compare Fig. 23) and of the Coronation of Solomon (Fig. 41; compare the Coronation of David, Fig. 20), and the almost complete identity of the Anointing of David (Fig. 42; compare Fig. 27).

The resemblance is close enough to raise the question whether the painter of the Leo Bible did not copy or adapt the actual miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The alternative explanation would be that both were copied from the common original. In either case we derive corroborative evidence for the execution of the Psalter miniatures at Constantinople; if Leo's painter copied them they must have been in Constantinople at the early date of the Vatican manuscript; if he took an earlier manuscript for his model, he must have found it in the libraries of Constantinople where it also served as model for the miniaturists of Paris gr. 139.

There is no question that the Paris miniatures, far from being the original creations of the Byzantine "Renaissance" as Kondakov,¹⁶ Bayet,¹⁷ and Tikkanen¹⁸ believed, are copied from an earlier model. It is clear for instance, that in the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25) the gaze of Moses and of the man who carries a pack about his neck would be better motivated, and the composition would be more logically correct, if the strip which represents the sea and the catastrophe of Pharaoh's army were moved up to the left and adjusted to the upper register; the copyist has evidently cut the original picture in two and superposed one half above the other as was done by the miniaturists of the Vienna Genesis. Again in the representation of Moses Receiving the Law (Fig. 23) the group of Israelites at the foot of the mountain should be to the right of Moses instead of below him,

15. *Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. Regin. gr. 1, e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381* (Collezione Paleografica Vaticana, fasc. I) pls. 1-18.

16. *Hist. de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 30.

17. *L'art byzantin*, pp. 160 ff.

18. *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*.

to make him the objective of their gaze. The proper placing of the group is seen in a miniature derived from the same iconographic type, in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus at Paris (Fig. 43), where the gaze of the group below unifies the composition.

There are even more convincing traces of the earlier model to be found in the Prayer of Hezekiah and the Penitence of David. Hezekiah (Fig. 26) in the present miniature lifts his veiled hands and his eyes to nothing at all, and it is clear that we must supply the Hand of God missing from the sky above to complete and motivate the group. By doing this one restores a composition such as the Prayer of Joshua in the Joshua Roll (Fig. 44) and we begin to see the character of the ultimate archetype of the Paris miniatures; it must have been a rotulus like the famous one of the Vatican Library. For only thus does one explain the omission of the essential Hand of God; the rotulus illustration was cut at a certain point to avoid bringing in part of the next scene, as would be the case for instance if a meticulous copyist should turn the praying Joshua into a codex miniature by making a vertical cut to the right of the Hand of God. In the process of avoiding the following scene the Hand of God was omitted and Hezekiah left with nothing to pray to.

The assumption of a rotulus as archetype explains also the constant employment of the continuous method in this series of miniatures; the figure of Moses is repeated, and two scenes combined, in the miniature of Moses on Sinai; the Jonah miniature (Fig. 30) displays its hero no less than four times; David encounters and decapitates Goliath in one composition (Fig. 28). The same reason may be assigned for the occasional awkward placing of the figures in other centers of interest too close to the right-hand border (cf. Fig. 29) and the tendency of the mountain background to become a triangle rising to left or right and sharply cut off by the inclosing frame.

The most conspicuous example, however, both of the continuous narration proper to a rotulus but unsuited to a codex, and of the loss of an essential part of the original composition, is furnished by the miniature of David's Penitence (Fig. 36). Here we have not only the penitent King prostrate before nothing but the border, but also the personification of Repentance leaning on a *prie-Dieu* and gazing at an absent something that is obviously needed to explain the situation. The missing something proves, in the frontispiece of the Psalter of Basil II (Fig. 45) to be the prophet Nathan at whose feet the King prostrates himself and at whom, were Repentance still present, she would be directing her gaze. A composition of the same sort as that which was thus amputated in the Paris Psalter, was cleverly adapted by a miniaturist of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 46); here the two scenes of the Psalter are combined, and we see behind the throne the bust of Bathsheba that was expunged from the Psalter miniature. The architecture of the background has been brought "down stage," and so diminished in scale, with characteristic Asiatic indifference to such considerations, as not to interfere with the action and significance of the figures. The throne is empty, and the artist, having neatly thus disposed of the troublesome continuous method, proceeds to the second phase of the episode with his kneeling David and minatory Nathan. The Alexandrian personification, having no place in Asiatic iconography, has been transformed into an angel.

The date of the immediate model for the miniatures is indicated by the miniature of the Coronation of David (Fig. 20) for the barbarian custom of raising the newly elected emperor on a shield, imported into the Byzantine army by Northern mercenaries, is not

attested for any emperor earlier than Julian the Apostate. It might be objected that this miniature is one of the two which we owe to the worst artist of the Psalter (C), who finished the other half of two sheets on which the first miniature was done by the master-artist A, and that his marked inferiority to the other workmen of the atelier may mean that he is a much later painter engaged to fill two blank pages left by A; his two pictures might thus be later intrusions in the Psalter series, and not to be assumed in the archetype. In support of this it may be pointed out that the two scenes he painted—the Coronation of David, and David Glorified by the Daughters of Israel—are rare scenes in Psalter illustration and indeed in Old Testament iconography in general as practiced by East Christian art. But we have against the assumption of a late addition the decisive evidence of the borders of these two miniatures, which are consistent with the style of border prevailing in the other miniatures, as well as the considerations advanced by Berliner¹⁹ in favor of regarding these two miniatures as very bad copies of the same antique series that formed the model for the others.

This being the case, the original must have been a work of a period no earlier than the middle of the fourth century. It is true that by this time the codex had displaced the rotulus in common use, but we have the Joshua Rotulus of the Vatican Library to prove to us that illustrated rotuli were still made at a much later date than the fourth century, so that the period of the immediate model does not preclude its having been in roll form. Shall we suppose two generations back of the Psalter miniatures—an ultimate archetype of rotulus form and of the very early date which is certainly consistent with the remarkable preservation of the antique landscape in many of the miniatures, and an intermediate ancestor of codex form in which the compositions of the rotulus were reduced to book format? This immediate and second ancestor would then be dated at some time later than the middle of the fourth century and it would be conceivable that the two miniatures of artist C were added to the series at that time.

The latter alternative seems to me to be the less probable, because if this were the case it would seem as if the infelicities pointed out above as resulting from the change from rotulus to codex form would have been corrected in the copying of the earlier codex miniatures wherein we would have to suppose that these mistakes were originally made. It seems more likely that we have before us in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter the original reduction of the rotulus illustration to the form of codex miniatures, with the characteristic symptoms of this process remaining in such things as the misplacement of the Israelites at the foot of Mount Sinai, the omission of the Hand of God in Hezekiah's Prayer, and the leaving out of Nathan in the Penitence of David. It is not an unreasonable hypothesis that the original rotulus was brought to Constantinople at the time of the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs in the seventh century.

We may now return, after this long digression, to the interesting question that is raised by the close correspondence of certain miniatures in the Leo Bible to those of the Paris Psalter. Shall we assume that the artists of each manuscript used the rotulus independently, or that the miniatures of the Leo Bible were copied from the corresponding

19. *Zur Datierung der Miniaturen des Cod. Par. gr. 139*, pp. 12 ff.

miniatures of the Psalter? The latter must have been the case if we assume that one was copied from the other, for the Paris miniatures invariably show exactitude in all details.

For a common derivation from the rotulus we have the fact that in the miniature containing scenes from the life of Moses, in the Leo Bible (Fig. 39) much more is included than in the corresponding Paris miniature (Fig. 25), and that the subjects are arranged in strips as if coming from the continuous illustration of a rotulus. But it must be remembered that we are by no means certain of possessing all of the miniatures that originally were comprised in the Paris series; for example, the text of the Psalter contains twelve Canticles for which only six illustrations (the "Prayers") are given. Again, the miniatures are physically independent of the manuscript; it is quite possible that the existing ones belonged to another manuscript, not necessarily a Psalter, in which they formed part of a longer series from which selections were made that fitted the purpose of the one who made up the Paris Psalter in its present combination of text and illustration. Hence the crowded series of episodes of Moses' life which we find in the miniature of the Leo Bible may be copied from a series of three miniatures in an original manuscript from which the Crossing of the Red Sea may have been quite appropriately selected to illustrate in the Paris Psalter the Song of Moses.

We may discount as well the discrepancy between the inscription of the Paris miniature and that of the Leo Bible, for this discrepancy would be equally valid against derivation from a common original, which is the only alternative to the assumption that the Leo miniatures are based on those of the Psalter. One other discrepancy is however of great interest to the iconographer: viz., the change which the miniaturist of the Leo Bible has made in the figure who heads the procession of the Israelites to the right, gazing at the Column of Fire. In the Paris Psalter this figure is a man in white robes, and the male figure is also preserved in the replicas of the Paris miniature which appear—one cannot be sure through what process of derivation—in the Octateuchs of Constantinople, Smyrna, and the Vatican.²⁰ But in the Leo Bible the figure has been made into a woman, doubtless to represent Miriam, and a dark mantle has been added to her costume, and veils her head, by way of emphasizing her sex.

Now it is worth noting that the artist who painted the miniature of the Red Sea in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 47), which follows so closely the Paris miniature as regards the catastrophe of Pharaoh's host, has also inserted at the head of the Israelite throng a female figure, in this case certainly Miriam, since she is represented as a dancer in the act of her song of exultation. It would seem from this coincidence that both artists were conforming to local practice in this detail of iconography, and this conclusion is confirmed by a curious circumstance in the earlier history of this scene in Christian art.

It is well known that the Early Christian sarcophagi for the most part avoid scenes that would occupy the whole front of the trough and use rather an uninterrupted series of abbreviated episodes. But there is a conspicuous exception to this, viz., the series of

20. Constantinople: Uspensky, *L'Octateuque du Serail*, in *Bull. de l'Institut arch. russe à Constantinople*, XII, album, pl. XXII, fig. 121. Smyrna: Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, pl. XXXIX. Vatican: D'Agin-court, *Hist. de l'art par les monuments*, V, pl.

LXII, 4. The change to the female figure is found also in the Greek Psalter fragment of Leningrad; in the Greek Psalter of the University of Berlin, the figure is omitted (Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, pl. IX, 1, 2).

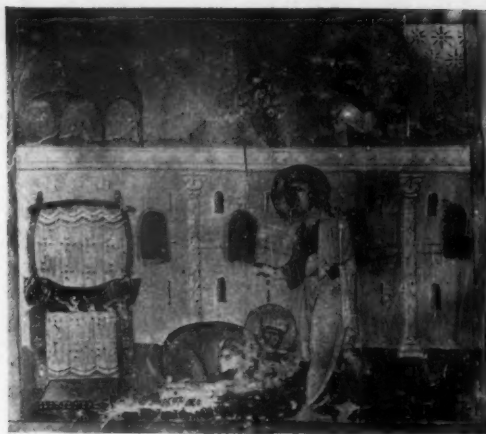


FIG. 45—Venice, Marciana: *Miniature of the Psalter of Basil II. David's Penitence* (Photo Frick Art Ref. Lib.)

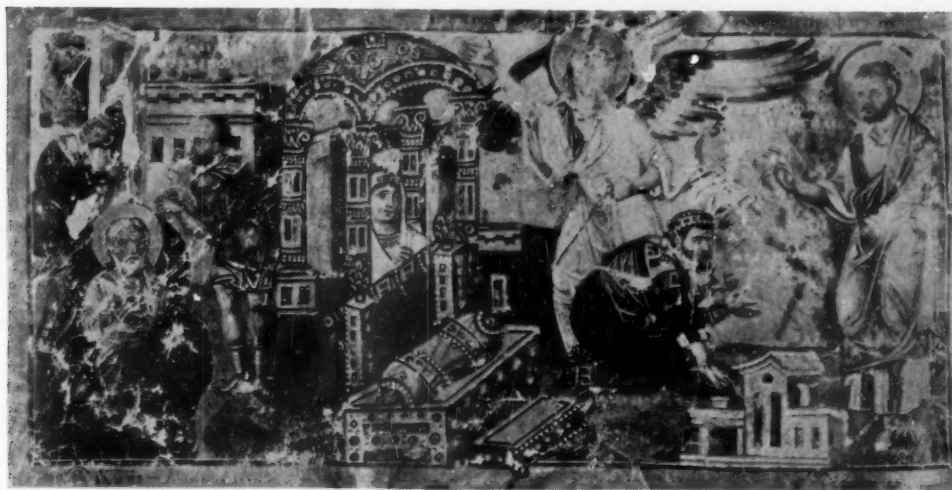


FIG. 46—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Penitence of David* (after Omont)



FIG. 47—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Crossing of the Red Sea* (after Omont)



FIG. 48—Arles, Museum: Sarcophagus Relief. Crossing of the Red Sea



FIG. 49—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the Bible of Leo. Cross (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 50—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus Cross (after Omont)

"Red Sea" sarcophagi (Fig. 48), whose pure type invariably portrays on the front the same episode which we have in our two miniatures, but always, in examples which conserve the whole front, with Miriam leading the throng of the Chosen People, and usually indicated by the tambourine which she carries in her hands. These sarcophagi, numbering some nine complete examples, form a compact stylistic unit, and occasionally are further distinguished by the background representing the wall of a city which decorates the lateral faces. This latter feature, together with the peculiar style of the figures, classifies their makers with the ateliers which produced the "city-gate" sarcophagi, recently discussed in an able article by Marion Lawrence in this periodical.²¹ Miss Lawrence found that these sarcophagi were sharply differentiated in style, iconography, and ornament from the Latin sarcophagi of the same period (end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century) and were to be attributed to Asiatic workmen probably operating in Italy but retaining Eastern tradition in the three respects mentioned above. The rendering of the Exodus scene that they put upon their sarcophagi therefore reflects Asiatic usage, so that the detail of Miriam introduced by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory and of the Leo Bible corresponds to local practice and tradition in Constantinople.

This discrepancy then would merely be a change introduced by the artist of the Leo Bible and like the other discrepancies noted would merely show that he was somewhat free in the rendering of his model. There is nothing, therefore, so far apparent that forms a real objection to the hypothesis that the miniature of the Leo Bible was adapted directly from that of the Paris Psalter. Indeed if we examine the miniature of the Leo Bible closely, and apply the test of "agreement in error" which is the textual critic's strongest argument for the derivation of one text from another, we shall find some positive evidence of the copy.

In the miniature of the Paris Psalter a fault was committed by the artist in the left arm and hand of Pharaoh, since its action and silhouette are obscured by the grip of Bythos on his hair and by his chlamys that passes over his left shoulder. As a result the hand and forearm seem silhouetted in a detached manner against the nimbus, and this mistake has been copied by the painter of the Leo Bible, who has painted the hand against the nimbus as if it grew out of Pharaoh's head. In the same way in the miniature of Moses on Sinai (Fig. 40), where he has evidently combined two pictures into one, the absurd pair of parallel lines which stand for cracks in the rock on which the personification of Mt. Sinai sits in the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 23) has been repeated. In the Anointing of David (Fig. 42) it will be noted that the top of the oil jar which stands behind Samuel's right leg has been drawn in full contour so as to interrupt the contour line of the leg as if it really passed in front of it. The gold or silver which originally covered this jar has flaked off, leaving the drawing obscure, but our reproduction at least shows the interruption of the silhouette of Samuel's leg. If now one turns to the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27) it will be seen that the jar indents the leg of Samuel in the same fashion. It is noteworthy also that the pink nimbi of the Psalter are repeated in the Bible miniature;²² and further evidence of a copy is to be seen in the travesty which the artist of the Bible

21. *City-Gate Sarcophagi* (*Art Bull.*, X, 1927-8, pp. 1-45).

22. Bordier, *Description des peintures et des autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Biblio-*

thèque Nationale, Paris, 1883, p. 112. For the information regarding the color in the miniature of the Bible of Leo, I am indebted to Myrtilla Avery.

has made of the left arm of the personification, already ambiguously rendered in the Psalter. Similarly, if one compares the Coronation of David in the Psalter (Fig. 20) with the adaptation thereof which the artist of the Leo Bible used for his Coronation of Solomon (Fig. 41) it is difficult to believe that two artists copying from a good model could have both arrived at the uncouth solecism of the bodyless legs behind the shield. It is far more credible that the artist of the Leo Bible, who shows himself as a rule much superior in craftsmanship to Artist C of the Psalter, who was responsible for this travesty, owes this slip to the fact that he was imitating the Psalter miniatures. It is true that here and in the miniature of Moses on Sinai he reversed his model, but this is rather in favor of the theory of a direct copy than otherwise, if we may judge by the practice in this respect in Western manuscripts.

In fact he has left, it seems to me, further evidence among his miniatures of his exploration of the libraries of Constantinople in search of models. On folio 2 recto there is painted a cross under an arch, from the base of which spring two acanthus leaves and beside which is the inscription $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NH}} \overline{\text{KA}}$ —"Christ is victorious" (Fig. 49). The same decoration is repeated, with some alteration of the inclosing arch, on folio 3 verso. Two pages decorated in this manner are somewhat surprising, but we find the same duplication in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus, on folio B verso and C recto (Fig. 50). Moreover, save for the inclosing arch in the Leo Bible and the hangings on the cross in the Homilies, it is not difficult to conceive the two crosses in the latter manuscript as the source from which the illustrator of the Leo Bible derived his two pages, since the jewelings and the leaves are very similar and the inscription and the abrupt termination of the arms of the cross are identical. But the duplication of one page by another in the Homilies has a good reason behind it, since the cross on folio B verso was painted in to cover up the discarded drawing for the portrait of Basil I between Gabriel and Elias which was later painted on folio C verso. No duplication was therefore originally intended by the painter of the Homilies; the artist of the Bible, lacking this motivation, is therefore the more open to the suspicion of copying.

I think we may conclude that the painter of the Leo Bible used the Psalter miniatures as models for at least a part of his illustrations. Whether we may go further and reconstruct from his other miniatures missing subjects in an originally longer series from which only the existing Psalter miniatures have survived, is a question not to be dealt with here. We have, however, further evidence that the present series of miniatures in the Paris Psalter was originally longer, in the relation they bear to the four miniatures of the Psalter of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381).²³ The first three of these four reproduce with startling fidelity the David as Harper, the Exaltation of David, and the Moses on Sinai (Fig. 51; compare Fig. 23) of the Paris Psalter. The imitation in the last case extends even to a crude imitation of the archaic (to a painter of the twelfth or thirteenth century) lettering of the inscription. But what we note particularly is the same misplacement of the group of Israelites at the foot of the mountain, which precludes the assumption of common derivation from the original rotulus and argues for a direct copy. This being the case, the fourth miniature (Fig. 52), which represents the

23. *Miniature . . . del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381 (Coll. Paleografica Vat. fasc. I), pls. 19-22.*



FIG. 51



FIG. 52

Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of Psalter. Moses on Sinai; Moses Receives the Law and Presents it to the People (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 53—*Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Joshua Roll. Return of the Spies
Joshua Leads the Israelites against Jericho (after Vatican Facsimile)*



FIG. 54—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Joshua Roll
Joshua Meets the Angel of the Lord (after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 55—London, British Museum: Miniature
of the Cotton Genesis. *Separation of Lot and
Abraham* (after Lethaby)



FIG. 56—Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Fresco of
VII Century. *Head of an Angel* (after Wilpert)

Receiving and Promulgating of the Law, must have been taken from the same source and we are compelled to suppose that the original series to which the Paris miniatures belonged was longer by at least the original of this miniature.

These cases of direct copying after the miniatures of the Paris Psalter have a bearing of course on the provenance and inspiration of the numerous parallels to them found in various manuscripts, and should cause a reconsideration of the prevailing theory that all such parallels arise from the copying of the archetype of the Psalter miniatures rather than these miniatures themselves. With this we are not here concerned, but rather with the bearing of our conclusion—that the painter of the Leo Bible saw and imitated the Paris miniatures—on the question of the date of the latter. For if, as the Vatican editors assert, the Leo Bible was written and illustrated early in the tenth century, one would be inspired to date the models from which some of its miniatures were copied in the ninth or an earlier century although the palaeography of the text which the Paris miniatures now illustrate points to the tenth. There is also the fact that the present miniatures originally were part of a longer series to be considered, as well as Berliner's point that the illustrations for Canticles, in the Paris Psalter, are sufficient for only half the Canticles. We may repeat here that the miniatures are insertions and physically independent of the present Psalter, and add the points brought up long ago by Bordier²⁴ that the miniatures have been cut down to fit the text, that the gold used in them is different and inferior in quality to that used in the text, and that their ornament is of different character from that of the text titles and headings. In the face of all this, it seems strange that the miniatures can still be considered even to-day as contemporary with the tenth century text.²⁵

It is not strange, however, if one considers the influence of fixed ideas in archaeology. The *idée fixe* in this case is the theory of Kondakov's of the "Byzantine renaissance" which assigns to the Macedonian period of the Eastern Empire a positive power to re-create an antique style with Christian content. As far back as Labarte, it was conjectured that the miniatures came originally from another manuscript or were copied therefrom. Bordier's very decisive argument against the unity of the miniatures with the text has already been summarized. But after Kondakov's *Histoire de l'art byzantin* had produced the concept of the "Byzantine renaissance" and in accordance therewith had catalogued the miniatures as original creations of the tenth century, acceptance of the "renaissance" carried with it acceptance of the Paris miniatures as one of its most conspicuous and characteristic achievements. Thus Kondakov was followed by Bayet and Venturi, and even by as keen-sighted a critic as Tikkanen. Dobbert also accepted Kondakov's view, but beginning with von Schlosser there appeared a compromise between Kondakov and the facts, in the theory that the miniatures are tenth century copies of earlier models. So Wickhoff argued that the archetype could have dated no later than the fourth century, and that the difference in style pointed to interpolations in the original series. To Kraus and Millet the miniatures pointed to an Alexandrian archetype, to Strzygowski to one of Asia Minor or of Antioch. Dalton pointed out that wherever the archetype was done, it was the same center that produced the model for the Joshua Roll. Since the time of Labarte, Bordier and Berliner are the only critics who have subjected the manuscript

24. Bordier, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

25. E. g., by Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 25, notice 14.

to a thoroughgoing examination as to its make-up, save, of course, Omont, whose reconstruction of the miniatures into the original quaternion and ternion made possible the verification of the hands employed on the paintings.

It is evident from what has gone before that the miniature sheets are independent of the tenth century text, that they represent the reduction of an originally more numerous series, and that they were in a library at Constantinople at least as early as the beginning of the tenth century. For further delimitation of their date we must have recourse to their style.

Dalton's point of the community of style between the Psalter miniatures and the drawings of the Joshua Roll has been recognized by many, but the bearing of this on the date of the miniatures of the Psalter, owing to the uncertainty of the date of the drawings, has never been thought worth discussion until recently taken up by Lietzmann,²⁶ who employed the supposed dating in the tenth century, of the Paris miniatures, and their resemblance to the drawings of the Joshua Roll, to bolster an otherwise dubious argument for an origin of the Joshua drawings coeval with the explanatory text written below and between them, which is of the tenth century. Lietzmann's article is valuable in demonstrating with more detail something which had already been suggested in the introduction to the facsimile of the Joshua manuscript published by the Vatican Library,²⁷ viz., that the lacunæ and mistakes of this text show that it too was a copy, and a copy of an original text that went with the drawings, being excerpted with reference to them from the Septuagint text of the Book of Joshua. He therefore concluded that drawings and text were copied at the same time. Unfortunately for his conclusion, he has ignored the facts (most of which were brought out by the editors of the Vatican facsimile) that militate strongly against dating the drawings and the text in the same period. In the first place, a glance at the Vatican facsimile shows that the drawings are placed midway on the parchment with no apparent notion of leaving space for the text. The space below the drawings is about what an artist would leave in any case and it is not marked off by a line or otherwise (Fig. 53). Second, the difference in the color of the ink of the drawings, thinner and paler than that of the text, indicates a greater antiquity. A third objection lies in the fact that some of the inscriptions are done in capitals, in the pale ink of the drawings while others are in the ink and the cursive of the text, showing that the hand that did the drawings and also the capital inscriptions, found some of these capital inscriptions too indistinct in his original to copy, and the omissions were later supplied by the hand that wrote in the text—a process which coincides fairly with the theory of a set of drawings to which the text was added later, and not very well with the notion of text and drawings as a single project. It is also difficult to explain on the basis of Lietzmann's view, the frequent inconsistency between text and drawings, in that the text sometimes describes incidents not represented by the drawing above it. Lastly, we have a valid argument against a coeval dating of text and drawings in the fact that occasionally the text invades the drawings and is tucked in between the figures in an unsightly manner which would hardly have been the case had the copy of text and drawings been the result of a single plan (Fig. 54). The reconciliation of these objections with Lietzmann's argument from the excerpted and specialized original

26. Hans Lietzmann, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, in *Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering*, pp. 181 ff.

27. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè: codice Vat. Pal. gr. 431*, Milan, Hoepli, 1905.

text which belonged to the pictures seems to lie in the very natural supposition that this original text was written at the end of the roll, or on a separate roll, that it had become injured by use, and that a tenth century restorer copied it in upon the pictures.

In any case, the date of the Joshua drawings cannot be settled by the date of their text, but must be deduced from what internal evidence is offered by themselves, and by their stylistic relation to the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The internal evidence is very meager. A *terminus a quo* seems to be offered at first sight by the capital inscriptions which occasionally are written vertically, a practice which becomes common, in existing works, not before the seventh century. That the drawings are copied from an early original is generally agreed, the evidence lying in such things as mistakes and omissions on the part of the copyist, one of them appearing in Fig. 53, where a bust on a stele has been misunderstood, a detail which is correctly copied from the same model used by the draftsman of the Joshua Roll, in the later Octateuchs.²⁸ A case of omission is found in the execution of the King of Ai (Fig. 17), where the executioner's implement has been left out. The same reason obviously underlies the occasional omission of the labels and capitals, owing no doubt to illegible faintness of the lettering in the original.

The date of the archetype is difficult to determine archæologically. The Vatican editors have seen reason for not dating the original before the fourth century because the *furca*, which is used in the Execution of the King of Ai and of the Five Kings, was not substituted for the cross until the time of Constantine. On the other hand they point out that the cult of sacred trees was abolished by Theodosius the Great, and if one assumes that the precinct with a tree inside it such as we see in Fig. 53 is the inclosure of a sacred tree, we might on the above evidence date the archetype between Constantine and Theodosius the Great. Unfortunately, the "sacred precinct" is only part of the old picturesque landscape vocabulary characteristic of the perspective style of which the Joshua drawings and their archetype are survivals; even if one accepts the very dubious interpretation of such a *motif* as a "sacred tree" and its precinct, to use the *motif* to establish a *terminus ante quem* would be like dating a piece of literature by the use of the expression "sacred tree."

As to the *furca*, its use in the execution of the King of Ai is motivated by the text: Καὶ τὸν Βασιλέα τῆς Γαὶ ἐκρέμασεν ἐπὶ ξύλου διδύμου (Joshua viii, 29), and its employment in the execution of the Five Kings may have been suggested by the previous episode. There is more reason to see in it an indication of Alexandrian provenance for the archetype, since we find it again in one of the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis (in the execution of Pharaoh's baker, where Genesis uses the same ἐκρέμασεν which described the end of the Kings in Joshua),²⁹ and in the same scene of the baker's execution in the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua,³⁰ wherein Miss Avery has demonstrated a pervasive Alexandrian influence in the iconography.³¹ More specifically, this peculiarity of iconography is indicated as Egyptian by its occurrence on an enigmatic wooden relief from Egypt in the Museum of Berlin.³² Another Alexandrian peculiarity of the Joshua Roll was singled

28. E. g., the miniature in Vat. gr. 746, fol. 442; *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. B, 2.

29. X, 26.

30. Wilpert, *Die Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, IV, pls. 192-3.

31. *The Alexandrian Style at S. Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bull.* VII, 1925, pp. 131 ff.

32. Strzykowski, *Orient oder Rom*, pl. III, pp. 65 ff.

out by Strzygowski³³ in the barbs which are added to the spear heads and which occur again in an Egyptian papyrus of Berlin (no. 5004). Most convincing of all proofs, however, is the striking identity between the figure to the right in the miniature of the Separation of Lot and Abraham, in the Alexandrian Cotton Genesis (Fig. 55), with the angel accosted by Joshua before Jericho (Fig. 54). The arrangement in depth of this group of soldiers and the manner in which the spears are made to multiply the ranks, may be compared with any of the military scenes of the Rotulus.

The Vatican editors noted another objection to an early dating of the archetype in the imperial costume given the executed kings (Fig. 17), with their broad *clavi* ending in discs on skirt and shoulder—*motifs* connoting a late period in antique costume. The antiquity of the soldiers' dress, the bits of Pompeian landscape, the Hellenistic reminiscences in movement, posture, and gesture have been cited again and again in attempts to date the archetype in a very early period, but the creative familiarity with which these *motifs* are handled by the copyist of the Joshua Roll and by artist A of the Paris Psalter, warn us that if such good imitation of Hellenistic drawing and painting could be produced in the seventh century or later, it is *a fortiori* to be expected of the fifth, which is the century to which the Vatican editors incline to assign the archetype—that is to say, the immediate archetype, for the fifth century roll might have had, and probably did have, an ancestor of date still more remote.

If the date of the archetype of the Rotulus of Joshua must thus be left somewhat in doubt, we are in better case I think as to the date when the present drawings were done. We have seen that Lietzmann's attempt to date them coevally with the text is a failure, and that the tenth century text, clearly a later feature added to the already existing drawings, may therefore serve as a *terminus ad quem*. A *terminus a quo* is at least indicated by the vertical disposition of the inscription labels, since we have no examples of this practice, so far as I know, which antedate the seventh century.³⁴ If we take the seventh to tenth century as the epoch within which the Joshua drawings were done, it is possible that we may find further evidence by which to limit their date in the obvious community of style and epoch which exists between them and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, at least those miniatures which we have ascribed to artist A. The close resemblance of A's style to that of the Joshua draftsman has often been pointed out, notably by the editors of the Joshua facsimile,³⁵ and also by the present writer.³⁶ It is unnecessary to repeat here the specific identities, for the reader need only compare Figs. 17, 44, 53, and 54, reproducing the Joshua drawings, with such examples of the style of the head master of the Psalter's atelier as are furnished by Figs. 19, 25, and 26. Joshua leading the Israelites against Jericho (Fig. 53), in silhouette and turn of head is a replica of the Moses in the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25). The ornamental *clavi* of the tunic of the King of Ai (Fig. 17) are

33. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1906, p. 182. Cf. *Coll. Pal. Vat.* fasc. I, introduction, note 9.

34. An early example may be found at the end of the sixth century in Rome, in the mosaic of the arch of S. Lorenzo, where the name of St. Hippolytus is written. The mosaicist was evidently here cramped for space, but nevertheless he handled the

spacing of the letters and his terminal ivy leaf with evident relish for the vertical mode. The other names in the mosaic are written horizontally, and Hippolytus' name can be considered no more than symptomatic of the new method.

35. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pp. 15 ff.

36. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 40, note 2.

repeated on that of Hezekiah (Fig. 26). One may compare the column and the foliage of the miniature of David as Harper (Fig. 19) with the same features of Joshua's prayer in Fig. 17. In Fig. 44 we find in the Joshua drawings the same distant city emerging above the shoulder of a mountain that fills the corner of the David scene in Fig. 19. The massed soldiery of Pharaoh's army (Fig. 25) reappear again and again in the Joshua scenes (cf. Fig. 44). Identities of profiles, postures (cf., e. g., the spies climbing the hill in Fig. 53 with the Moses on Sinai of Fig. 23), and of drapery are too numerous to point out in detail; we have also to note the common feature of profuse use of personifications, and the curious "club-foot" which results in both manuscripts from sharp foreshortening.

The sketchier character of the Joshua drawings results merely from their being drawings; it is well known how much freer East Christian drawing appears before the laying-in of the color and we may attribute the harder line of the Paris artist to this fact. Certainly there exists no difference between the Vatican manuscript and the best work of the Paris Psalter that would permit us to consider them far apart in date, and their community of school is self-evident. The Vatican editors found the seventh century the most likely epoch in which to place the production of the Joshua drawings; if this be right, the Psalter miniatures must date in the same period or not much later.

The real evidence for the final solution of this problem has been furnished by Myrtila Avery in her able article *Alexandrian Style in S. Maria Antiqua*.³⁷ She finds that the existing decoration of S. Maria Antiqua began with the Asiatic style current in Rome in the sixth century and represented by the Crowned Madonna of the apse. Over this Madonna was laid a coating of plaster frescoed in a wholly different style, which can be dated in the second half of the seventh century. This new style maintains itself up to the redecoration of the church under John VII (705-707) and is still evident, though mingled with local tradition, in the work done under this pope. The later frescoes of the eighth century show its gradual alteration and disappearance as the familiar Italo-Asiatic style which it had interrupted becomes again prevalent, and as the Greek inscriptions which accompanied the intruding style are displaced by Latin labels. Throughout the prevalence and influence of the Greek style, its iconography and usages are shown by Miss Avery to have been strongly Alexandrian,³⁸ so much so that it seems a reasonable explanation to account, as Miss Avery does, for its sudden appearance at S. Maria Antiqua in the middle of the seventh century by assuming the employment of a painter or painters that were refugees from the Arab conquest of Alexandria in 641.

The similarities of style that exist between these "Alexandrian" frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll have been exhaustively listed by Miss Avery, who even canvasses the possibility that the actual hands of the Psalter may be found employed again in the frescoes. However this may be, a few comparisons will doubtless suffice to convince the reader of the soundness of Miss Avery's association of the frescoes with the Psalter in point of date and style. The beautiful angel's head (Fig. 56), with its long straight nose, its small mouth and chin, its horizontal shadow

37. *Art Bull.*, VII, 1925, pp. 140 ff.

38. Noteworthy are: the use of the Coptic title for the Virgin, *ἡ ἀγία Μαρία*; the *furca* employed in the execution of Pharaoh's baker; the inclusion of an angel and Joseph

in the Adoration of the Magi, and of the doubting Salome in the Nativity; and the strong Egyptian bias in the choice of saints.

below the lower lip, and long low curve to the jaw, affords a remarkable instance of the type of head we have already found characteristic of artist A of the Psalter and illustrated by the heads of Moses in the Crossing of the Red Sea and that of the Prayer in the scene of Hezekiah (Figs. 25, 26). The profile of the praying Hezekiah himself reproduces that of the last of the Magi in the Epiphany of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 57). The Night in Isaiah's Prayer of the Psalter (Fig. 24) is the Mother of the Maccabees in the beautiful fresco of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 58) in dignity of structure, high waist, placing of the feet, and especially the remarkable identity of the drawing of the left leg; the larger of the two boys is strikingly like the Dawn in structure and pose of head, and especially in the mannerism of the tuft of hair projecting beyond the forehead; the stately figure on Salomone's left may be compared with the Nathan of David's Penitence (Fig. 36). The depth of background in this fresco is one of the characteristics of this Alexandrian interlude in Roman painting, which, as Miss Avery shows, died out in the eighth century, and with it may be classed the impressionism of light and shade, and the freedom of posture and movement, that form such strange contrast to the conventionalities of the two-dimensional Italo-Asiatic style that preceded and followed it in Rome.

It seems clear therefore that Miss Avery's masterly analysis of the decoration of S. Maria Antiqua has provided us with the date of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The style that was practiced by the immigrant painters of the church in Rome in the seventh and early eighth centuries is that of the master who with his less gifted assistants painted in Constantinople the miniatures of the Psalter, and it is the same style that we find in the drawings of the Joshua Roll. The latter is not without its parallels also at S. Maria Antiqua. Noteworthy is the tendency found in both the frescoes and the Rotulus to round out the back and shoulder into full convexity. One will be also arrested by the resemblance of the Seraph's head (Fig. 60) from the Adoration of the Crucified to that of the angel who stands before Joshua (Fig. 54), in the impressionism of the hair and its emergence in a knot at the nape of the neck, as well as the general structure of the head. I have already pointed out elsewhere³⁹ the even closer resemblance of the drawing of this head to that of an angel's head at Bawit (Fig. 59), of earlier date than its stylistic congener at S. Maria Antiqua. But the style of the Joshua Roll, if we discount the artificial stiffness which the addition of color always gives to East Christian Painting, cannot be far distant in date from the Psalter miniatures and the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua.

The two sets of miniatures may thus be roughly dated in the seventh century, or at the latest in the early eighth, and we may explain the familiarity with which artist A of the Psalter copied his Alexandrian original by crediting him too with Alexandrian origin. We may explain his presence in Constantinople, where the miniatures were painted, as Miss Avery explained the presence of the exponents of foreign style at S. Maria Antiqua—as the result of the flight of artists from Alexandria at the time of the Arab conquest. The Joshua Roll may well be the work of another such exile, seeking employment for his talents at the capital. The archetype of the Roll, and that of the Psalter, may well have been brought to Constantinople in the seventh century by reason of the same exodus of artists and works of art.

39. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 41.



FIG. 57



FIG. 58

Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Frescoes. Adoration of the Magi (early VIII Century)
Eleazar and the Maccabees (VII Century) (after Wilpert)



FIG. 59—Bawût, Chapel XVII
Fresco of Angel's Head



FIG. 60—Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Fresco of early
VIII Century. Head of a Seraph (after Wilpert)

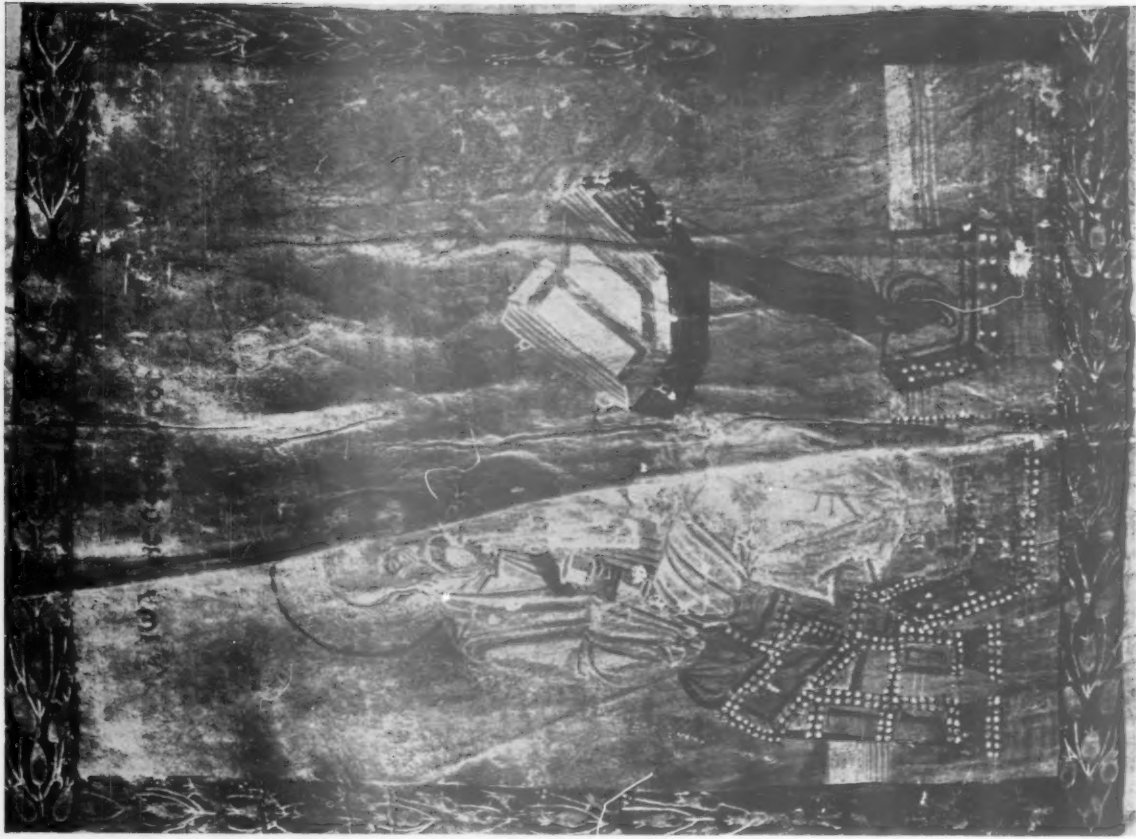


FIG. 61—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel
Lectionary. St. John the Evangelist

Such style as these two masterpieces exhibit was quite as much an innovation at Constantinople as at Rome. There is trace of Alexandrian influence before this in the miniature painting of the capital, in the illustrations of the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37). The Pompeian putti of the dedication page, the frequent personifications, and the pseudo-depth of the mandrake miniatures and of the physician groups, show the influence of the perspective and picturesque style of Alexandria. But that we are dealing here with a foreign influence and not a native style is clear from the arrangement in the two miniatures of famous physicians, in which the figures are disposed as if seated in a landscape but are nevertheless in actuality sitting on nothing but the gold background.

The native Asiatic style, at about the time the drawings of the Joshua Roll and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter were produced, appears to be well reflected by the miniatures of an important manuscript which hitherto has received altogether too little attention. This manuscript is Petropolitanus gr. XXI.⁴⁰ Of its sixteen miniatures four were reproduced by Likhatchev (Incredulity of Thomas, the Last Supper, Christ Appearing to the Holy Women, the Mission of the Apostles), one by Haseloff (the Washing of Feet), and the portraits of the three evangelists by Friend, while Millet included in his *Recherches* reproductions of the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Supper, the Washing of Feet, the miniature in which are represented the Entombment and the Holy Women Watching the Sepulcher, and that depicting Easter Morn. The Miracle of Cana, the Pentecost, the Harrowing of Hell, and the miniature of Christ and His Disciples are here reproduced for the first time.

The date of these miniatures has never been definitely determined. Kondakov in one passage of his *Histoire* places them in the eighth or ninth century, while in another he is influenced by the round uncials of the text and the absence of large initials toward a date in the seventh or eighth century. Dobbert, arguing from iconography, places the types represented by the scenes from the Gospel between the cycle of the fifth and sixth centuries and the developed Byzantine works of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Millet appears in his first citation of the manuscript⁴¹ to accept a dating in the seventh or eighth century, but elsewhere he varies from the eighth to the tenth and finally, troubled apparently by the developed iconography of the Harrowing of Hell, accepts the suggestion of Thibaut that the early-looking text is really of the eleventh century in a hand that imitates the uncial of the eighth century. Pokrovski⁴² dates the manuscript in the tenth or eleventh century.

The manuscript contains fourteen folios which formerly formed part of a Gospel in minuscule of the tenth or eleventh century given to the library at Leningrad in 1858 by the metropolitan of Trebizond.⁴³ The miniatures are for the most part on the verso of the folio and constitute the illustration of a set of pericopes or lessons which originally must have formed part of an Evangelion or Book of Gospel readings arranged to follow the liturgy. Since in such books the movable feasts come first and the fixed feasts in the latter part of

40. Bibliography: Muralt, *Cat. des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de Petersbourg*, Leningrad, 1864, p. 13; Dobbert, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV, p. 199; Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, I, p. 193; Haseloff, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis*, p. 101; Likhatcheff, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'iconographie russe*, pls. CCCLIII, CCCLIV; Millet, *Recherches sur*

l'iconographie de l'évangile, passim, see *Répertoire des monuments*; A. M. Friend, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 115 ff.

41. *Recherches*, p. 13.

42. *Iconography of the Gospels* (Russian), Leningrad, 1892, p. 16.

43. Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

the volume, we may assume that the miniatures of the Baptism and of the Transfiguration belong at the end of the present incomplete series. If rearranged according to the sequence of the festivals which they commemorate, and with the portrait of each evangelist preceding the series of lections drawn from his Gospel, the series is as follows:

1. Portrait of John } Lesson for Easter
2. Harrowing of Hell } Lesson for Easter
3. Incredulity of Thomas } Lesson for Thomas Sunday
4. Mission of Apostles } Lesson for Thomas Sunday
5. Miracle of Cana: Lesson for Second Monday after Easter
6. Holy Women at Sepulcher } Lesson for Myrrhophoroi Sunday
7. Christ Appearing to Holy Women } Lesson for Myrrhophoroi Sunday
8. Pentecost: Lesson for Pentecost
9. Portrait of Matthew

(The Matthew lections after Pentecost are not illustrated in the surviving miniatures; the portrait of Luke, and any illustration of his lections after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14, are also missing.)

10. Portrait of Mark } Lesson for Monday of Passion week
11. Christ and Disciples } Lesson for Monday of Passion week
12. Last Supper } Lesson for Thursday of Passion week
13. Washing of Feet } Lesson for Thursday of Passion week
14. Entombment and the Two Maries at the Sepulcher: Lesson for Friday of Passion week
15. Baptism (fixed feast)
16. Transfiguration (fixed feast)

The three portraits of the evangelists have been placed in the relative positions which they would occupy in an illustrated Evangelion. It is to be noted however that the readings that accompany the miniatures are predominantly from Matthew. For instance, the readings on Myrrhophoroi Sunday in the Greek service of the present day are from Luke and Mark, but the text that accompanies the scene of Christ Appearing to the Holy Women is Matthew xxviii. The miniature also follows Matthew, as is always the case with this scene in East Christian art, by depicting the women as two instead of Mark's three. The text accompanying the miniature of the Last Supper is, in the first column, part of the lesson from Matthew for Thursday of Holy Week, while in the right column is the beginning of the lesson from John xiii on the Washing of Feet, of which we find another portion under the miniature of that scene. This miniature is on folio 6 verso of the manuscript at present, while the Supper is on 9 verso, which shows the present confusion of arrangement of the folios. The above rearrangement is tentative and awaits confirmation after examination of the original at Leningrad. We may, however, on the basis of the photographs of the *Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire*, here reproduced, arrive perhaps at a determination of the approximate date of the miniatures and of their significance in East Christian art.

1. *Portrait of John* (Fig. 61). Within a border of the type we have recognized with good reason as characteristic of illuminated manuscripts of Constantinople, here decorated



FIG. 62—Mt. Athos, Monastic Library: Miniature of
Stavroniketa 43. St. John the Evangelist (after Friend)



FIG. 63—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel
Lectionary. Harrowing of Hell



FIG. 64—Daphni, Church: Mosaics. Harrowing of Hell

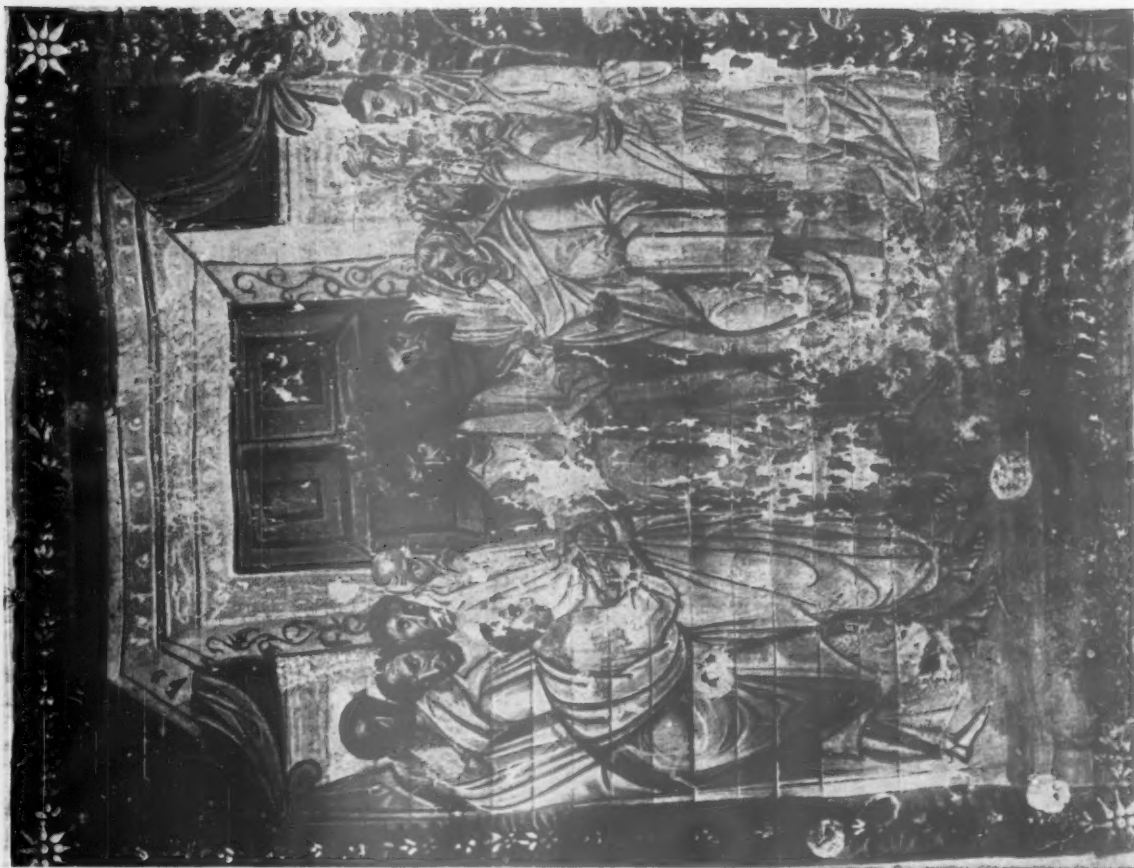


FIG. 65—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary. Incredulity of Thomas

with a floreate filling resembling the teasle plant, sits the evangelist, with right hand grasping a rotulus and his left held to his lips in sign of meditation. His seat is a cushioned stool, pearled along the edges of its parts, as is also the footstool on which rest his feet. The lectern is supported on the tail of a very badly drawn dolphin, and contains an open codex. The background is neutral—apparently gold—and broken only by the inscription: ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος.

The John of this miniature, reversed, is a replica of the John (Fig. 62) in a manuscript of one of the monastic libraries of Mt. Athos, Stavroniketa 43, the evangelist portraits of which were published along with those of our manuscript of Leningrad by Mr. Friend in *Art Studies*.⁴⁴ Comparison of the two reveals close resemblance, but one that clearly comes from a common model, since neither is a copy of the other. The Athos Gospel is evidently a finer copy of the original and preserves a feature which the miniaturist of the Leningrad manuscript found too much for his Asiatic prepossessions, viz., the background of architecture preserving the old Pompeian illusion of a garden wall above which extend the tops of trees. In the other evangelist pictures of the Leningrad manuscript we shall find him making an attempt to cope with this unfamiliar background, with sorry success. A more accomplished method of combining the exotic architectural perspective with the gold field of native tradition was found by the artist of Coislin 195 (Gospels) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, who copied the same model for his John that was used by the Leningrad painter and by the miniaturist of Stavroniketa 43, but *incised* the architectural perspective on the gold background of his miniature.⁴⁵

2. *The Harrowing of Hell* (Fig. 63). The same framing is used for the miniature, but with the characteristic corner squares included in this instance, which were left out in the preceding miniature. The scene is the customary illustration, in the Evangelia or lectionaries, for the readings for Easter with which the lessons of John commence and thus is usually the first miniature in this type of Gospel Book after the evangelist portrait. It is clumsily painted here, the right periphery of Christ's glory having been painted over the left arm of the aged white-clothed figure who stands with a companion to the right. This figure should be John the Baptist, balancing with uneven symmetry the throng of the Just on the other side, among whom stand the crowned figures of David and Solomon and another king. Below are the risen First Parents, emerging from tombs; Adam kneels and clasps the right hand of the Saviour, Who strides toward him in the midst of an ample mandorla over the chained and prostrate form of Satan. Inscription: ἡ ἀνάστασις.

The present writer has already cited this example of the Harrowing of Hell, in a discussion of the iconography of the scene in which the Leningrad manuscript was classed among the examples as of the tenth or eleventh century.⁴⁶ Millet⁴⁷ also was impressed by the developed iconography of this composition, representing to him "*un type développé, qui dépasse non seulement la colonne de Saint-Marc et les psautiers Chludov, mais aussi les mosaïques ou les peintures de San Zeno, à Rome, de Sainte-Barbe, en Cappadoce, de Saint-Luc, en Phocide, en un mot, l'époque du pape Pascal I^{er} (817-824), de l'empereur Basil II*

44. *Art Studies*, 1927, p. 134, fig. 98.

45. A. M. Friend, *l. c.*, p. 135, fig. 102.

46. *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, 1914, pp. 46-47.

47. *Recherches*, pp. 557, ff.; cf. p. 558, note 1.

(976-1025) et même de ses successeurs. Le R. P. Thibaut nous a révélé le mot de l'énigme: le xi^e siècle a imité l'onciale du viii^e."

The above list contains two examples that might be considered in point of date to represent a developed iconography, i. e., the frescoes of St. Barba in Cappadocia of the tenth or eleventh century (to repeat Millet's dating), and the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis, of the first half of the eleventh century. The Cappadocian frescoes are however often archaic in their types, and one must simply disagree with the citation of the Harrowing of Hell at St. Luke's, inasmuch as this mosaic contains two *motifs* that have not yet appeared in our miniature—the Gates of Hell and the cross in the Redeemer's hand. In a study published in 1914⁴⁸ the present writer had occasion to tabulate the iconography of the scene⁴⁹ and from this tabulation certain indications of date emerged. One of these is the *motif* of the Broken Gates of Hell, which are absent from the early representations (ciborium of St. Mark's, Chapel of John VII in Old St. Peter's, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Clemente, Chludov Psalter), and first appear in such tenth century examples as the Chekmoukmedi enamel.⁵⁰ They are absent also in our miniature, which displays another mark of early date in the roll which Christ carries in His left hand as in the frescoes of the scene in S. Maria Antiqua. Beginning with the tenth century (the earliest example seems to be a fresco attributed to that date by Wilpert, in the lower church of S. Clemente), the Saviour's well-nigh constant attribute is the cross-staff (Fig. 64). It is true that the roll appears in Christ's hand in the scene in a Psalter of the British Museum of the eleventh century (Add. 19352),⁵¹ but this Psalter reflects the same archaic tradition as the Chludov Psalter, to whose family it belongs, and the same survival of an old *motif* may be credited to the representation in the frescoes of the Peribleptos Church at Mistra, which also retains other characteristics of the early type in the glory surrounding Christ and the movement of the Saviour toward Adam instead of the opposite direction as is more often the case in later examples. The Satan in chains, so much resembling the mosaic of Daphni (Fig. 64), and the symmetrical composition with groups of the Resurrected on either side, are features that do not appear elsewhere in the scene before the tenth century, but the symmetry here is manifestly undeveloped, while this feature and the chained Satan as well are both found in the archaistic frescoes of Toqale no later than the tenth century (Fig. 80, lower right). It is difficult therefore to see why Millet should regard the scene as indicating a date as late as the eleventh century for the series of miniatures to which it belongs. No iconographic feature in it brings its date later than the tenth century, which is given us as a *terminus ad quem* only by the Toqale frescoes that in other cases appear to preserve earlier usage. On the other hand, the rotulus in the Saviour's hand and the omission of the Gates of Hell align the type with the examples of the eighth and ninth centuries.

3. *The Incredulity of Thomas* (Fig. 65). Within the same foliate border, with corner squares filled in this case by eight-pointed stars, the scene is developed against the back-

48. *East Christian Paintings*, l. c. Notable additions to the list given on p. 49 are the two frescoes of the lower church of S. Clemente at Rome, of the ninth and tenth centuries respectively, and the fresco of Toqale in Cappadocia of the tenth century (Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, pl. 66, 2).

49. For the iconography of the Harrowing of Hell, cf.:

Millet, *Monuments et mémoires*, Fondation Piot, II, 1895, pp. 204 ff.; Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, pp. 114 ff.; Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, p. 215, note 37, and p. 217, note 60.

50. Kondakov, *Les émaux byzantins*, fig. 43.

51. Rushforth, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

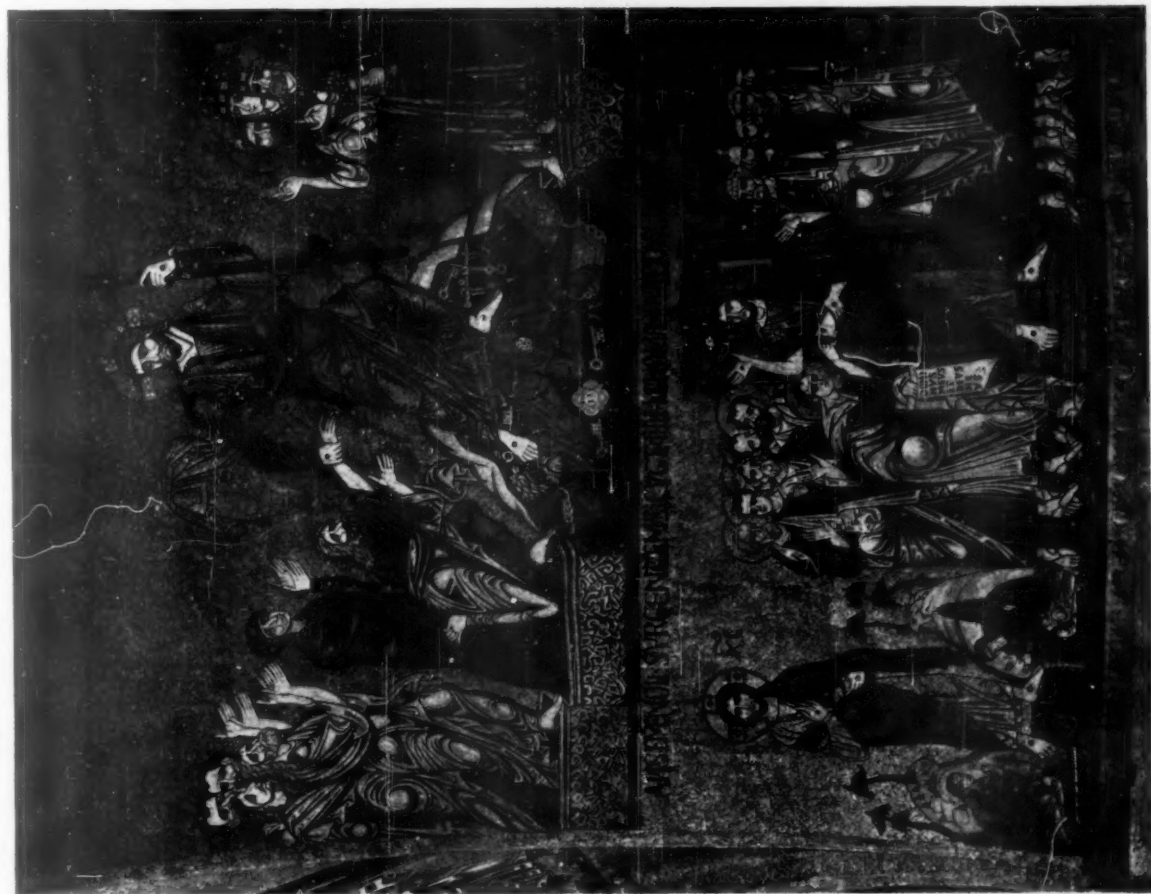


FIG. 66—Venice, St. Mark's: Mosaics. Scenes after the Resurrection

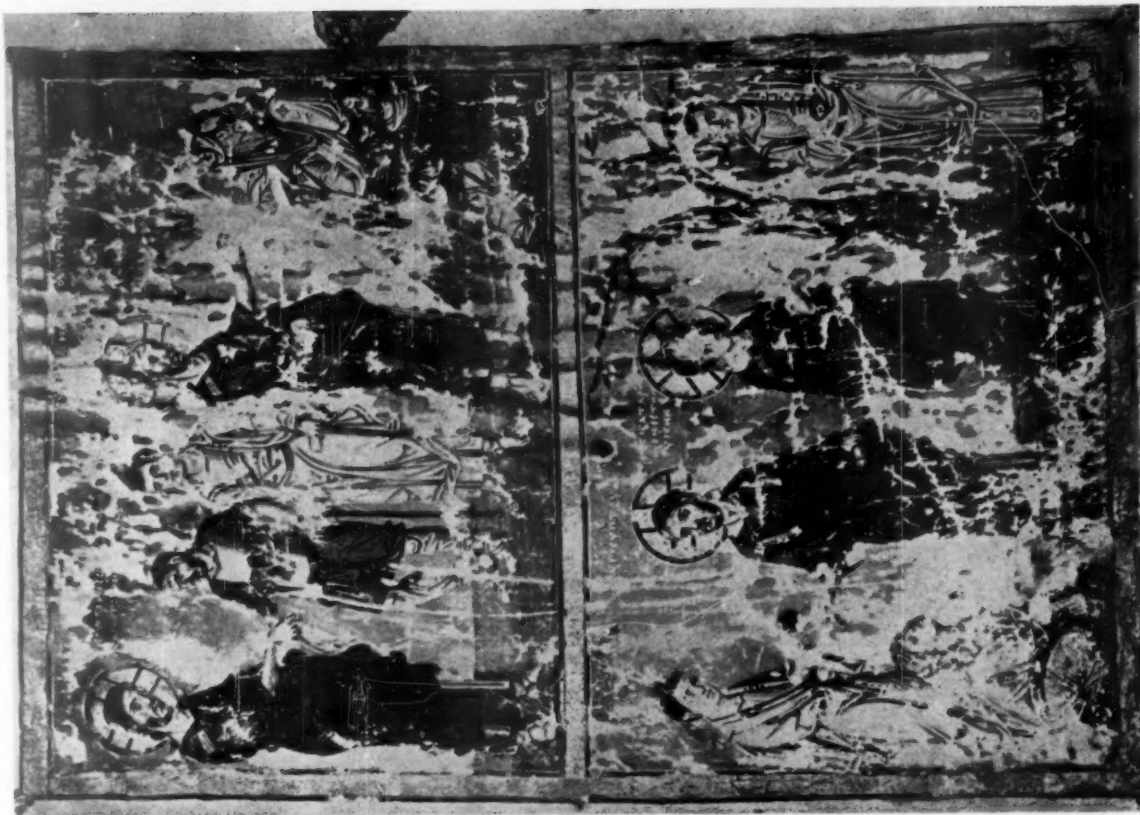


FIG. 67—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Miracles of Christ (after Omont)



FIG. 68—Rossano, Cathedral: Miniature of Gospel Book. Christ before Pilate

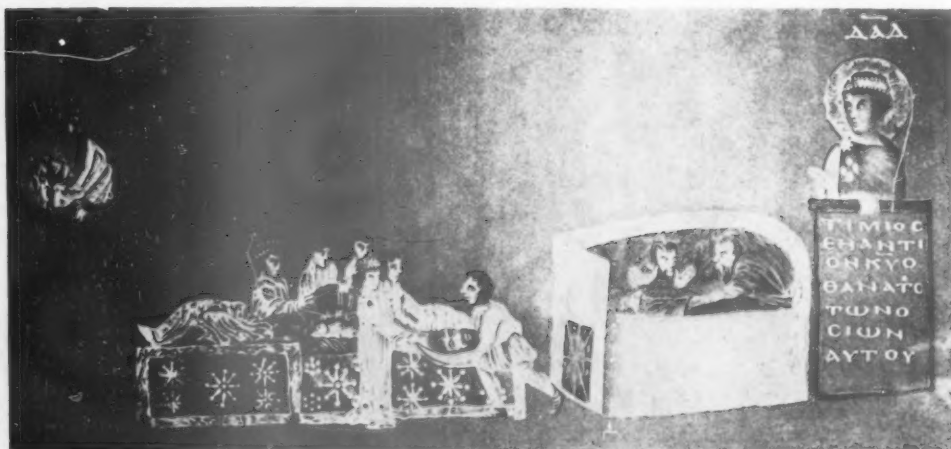


FIG. 69—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Codex Sinopensis. Herod's Feast
(after Muñoz)



FIG. 70—Rome, S. Saba: Fresco. Christ Saving Peter from the Waves
(after Styger)

ground of a wall, decorated with a curtain draped from the central portal, which represents the "closed doors" of the room in which the Saviour made His miraculous appearance to the disciples after the Resurrection. The uprights of this door have the *rinseau* ornament which appeared on the architecture of the "Asiatic" miniatures of Artist D of the Paris Psalter (Figs. 29 and 30). The miniature is singularly interesting as an example of the archaic stage of the Byzantine type, before it had crystallized into the rigid formula illustrated by the mosaic of St. Mark's at Venice (Fig. 66). Peter in our miniature already heads the group to the right, as in the mosaic, and one may see how his gesture at St. Mark's has been developed out of the right arm of the miniature, still classic in its suspension in the pallium. The Thomas of the miniature is in profile, differing thus from earlier Asiatic practice, and has not yet turned his head outward in obedience to the Middle Byzantine revival of the three-quarters head, but he bends his body as at St. Mark's, and on his thigh is seen the premonition of the conventional disc with which the drapery is rendered at this point of the body in later art. But the doubting apostle and his Master both stretch out their two hands; at St. Mark's, in contrast, we have the typical *contrapposto* of Mid-Byzantine style, one arm of Christ being raised, while the other hand bares the wound, and the left hand of Thomas contrasting in movement with the extended right that seeks the side of Christ. The groups of disciples are casually placed in the miniature, and the steps leading down from the *fores clausæ* have not yet been added to the type.

On the other hand, the miniature differs from the Early Christian representations⁵² in various ways: the brief renderings on the sarcophagi have not yet amalgamated the Appearance to the Eleven with the Incredulity of Thomas, and the full number of disciples is first seen in the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo. If this mosaic in truth depicts our scene, it is singular in representing Thomas approaching Christ's left side, as he does also on the ivory panel of the British Museum and still again in the abbreviated representation in a miniature of the Codex Purpureus at Munich, of doubtful date, but probably of the sixth or seventh century.⁵³ The above peculiarity evidently rests on the notion that the lance wound was in the left side of the Saviour's body. This conception, which also puts Longinus and his lance to Christ's left in some Irish representations of the Crucifixion, is apparently a Latin characteristic. The ampullæ of Bobbio and Monza of c. 600 show Christ grasping the hand of Thomas to apply it to the wound. At S. Maria Antiqua a fragmentary fresco of the eighth century⁵⁴ shows Thomas advancing from the spectator's left toward the Saviour, Who raises His right arm to bare the wound; to the right of Christ is a group of disciples behind whom

52. Sarcophagus, S. Maria presso S. Celso, Milan (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 315, 5); sarcophagus, Museum of Ravenna (S. Muratori, in *N. Bull. arch. crist.*, 1911, pp. 39 ff., fig. 1); ivory panel, British Museum (Dalton, *Cat. Early Christ. Antiquities*, pl. VI); mosaic, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Garrucci, *Storia*, IV, pl. 252, 1); ampulla, treasury of Monza Cathedral (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 434, 6); ampulla from Egypt, British Museum (Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeology*, fig. 399). A brief discussion of the iconography of the scene will be found in the present writer's *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, pp. 54 ff., and a longer one in the article by S. Muratori, *N. Bull. arch. crist.*, 1911, pp. 39 ff.

53. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. II. The Grimaldi drawing of the lost fresco of Old St. Peter's (891-896) which represented the Incredulity of Thomas is too uncertain to serve usefully as an iconographic parallel to our miniature (Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, I, fig. 122). The type used on the silver *staurotheca* from the Sancta Sanctorum (817-824), now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Lauer, *Mon. Piot*, XV, pl. IX), apparently separates the Incredulity from the *fores clausæ*. The Incredulity is of the type of S. Maria Antiqua, save that the disciples are grouped behind Thomas, instead of the Saviour.

54. Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*, fig. 118.

risers a gabled edifice that seems to signify the "closed doors." The scene here has not achieved even as much symmetry as was found in the mosaic of Ravenna or on the ampullæ of Monza and Bobbio, and another of the British Museum.

There is little to be gained, so far as determining the date of our miniature is concerned, from comparison of iconography, further than the obvious position of the type between the early representations and the developed and crystallized scene of St. Mark's. The figure style, however, betrays some marked peculiarities that indicate an early date. In the first place, the miniature is the work of a story-teller working still in the vein pursued by the painters of the Vienna Genesis and the Gospel Book of Rossano, and innocent as yet of the dogmatic interest which in Mid-Byzantine compositions will emphasize the figure of the Saviour, reduce the accessory figures to the rôle of a symbolic chorus, and eliminate all but a mere approximation of reality. But further than this we have in some of the facial types clear evidence of an early phase of the developing Byzantine style. The Christ Himself has not yet attained even the distinction of dignity and scale which is accorded Him in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 67), of the end of the ninth century. The head of the youthful disciple who looks toward the Saviour from the extreme right of the picture is too reminiscent of the types in the Rossanensis, or the Sinopensis (cf., e. g., the head of the last figure to the right in the Christ before Pilate of the Rossanensis, Fig. 68, or the head of the prophet David in Herod's Feast of the Sinopensis, Fig. 69), to permit one to classify the style of our miniatures in a period too remote from the sixth century. A more definite parallel for dating is afforded by the striking resemblance of the Peter of the miniature to the same apostle saved from the waves by Christ in a fresco of S. Saba at Rome, of Greek style, and dating in the beginning of the eighth century (Fig. 70).

4. *The Mission of the Apostles* (Fig. 71). The leaf is badly mutilated, with half the border gone and most of the inscription *ἡ προ(σκύνησις)*, a title which came to the scene from a passage in the lesson from Matthew (xxviii, 17: *καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ*) which is read on Thomas Sunday and is illustrated by the miniature. The end of the text appears above the miniature in our reproduction: (*καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμήν*).

The scene appears in connection with the same text, in Latin, in the mosaic which once was part of the decoration of the triclinium of Leo III in the old Lateran (c. 800; Fig. 72), and now is preserved in a niche opposite the palace.⁵⁵ Here the apostles are eleven, in strict adherence to the Matthew text; Peter carries a cross, and the Saviour stands on a mount from which flow the Four Rivers that symbolize the Gospels. These two features—the cross and the mount—relate the type of the mosaic immediately to that scene which is characteristic of the "city-gate" sarcophagi (see p. 23) such as one in the Louvre (Fig. 73). Here again Christ stands on the mount, which also is the source of the Four Rivers, but the apostles are twelve and headed in each group of six by Peter and Paul, whose heads have been badly restored, together with all of those in the forward row of figures. The little figures of the deceased for whose burial the sarcophagus was intended, kneel at the feet of the Saviour. It was very largely from the style and ornament of this and similar sarcophagi, with their unusual preservation of the peculiar atelier tricks of the Asiatic sarcophagi of

55. Garrucci, *Storia*, IV, pl. 183.

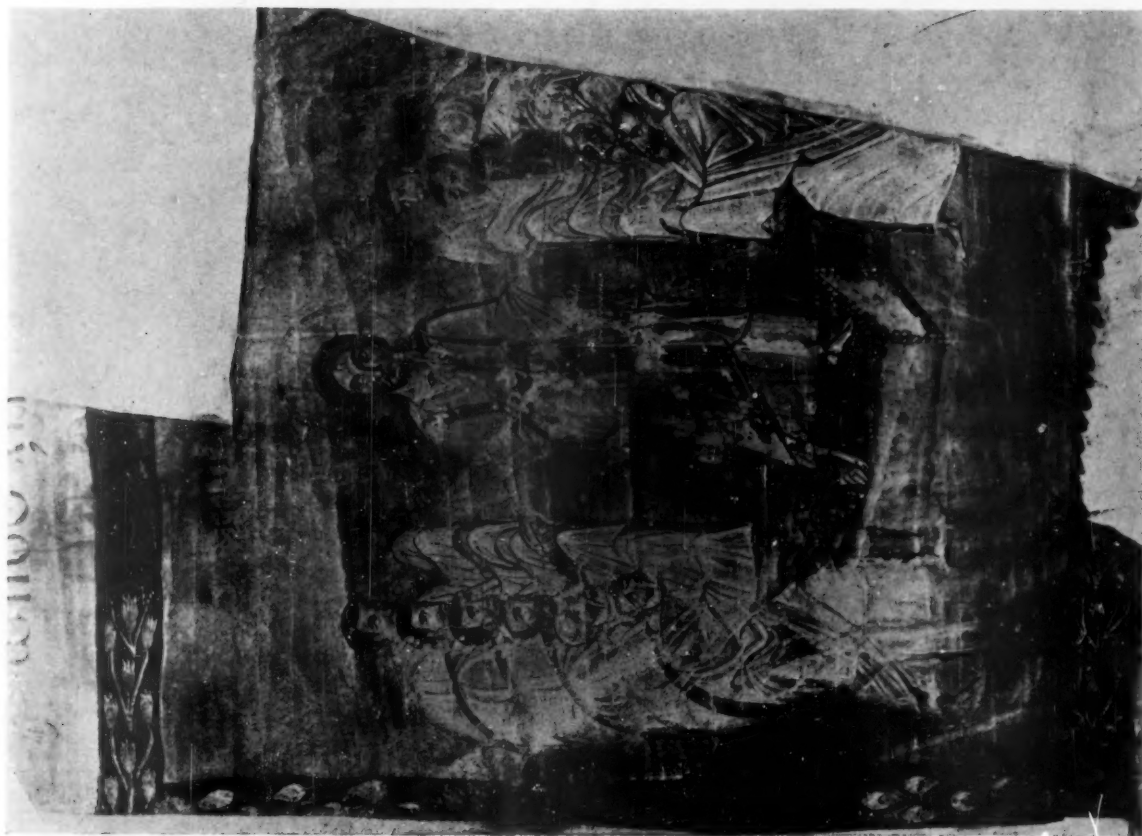


FIG. 71—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary
Mission of the Apostles

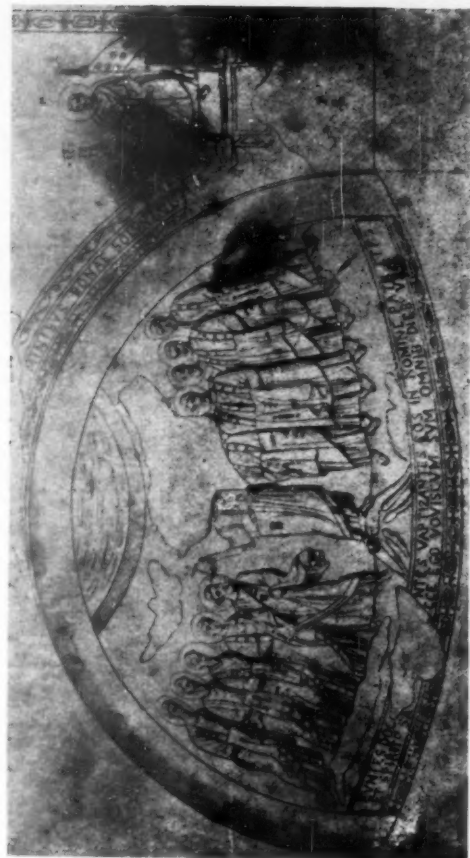


FIG. 72—Rome, Triclinium of Leo III (formerly): Mosaic
Mission of the Apostles (after Garrucci)



FIG. 73—Paris, Louvre: Sarcophagus Relief
Mission of the Apostles

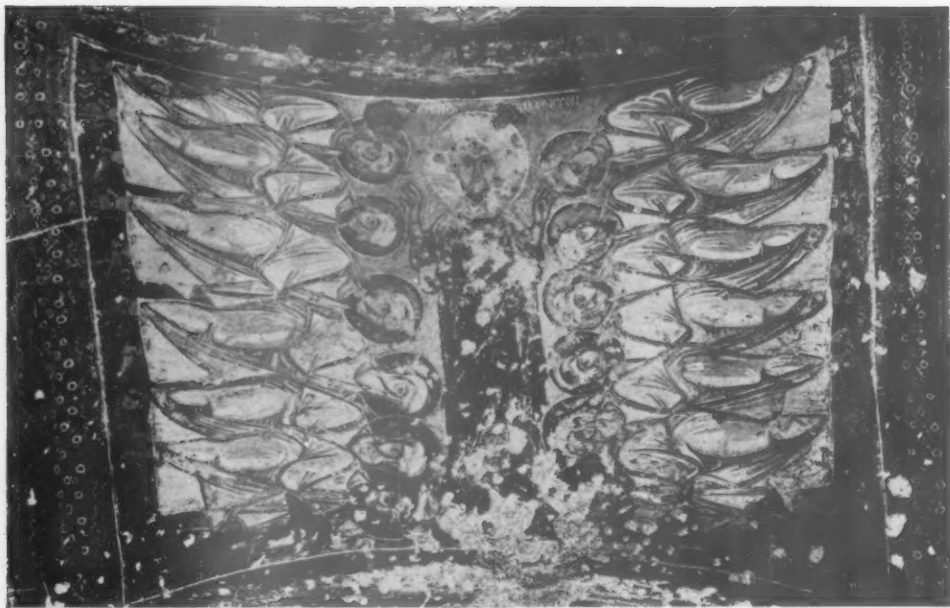


FIG. 74—Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. *Mission of the Apostles* (after Jerphanion)



FIG. 75—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary
Holy Women at the Sepulcher

the second and third centuries, that Miss Lawrence proved that the group was the product of Asiatic ateliers. It is interesting to find her view confirmed by the miniature in Leningrad, which shows that the type arose from the lesson for Thomas Sunday in the Asiatic church. Its primitive form appears in the sarcophagus type, and the original connection of this with the liturgical text is proved by the use of the text with the sarcophagus type in the mosaic of Leo III (at a time when Asiatic iconography was prevalent in Rome). The mount on which the Saviour stands was originally the "mountain" of Matthew xxviii, though quickly transformed in the symbolic art of the sarcophagi to the source of the Four Evangelical Rivers, and to the same symbolic prepossession may be ascribed the change from the "eleven" of Matthew to the full apostolic college that included Paul, who as Apostle of the Gentiles personified beyond all the rest the significance of the Mission.

The gesture of the Saviour is one of benediction, thus recalling the blessing of the apostles at Bethany of Luke xxiv, 50. Our scene, however, by virtue of the connection of it with Matthew xxviii, 16, the Mission of the Apostles, and its title of "The Obeisance" is borrowed from that text. In Cappadocia, on the other hand, at Qeledjlar, we find an almost identical composition inscribed "The Blessing of the Disciples," which led Jerphanion⁵⁶ to derive the type from the passage in Luke. The Cappadocian fresco (Fig. 74) resembles the miniature of Leningrad even to the pedestal which has replaced the mount under Christ's feet, and we may therefore see in its new title a later or local transformation in the conception of the scene's significance.

5. *The Miracle of Cana* (Fig. 76). In this miniature the border returns to its corner pieces and diversifies the teazle with crocketed bands representing the stem of an indeterminate plant or tree. The upper panel of the picture is labeled δ γάμος, "The Wedding," while the label below shows the same uncertainty in Greek orthography which characterizes the inscriptions of the frescoes in Cappadocia: δ χ(ριστὸς) ποιῶν τὸ (sic) ὑδὼρ οἶνον, "Christ turning the water into wine."

The primitive quality that lurks in the preceding three miniatures reaches here its most marked expression—in the pronounced narrative interest, in the diminutive and undistinguished Christ, in the small scale adopted generally in the figures, and in the strong resemblance of the heads to those of the Cappadocian⁵⁷ manuscripts of the Rossanensis group. The last-named parallel is best illustrated by some of the heads in the miniatures of the Sinope Matthew, but it may suffice to compare the flat cranium, side-long glance, and triangular effect of the head of the merchant holding a jar in the Cleansing of the Temple of the Rossanensis (Fig. 78), with the similar characteristics of the head of the servant who pours the water into one of the jars in our miniature.

The miniature follows the story with faithfulness. To the left of the upper panel the Virgin tells her Son of the lack of wine; He is seated in the place of honor at the end of the sigma couch on which recline or sit the wedding guests, while the groom and his bride, with a white-haired man, are seated at the upper end. The right end of the couch is occupied by the master of the feast, to whom a servant offers a cup of wine. The same

56. Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, p. 226, pl. 52, 2.

57. The term is used advisedly. The evidence for placing in Cappadocia the school which produced the

Vienna Genesis, and the codices of Rossano and Sinope, was summarized in the present writer's *Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 37, note 2.

servant appears in the scene below, pouring water into one of the five jars (the text calls for six); in the middle of the group the master of the feast raises his hand in astonishment, and another figure beside him, in similar dress, gestures toward the servant. To the left is the Miracle-worker, dipping a wand into one of the jars before the gaze of His Mother.

According to the story in the second chapter of John, the master of the feast did not witness the miracle, but the same repetition of this figure as a spectator of the working of the wonder is found in the frescoes of the old church at Toqale in Cappadocia (Figs. 79 and 80), where the episode is depicted, as here, in two scenes. In the tunnel vault on the right side (Fig. 79) is seen the wedding feast (upper, right), with a rectangular table, to the left of which sits the Saviour, and behind the table are the bride and groom, accompanied as in our miniature by an aged personage, who, however, wears a halo on his head, and is labeled enigmatically "the deacon." The servant arrives with a cup of wine at the right. On the left side of the vault the story continues (Fig. 80) with the miracle proper; the Virgin is absent, but Christ again sticks his wand into one of the jars (six in this case), and the servant fills another with water. Between the two the master of the feast holds a cup in his hand.

The early types of the Miracle of Cana were classified by Baldwin Smith,⁵⁸ who showed that the primitive scene wherein Christ touched the jars with a wand was transformed in Alexandria by the addition of a servant pouring water into one of the jars, while in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula, and in a fresco at Antinoë in Egypt the servants are increased to two and the Virgin is introduced into the scene. The addition of the wedding feast was considered by him to be the peculiarly Byzantine feature of the type, and to indicate a later phase. It occurs, however, in the reliefs of the colonnettes of the ciborium of S. Marco and Choricus describes the wedding guests and the Virgin in his account of the scene as it appeared in the mosaics of the church of St. Sergius at Gaza in the sixth century. The archaic feature common to the tenth century fresco of Toqale and to our miniature seems to be the separation of the feast from the miracle and the consequent repetition of the figure of the Saviour. In Mid-Byzantine art the two scenes are commonly combined and the Christ appears but once, nor is the quaint archaism of the wonder-working wand retained. Nevertheless, we still find in a manuscript of a date no earlier than the twelfth century (Iwiron 5, Mt. Athos),⁵⁹ the archaism of whose types we shall have occasion to notice again, the repetition of the figure of Christ, seated at table with the nuptial pair and an aged man, as in our miniature and at Toqale, and standing with hand outstretched (minus the wand) before the six jars, with a servant pouring water, another bringing the aged man a cup, and a third figure, drinking from a cup, that seems to echo the master of the feast in the miracle scene of Toqale.

For the mosaic of Gaza we have only Choricus' description, and on the ciborium of St. Mark's we have a very loose rendering of the scene. It is likely, therefore, as the Athos manuscript represents the latest appearance of this distinctively Asiatic version of the Cana miracle, so our miniature is the earliest existing example of it in its characteristic layout and details. The miniature must represent an earlier phase in the history of the

58. *Early Christian Iconography*, 1918, pp. 85 ff.

59. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, p. 219, note.

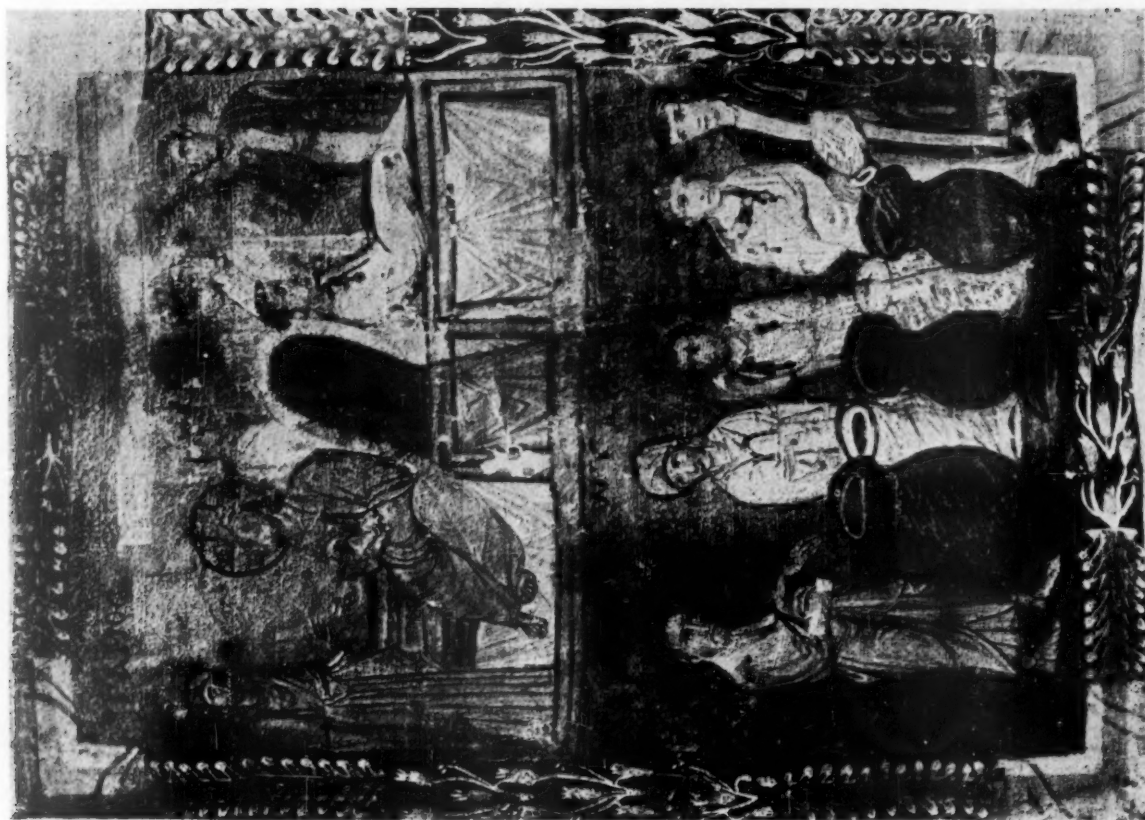


FIG. 76—Leningrad, State Library Miniature of Gospel
Lectionary. Miracle of Cana

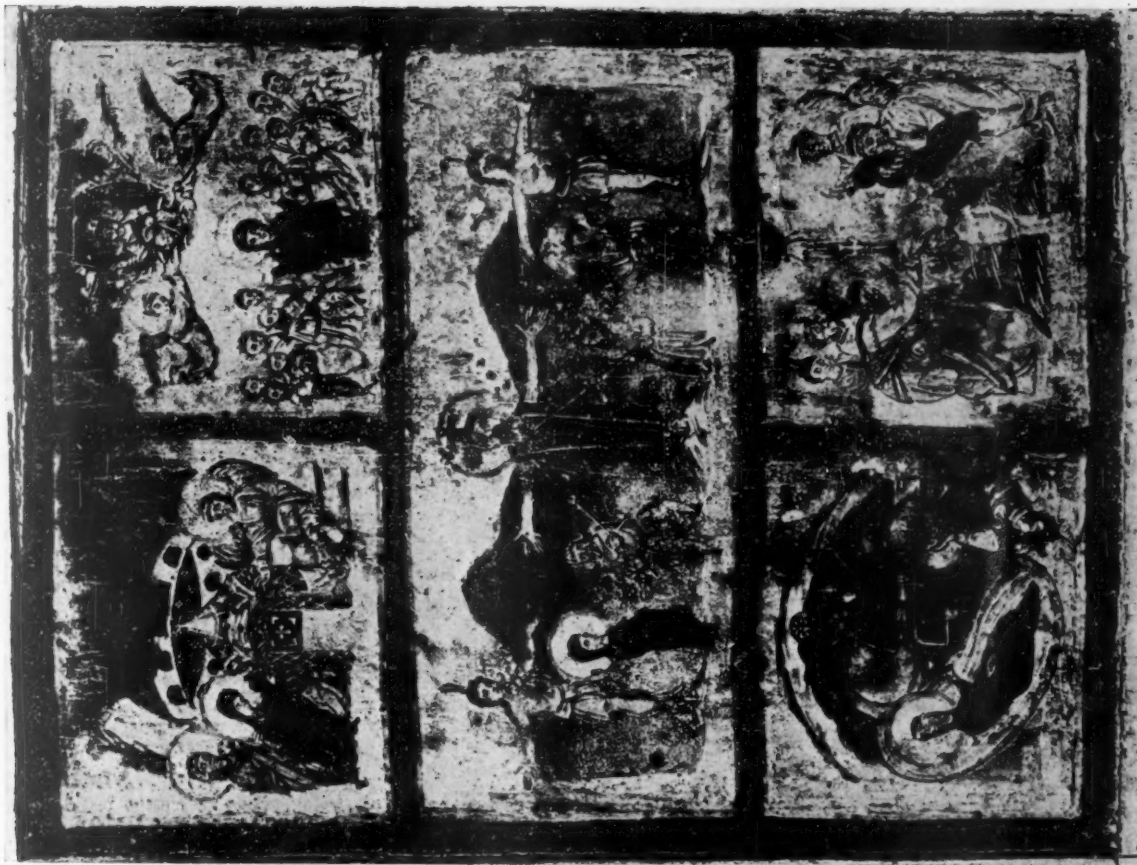


FIG. 77—Rome, Museo Cristiano: Painted Panel from the
Sancla Sanclorum



FIG. 78—Rossano, Cathedral: Miniature of Gospel Book. Cleansing of the Temple



FIG. 79—Toqale, Old Church: Frescoes. Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Jerphanion)



FIG. 80—Toqale, Old Church: Frescoes. Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Jerphanion)

type than the fresco of Toqale, for in the latter the compositions are condensed and the Hellenistic couch has yielded its semicircular form to the simpler square arrangement.

6. *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher* (Fig. 75). The teazle border here has the corner pieces which were also used in the miniature of the Miracle of Cana, and are familiar to us from their employment in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27). The scene is taken from Matthew xxviii, and the two women are the Magdalen and "the other Mary," to whom the angel, seated on the stone that blocked the entrance to the sepulcher, points out its emptiness. Below are the badly damaged figures of two soldiers, whose gestures betray the fright described by Matthew.

The miniature was reproduced by Millet⁶⁰ as part of the illustration for the extraordinarily learned commentary which he devotes to the iconography of this scene. The particularly East Christian conception of the scene in its early phase is best illustrated by the little picture of it that occurs on the painted cover of a wooden reliquary from the Sancta Sanctorum, now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Fig. 77), where the actual Holy Sepulcher as it existed in the sixth century is reproduced, with above it the dome of the Anastasis church which Constantine built to enshrine it.⁶¹ A Western translation of this type is seen in one of the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (Fig. 82), at least half a century earlier than the panel and showing its earlier date by the position of the angel on the left. Through the door of the tomb in the mosaic scene may be seen the displaced door of the sepulcher, and in Millet's opinion it is this same door which the artist of the Leningrad miniature meant to represent by the irregular quadrangle seen in perspective which leans against the stone "rolled back." The tomb itself is an affair of masonry construction, with a solid base in which the door appears, and a superstructure whose apparently conical roof indicates a rotunda; whether this rotunda was pierced with windows or was meant as a two-storied circular colonnade supporting the conical roof is difficult to decide from the defaced remains of this portion of our miniature. In any case, the conception of the sepulcher here is still the early one of the free-standing structure as at S. Apollinare Nuovo, in the Vatican panel from the Sancta Sanctorum, and even earlier works such as the ivory panel in the Trivulzio collection at Milan.⁶² The sepulcher in frescoes of Toqale and Qeledjar also is a structural affair, in accordance with the characteristic archaism of Cappadocian art, but of a gabled type that is briefer and more conventional than the tomb of our miniature. In Mid-Byzantine art the sepulcher is freed from the influence of Constantine's *memoria* and becomes more literally the tomb "hewn out in the rock;" this feature is already present in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), of the end of the ninth century (Fig. 84). It is thus conceived in another miniature of the Leningrad manuscript itself (Fig. 100), wherein the "rock" is a mountainside rising on the right of the miniature, into which the portal of the tomb opens as a rectangular doorway closed by the great stone.

Our series of miniatures illustrate in this feature once again their intermediate position between the primitive and developed East Christian types. To the latter already belongs the placing of both women and angel to the left of the sepulcher, and the gesture of the

60. *Recherches*, fig. 570; pp. 517 ff.

61. Cf. Morey, *The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum*, *Festschrift Clemen*, pp. 150-167.

62. Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 449, 2; E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, in *Art Studies*, 1924, pp. 90 ff.

angel, characteristic of the Mid-Byzantine scene, as his right arm crosses his body to point to the empty tomb. Another feature of the later angel already present here is the extended right wing in *contrapposto* to the vertical left. But the literal *gaucherie* of his perch upon the huge stone, and the narrative and dramatic interest that is seen in the Mary that shrinks in fright against her companion, belong still to a time when the Gospel themes had not yet lost their human interest in the dogmatic revision of East Christian art.

7. *Christ appearing to the Holy Women* (Fig. 83). The border here presents us with a *motif* not found in the frames of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter—a combination of differently colored facets that combine to give a kaleidoscopic or “rainbow” effect. It is characteristic of the earlier Asiatic repertory of ornament in illuminated manuscripts, appearing in the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37), in the border of the frontispiece to the canon tables in the Rossanensis,⁶³ in Vienna 847 (Greek Gospel of the sixth century),⁶⁴ in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula of 586.⁶⁵ It also appears as the filling of the corner pieces in borders of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 89), at the end of the ninth century. But the *motif* is also found, though somewhat rarely, in later Byzantine manuscripts.⁶⁶

The scene is drawn from Matthew xxviii, 9, a portion of which text appears above the miniature in our reproduction: “And as they went to tell the disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.” The Saviour’s “All hail” is recorded in the inscription—+XAIPETE. He stands with right hand blessing, and a roll in His left, between two trees on flowering (?) mounds (standing for the garden of the sepulcher, of John xix, 41), below which are the prostrate figures of the Magdalen and the Virgin. The latter embraces and kisses His foot.

Millet’s discussion of the scene⁶⁷ differentiates an earlier narrative type such as that found in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 81), wherein Christ approaches the women from the left, from the “monumental type” seen in our miniature, in which they are arranged symmetrically on either side of a statuesque Saviour. The “other Mary” was considered to be the Virgin, as we may see from the fact that in the panel from the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 77), she wears the same costume assumed by the Virgin in the Ascension. In the Rabula miniature also the more prostrate of the two women is indicated as the mother of Jesus by the nimbus which she wears, and according to Millet the evolution of the type carries with it the gradual differentiation of the Magdalen, in that she rises from a prostrate to the kneeling position in which we find her in the mosaic of St. Mark’s (Fig. 66). An identical composition, save for the inscription and the omission of the hillocks from which the trees rise, is to be found in the illustrated Gospel, no. 5, of the library of the Iwiron monastery on Mt. Athos,⁶⁸ and in one of the miniatures of the Freer Gospel.⁶⁹ Millet explains the resemblance of our scene to the Iwiron miniature by assuming a common model “*vers le VIIIe siècle*” for both, but we should have to include the Freer miniature among the copies from this model. The Freer miniature is of the latter half of the twelfth century;

63. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano ed il frammento sinopense*, pl. IX.

64. Wickhoff, *Jahrbuch der k. k. Kunstsammlungen*, 1893, pp. 196 ff.

65. Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pls. 128, 2; 133, 2; 136, 1.

66. E. g., the Apollonius of Citium of the Laurentiana

at Florence and Hamilton 246 in Berlin (Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, pls. XXXVIII, 1, and XLIV).

67. *Recherches*, pp. 540 ff.

68. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, fig. 28.

69. *Ibid.*, pl. IX.



FIG. 81—Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana: Detail of Miniature
of the Gospel of Rabula. Resurrection Scenes

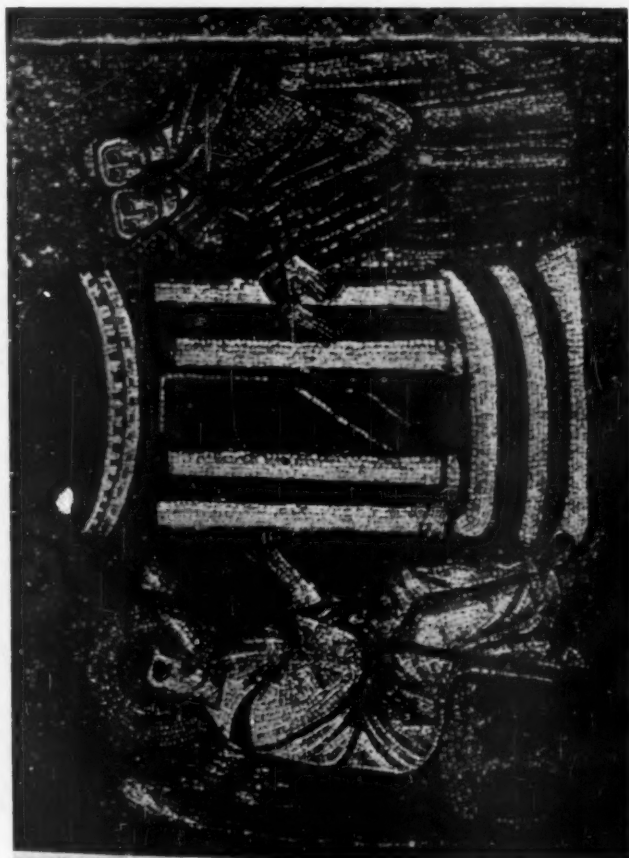


FIG. 82—Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo: Mosaic
Holy Women at the Sepulcher



FIG. 83—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary
Christ Appearing to the Holy Women

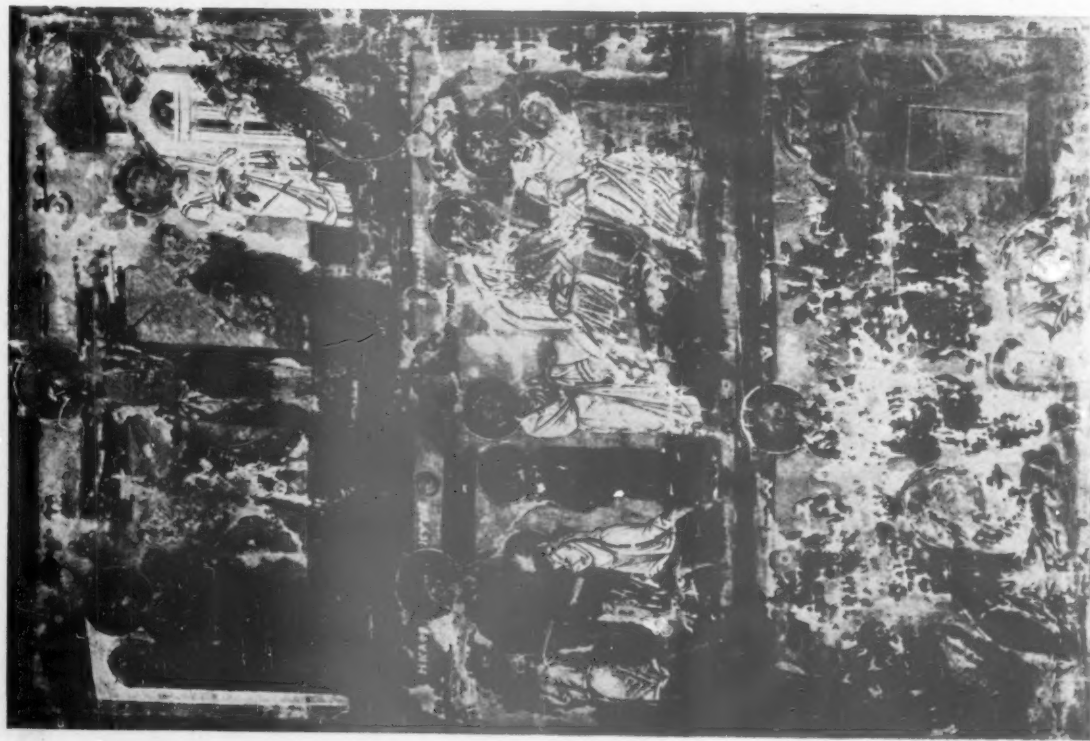


FIG. 84—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Scenes of the Passion and Resurrection* (after Omont)

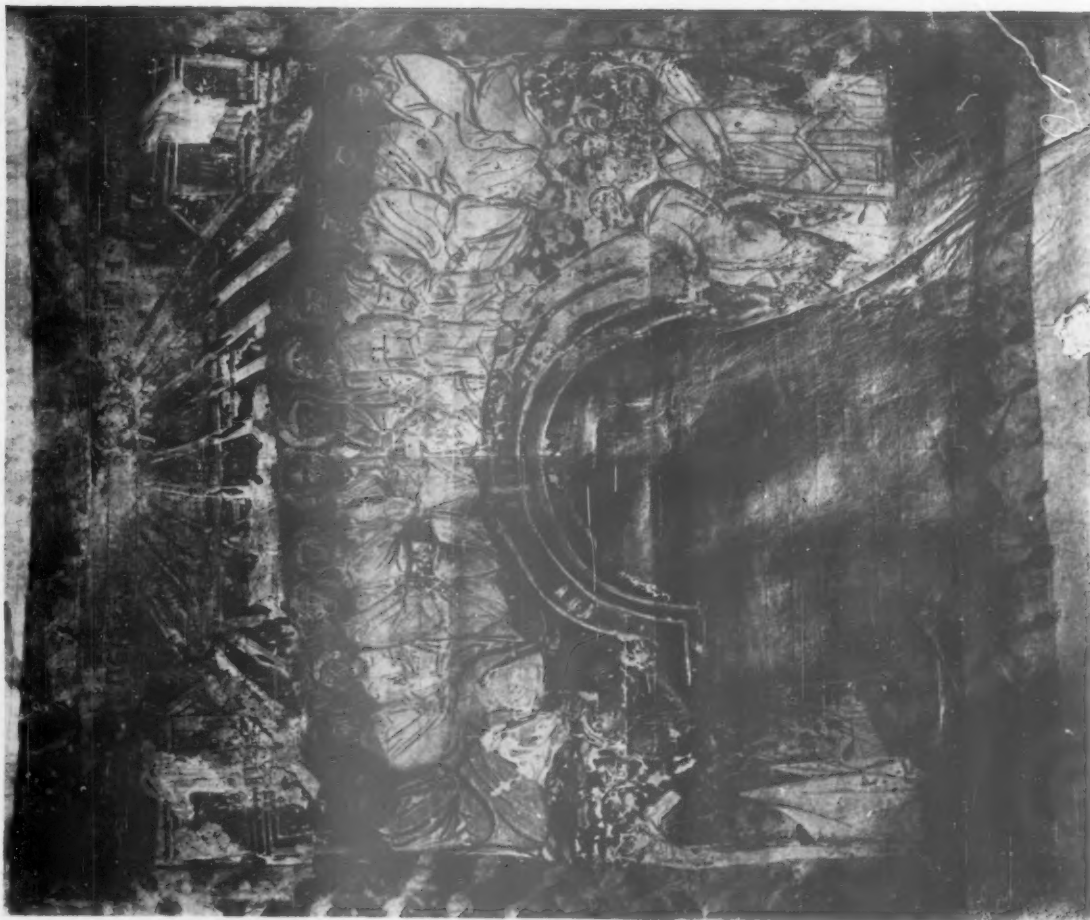


FIG. 85—Leningrad, State Library: *Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Pentecost*

Brockhaus⁷⁰ dated Iwiron 5 in the same period, although it is possibly even later. Whatever the relation of the three manuscripts to a common archetype, the much earlier date of the Leningrad example is shown by the more circumstantial rendering of the hillocks and trees, the squat proportions of the Christ, and the early character of the inscription, which, in contrast to the hieratic IC XC of Iwiron 5 and the mosaic of St. Mark's, is borrowed directly from the text after the manner of the labels in the Rossanensis. It provides us undoubtedly with the earliest existing example of this Byzantine type. The XAIPE of the Leningrad miniature is repeated in the less accurate XAIPE of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 84); if Millet's criterion be valid, the scene of the Homilies represents a later phase in the development of the type, because of the half upright posture of the Magdalen. Certainly the more statuesque and elongated Christ of this miniature shows a later stage of style, as compared with ours.

8. *Pentecost* (Fig. 85). Within a border of parti-colored quatrefoils is depicted the Miracle of Tongues. The twelve apostles, with Paul and Peter in the center, are seated in a semicircle; upon their heads descend the twelve rays of the Spirit. The inscription, partly erased, merely labels the scene: Η ΠΕΝΤΗ(ΚΟΣ)ΤΗ. The rays radiate from an indeterminate source at the top of the miniature, and cross an architectural perspective consisting of a recessed wall, over each of whose projecting ends is draped a scarf. The dais on which the apostles sit curves around a semicircular central area into which steps descend; below to left and right are the peoples of "every nation under heaven," gathered in Jerusalem (Acts ii).

There is, so far as I know, only one extant example of the scene of Pentecost in Christian art of the early period, i. e., to 700 A. D. This is the miniature of the Gospel of Rabula in the Laurentiana at Florence of the year 586 (Fig. 86), in which the Virgin is present as the central figure and in accordance with Acts i, 14. The scene is fairly literal; the "cloven tongues as of fire" are on the heads of the apostles, and the Holy Ghost that is the source of the miracle is rendered by its primitive symbol of the dove. Our miniature shows the early type completely transformed: the "tribes and tongues" are present, the apostles are seated in a semicircle; the Virgin is gone; and rays instead of tongues of fire descend upon the heads of the twelve. On the other hand, it shows a remarkable resemblance to the Pentecost in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 88) in arrangement of the groups and general scheme, but especially in the architectural perspective that forms the background to the assemblage of the apostles. The one feature that essentially separates the two Pentecosts is the cushioned *throne* on which lies the Book, surmounted by the dove, and which serves as the source of the rays streaming down on the heads of the apostles in the Paris miniature.

This is the first instance of a *motif* in the Pentecost composition which thereafter attained considerable vogue in Byzantine art. It is found, for instance, in the mosaic Pentecost at St. Luke's in Phocis of the first half of the eleventh century;⁷¹ it formed part of the original composition (Pentecost) of the mosaic on the triumphal arch of the church at Grottaferrata, assigned by Baumstark⁷² to the twelfth century; it appears in the Pentecost which is the

70. *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, p. 217.

71. Schultz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris*, p. 59, fig. 40.

72. *Oriens Christianus*, IV, 1904, pp. 126 ff. Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, II, p. 916, assigns the mosaics to the thirteenth century.

subject of one of the mosaic domes of the nave of St. Mark's; and it is found in a Gospel of 1221 in the Syrian monastery at Jerusalem.⁷³

Wilpert⁷⁴ is inclined to assign the introduction of the throne into the Pentecost as evidence of the influence of Rome on East Christian art. The throne as the symbol of the Christ-Judge, especially with reference to the Second Coming, is in fact a well-known symbol in Italian mosaics of the early period.⁷⁵ Its significance is contained in the name commonly given the symbol, the Etimasia, or "Preparation," which rests on the throne prepared in heaven, of Rev. iv, 2, and passages in the Psalms such as ix, 7, "he hath prepared his throne for judgment," and lxxxix, 14, "Justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne," wherein the English version has mishandled the *ἐτοιμασία* ("preparation") of the Greek. It required no great stretch of symbolic propriety to introduce the throne, thus conceived as the Christ, into the composition of the Pentecost, but it must be admitted that the symbolic complex thus resulting is not an obvious one. It may therefore be suggested that the composition was derived from an artistic model rather than made up as a somewhat arbitrary symbolic synthesis, and this is borne out by the similarity of its arrangement to that of the representation of the second oecumenical council at Constantinople in 381 (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 89).⁷⁶ Hence no symbolism is necessary to explain the throne, since an unoccupied throne with the Book upon it was a regular feature of such councils, indicating that the presidency thereof resided in Christ Himself. The more casual arrangement of the groups, and the architectural perspective, indicate that the composition originated as a more or less literal representation of a great council of the Church, and was adapted in the new type of the Pentecost.

The omission of the throne and dove in our miniature is doubtless due to the artist's disinclination to interrupt his border, and with the throne restored, the resemblance to the miniature of Gregory's Homilies becomes so close that it is impossible to deny a common archetype. The similar composition at Qeledjlar (Fig. 87) might suggest the mosaic of an apse or dome as the model. However this may be, the original must have dated later than the sixth century, if we may trust the Rabula miniature (Fig. 86) as reflecting the usage of its time, and before the Homilies of Gregory, which were illustrated in the end of the ninth century. The style of our miniature, compared with that of the last-named work, seems more primitive, and one feels a certain affinity between the figures of the groups of "tribes and tongues"—especially the bearded man who heads the group to the right—and certain silhouettes of the Ascension miniature in the Gospel of Rabula itself.

73. *Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins*, XXXIV, 1911; pp. 144 ff.; pl. IV.

74. *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 914 ff.

75. Triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 70-72); S. Matrona at S. Prisco (*ibid.*, pl. 77).

76. The council is described by Omont, *Facsimilés des miniatures des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. L, p. 28, as that of 362 "against Macedonius." The figure crouching in the left-hand corner is indeed thus labeled, but the inscription above the throne refers to the council as the "second," which would naturally mean the second oecumenical council of 381. This is borne out by

the fact that the events referred to in the sermon illustrated by the miniature are those which led to the condemnation of Gregory's opponent, Maximus, in the conflict over the episcopal tenure of Constantinople. At the council at which this occurred the emperor Theodosius presided, as he is represented doing in the miniature, and Apollinaris was also condemned. According to Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, Paris, 1711, II, p. 936, the figure of Apollinaris appeared in the lower right-hand corner of the miniature, which is now missing. The discrepancy seems resolvable only on the assumption that the author of the labels of the miniature mistakenly inscribed the crouching figure "Macedonius" instead of "Maximus."



FIG. 86—*Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana: Miniature of the Gospel of Rabula. Pentecost*



FIG. 87—*Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. Pentecost (after Jerphanion)*

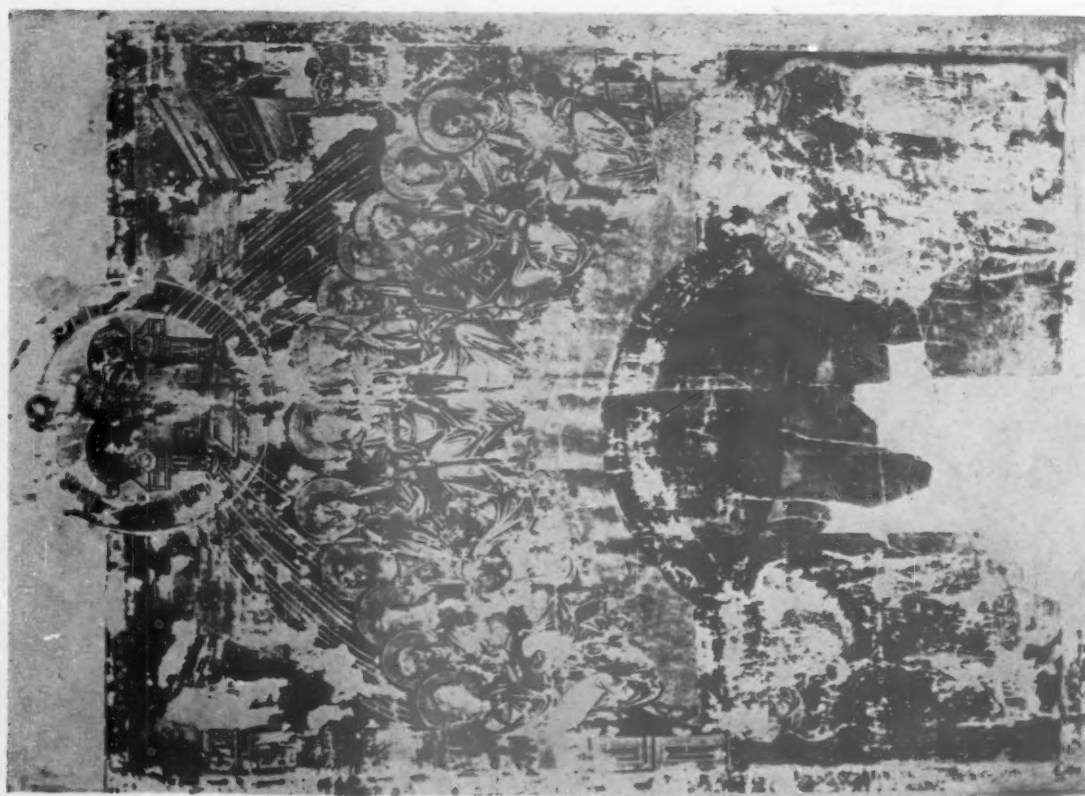


FIG. 88

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Pentecost; Council of Constantinople in 381 (after Omont)

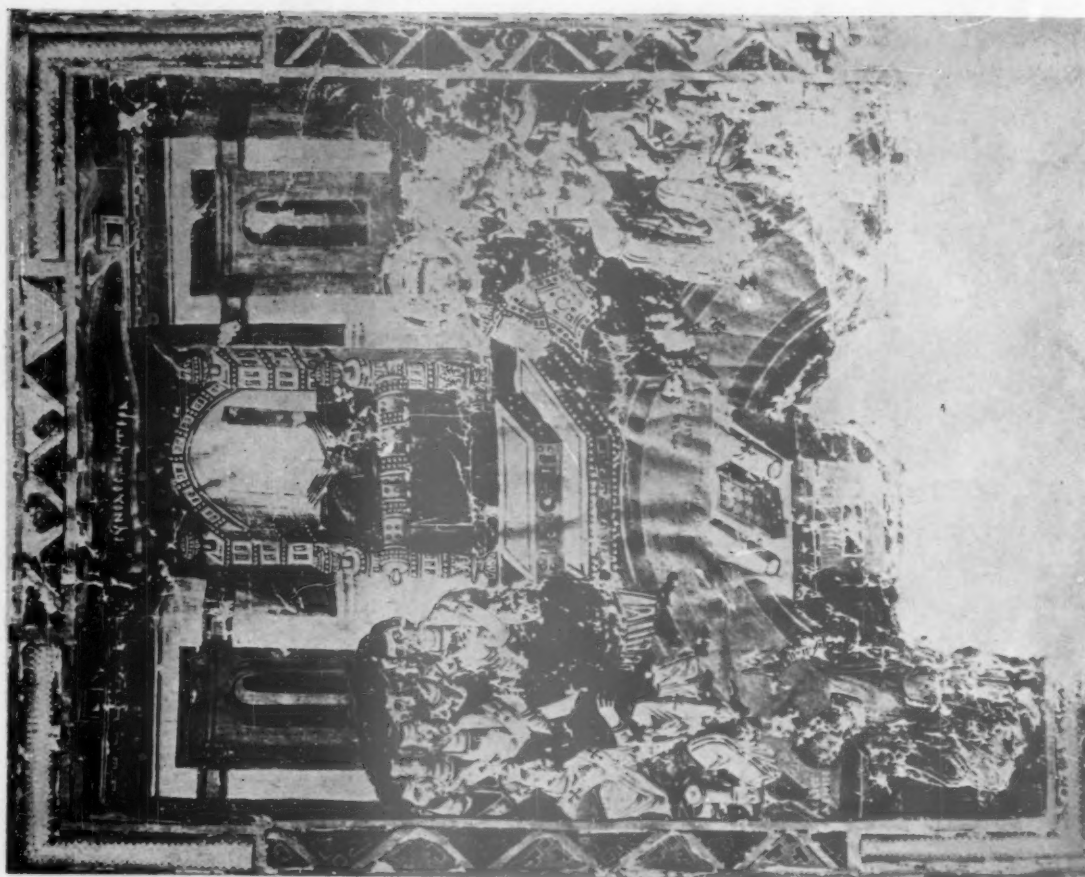


FIG. 89

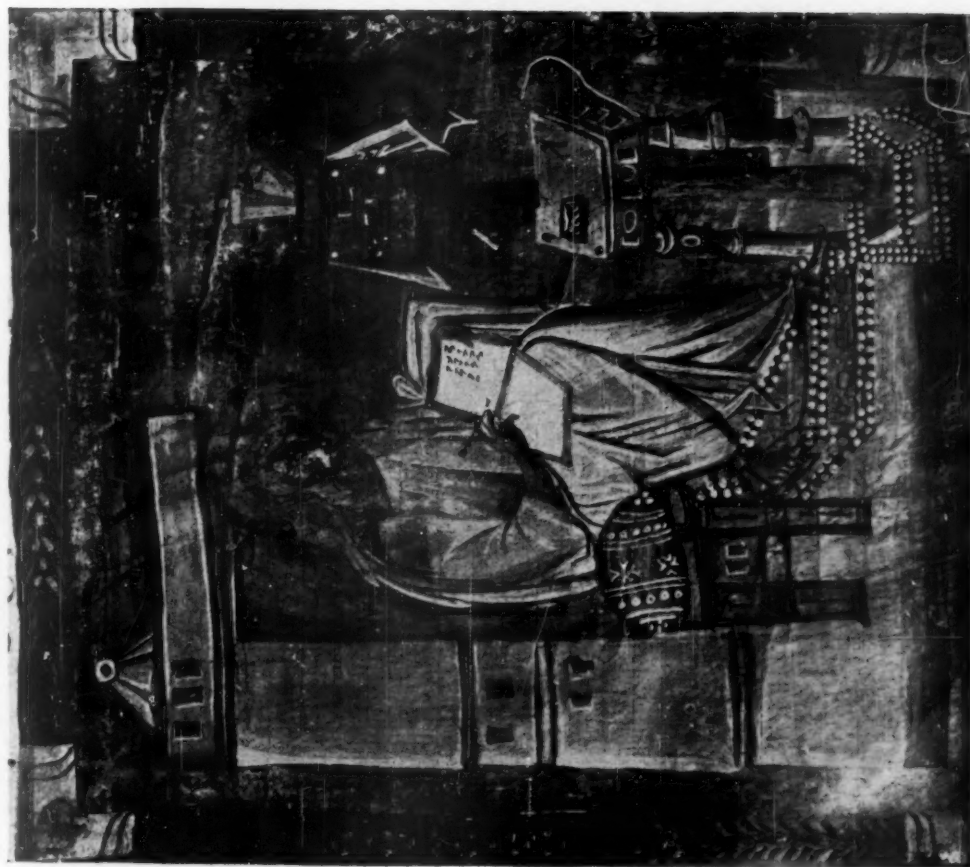


FIG. 90

Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary. Portrait of Matthew; Portrait of Mark

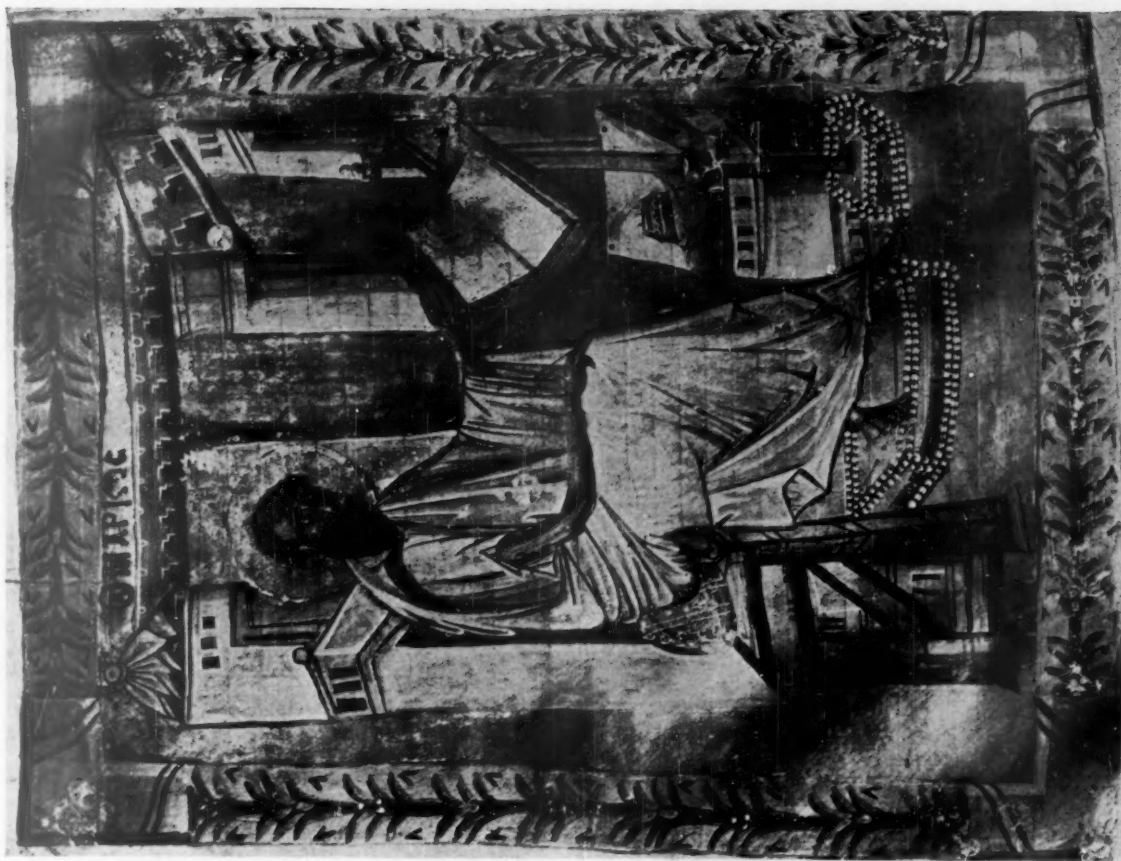


FIG. 91

Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary. Portrait of Matthew; Portrait of Mark

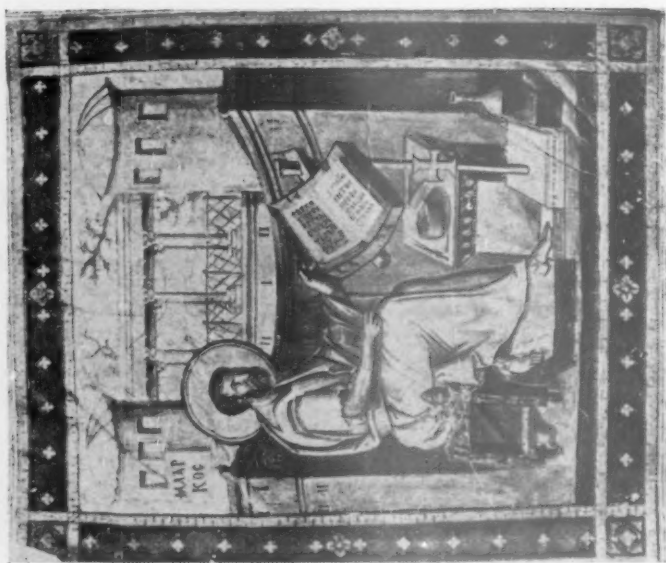


FIG. 92—Mt. Athos, Monastic Library: Miniature of St. Mark (after Friend)



FIG. 93—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of Greek Gospel Sermon on the Second Coming (after Omond)

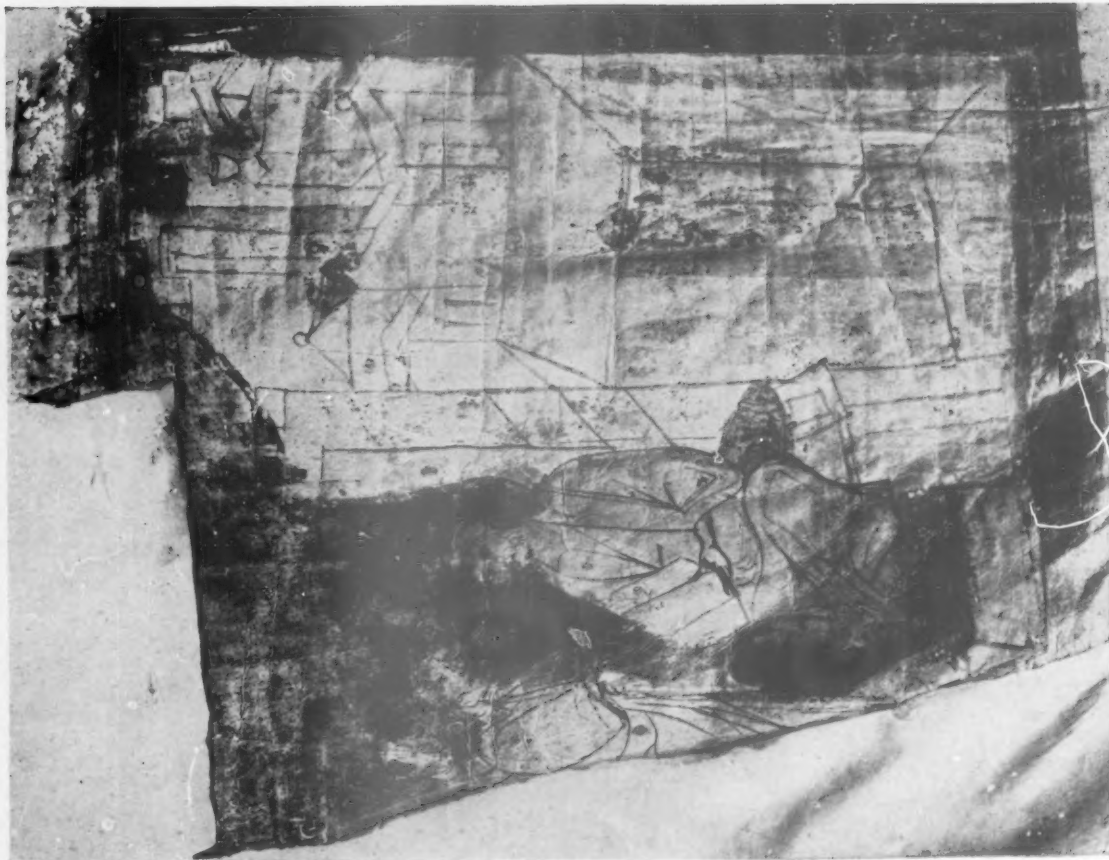


FIG. 94—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Christ and Disciples

9. *Portrait of Matthew* (Fig. 90). The border—corner pieces, garland filling, ribbons, and all—is very close indeed to that which surrounds the miniature of the Anointing of David in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27). The misunderstood and incomplete architecture of the background (based on an archetype like that of Stavroniketa 43), and the manner in which the table and lectern violate all laws of the existence of matter in space, show that the miniaturist has made a bad copy. The text above the miniature is the termination of the last lesson for Pentecost, Matthew xviii, 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." This confirms our restoration of the order of the miniatures (see p. 32). The inscription reads: ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος; the script on the open book which the evangelist holds is merely impressionistic, and meaningless.

10. *Portrait of Mark* (Fig. 91). A similar border incloses a rendering of Mark, that is evidently derived from the same original that served as model for the Mark of Stavroniketa 43 (Fig. 92). The inscription differs: ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος, and the perspective background has been quite too much for our miniaturist, who has found himself unable to complete the exedra whose beginning he shows behind the evangelist. He has made a contribution of his own in the crenellations with which he has adorned his buildings in the background. Such crenellations are among the favorite *motifs* of the Syriac Gospel of Rabula and common on the walls that serve as backgrounds for many of the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II; they belong to the common stock of Asiatic ornament.

11. *Christ and Disciples* (Fig. 94). Before a walled city which must represent Jerusalem, on a cushioned bench with a broad foot-stool, sits the Saviour, holding in His hands a book or an open roll, and addressing two figures who stand before Him in attitudes of close attention. The mutilation of the miniature leaves open the possibility that there may have been other figures in the group of listeners; their simple garb, and the resemblance of the beardless head to that of the disciple next to Christ in the Last Supper (Fig. 95) indicate that they are disciples.

The scene is, so far as I know, unique in Early Christian art, or in the earlier phases of the Byzantine cycle. We are to seek for its theme without question among the readings of the liturgy, since we are dealing with a lectionary and not a complete text. In view of the predilection for Matthew which our series of miniatures has already shown, it is to be expected that the subject is drawn from that Gospel. These two conditions are best satisfied by considering the miniature an illustration of one of the Matthew lessons for Monday of Holy Week. The Matins for this day in the present liturgy contain a lesson from Matthew xxi, 18-43, and the evening liturgy one from Matthew xxiv, 3-15. The first contains the episode of the barren fig tree, the colloquy of Jesus with the chief priests and elders, and the parable of the husbandmen; the second is Jesus' discourse on the Second Coming. It seems that the miniature illustrates the second of these, and that the location of the Mount of Olives is suggested by the proximity of the city. The moment illustrated would be: "As he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came to him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be?" The lection ends with "whoso readeth, let him understand," which seems to be illustrated by the apparent displaying of the open codex or roll in the hands of the Teacher. The scene in Paris gr. 74, of the eleventh century

(Fig. 93), which illustrates this passage of Matthew, retains the seated Christ, and indicates by a gabled portal the vicinity of the Mount of Olives to the City, which is more amply rendered in our miniature.

12. *The Last Supper* (Fig. 95). Within a border of the same "rainbow" motif met with in miniature 7, the Supper is depicted in surprisingly archaic fashion. The table in the center is of the "sigma" shape, and confused as to its forward draperies and its contour with the couch that surrounds it. On this couch the Saviour occupies the antique place of honor at the left, gestures with the right hand, and holds in the left a round piece of bread. Five more loaves or portions thereof lie upon the table to the left. Eleven disciples, beginning with Peter, who reclines in the post second in honor at the other end of the couch, are grouped about the table, the ones to the right extending their hands toward Christ as if to receive the newly consecrated element. On the table is a bowl, containing a fish which seems, in the painter's effort at clarity, to lie along its rim. The interior in which the Supper proceeds is indicated by four pillars bearing an entablature of the simplest sort, and since the Lord "sat down with the twelve," "when the even was come" (Matt. xxvi, 20), two candelabra bearing boat-shaped lamps at their summits flank the group. In front of the table, separated from his fellows, sits the guilty Judas, his left hand to his lips in the antique gesture of mental distress, his right extended with the fingers bent in the Hellenistic gesture of speech. The text visible below the miniature in our reproduction is, in the left column, the end of the first lesson (from Matthew) for the liturgy of Great Thursday (Holy Week): ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης etc., "Now when the even was come;" in the right column is part of the beginning of the second lesson (John xiii, 3-17): (εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πάντα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπάγει) etc., "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God," etc. This lesson is that which describes the Washing of Feet, represented by the miniature following.

Millet's thoroughgoing discussion of the iconography of the Supper⁷⁷ distinguishes the "Byzantine" type from the "Oriental" according to the gesture of Judas; if the latter dips his hand in the dish, the type is Byzantine; if his hand is merely raised in the gesture of speaking, the type is Oriental. Millet found our miniature not quite consistent with the "Oriental" type, in that Judas' left hand "*semble porter un morceau à sa bouche, tandis que la droite hésite à en saisir un autre.*" Our reproduction, however, shows that the "*morceau*" is merely the bent fingers of the hand, and since the right hand has its index finger extended with the others bent inward, in the traditional gesture of speaking, there is no reason for dissociating the miniature from the "Oriental" class.

The most conspicuous examples of Millet's "Oriental" type are, however, to be found in Cappadocia, in the archaic cycles of Qeledjlar and Toqale,⁷⁸ the former of which is reproduced in our Fig. 97 and the latter in Fig. 79. The frescoed scenes are remarkably similar to our miniature in the placing and gesture of Judas; in the fresco of Toqale the feature of a torch, like the lamp-stands of our miniature, is introduced, and the fresco of Qeledjlar accords with the Leningrad example in omitting the haloes of the disciples. The bowl with the fish is also found in them. The difference between our miniature and the

77. *Recherches*, pp. 286 ff.

78. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, p. 220, pl. 49, 2; p. 280, pl. 65.



FIG. 95



FIG. 96

*Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary
Last Supper; Washing of Feet*

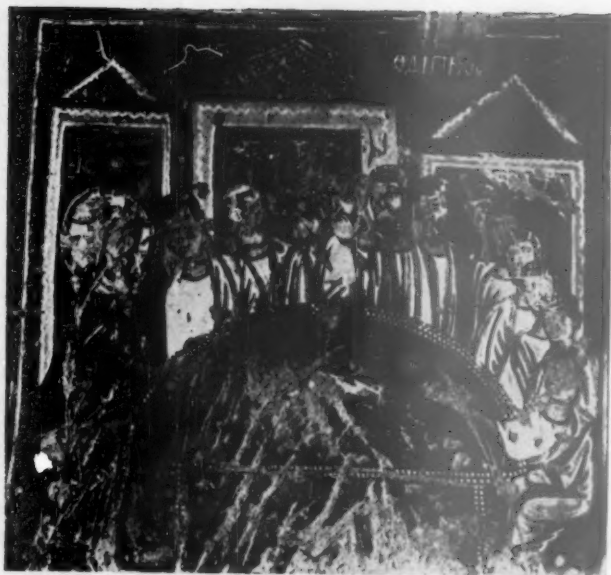


FIG. 97—Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. *Last Supper*
(after Jerphanion)



FIG. 98—Arles, Museum: Detail of
Sarcophagus Relief. Washing of Feet



FIG. 99—Rossano, Cathedral: Miniature of Gospel Book. *Last Supper; Washing of Feet* (after Muñoz)

Cappadocian frescoes lies in the nearly complete abandonment; on the part of the latter, of the antique reclining attitude, which is preserved implicitly and explicitly in the Leningrad picture in every figure except that of Judas.

This feature makes our miniature resemble the early renderings of the scene, such as that of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, where Judas reclines *in sinistro cornu*, at the end of the file of disciples, or, even more closely, the miniature of the Gospel Book of Rossano (Fig. 99), where the traitor is the middle figure in the semicircle, reaching out his hand to dip it in the dish.

Judas' gesture classifies the Codex Rossanensis in the Byzantine tradition, according to Millet's criterion, and yet if the Cappadocian frescoes reflect the "Oriental" conception of the scene, so must also the Rossanensis, whose Cappadocian connections are many. The truth seems to be that the Rossanensis represents a general Asiatic type of the sixth century, which later on became divided into a "Byzantine" or Constantinopolitan variant that retained the composition of the Rossanensis, and an Anatolian type which is represented by our miniature and the Cappadocian frescoes.

Since the latter obviously reflect a later phase in the evolution of this type, they indicate an early date for our miniature. The approximation of the seated attitude is also found in the fresco of S. Bastianello in Pallara at Rome,⁷⁹ which in other respects (lamp, bowl with fish, seating of Judas) is so close to the Leningrad scene. These frescoes, dated by Dobbert in the eighth century, are considered by Millet anterior to the end of the tenth century. An even closer analogy is found in the miniature that illustrates the Supper in the Chludov Psalter of the ninth century; a lamp like those in the Leningrad miniature illuminates the room; the placing of Judas is the same; we see the same bowl and fish upon the semicircular table. Yet even here the antique reclining posture is nearly abandoned, and another later feature is introduced by the insertion of John next to the Saviour, "lying on Jesus' breast."

We have thus again in this miniature an indication of the position of our manuscript midway between the Early Christian art of the East and the Middle Byzantine—between, that is, the sixth and the eleventh century. But in this case the iconographic type seems earlier even than that of the Chludov Psalter of the ninth century, and certainly represents a phase far earlier than that employed at Toqale in the tenth. The style amply bears out the early date: the archaic *motif* of the border, the naïve literalness of the rendering, and especially the preservation of the antique proportions of couch and table, with the oblong paneling of the drapery which is found in the Rossanensis, make it difficult to conceive the miniature as executed in the post-Iconoclastic period.

13. *The Washing of Feet* (Fig. 96). The border here returns to the corner pieces, to which are added similar center pieces on each side, interrupting the stylized garland that constitutes the filling *motif*. The same interior is indicated as for the preceding miniature and indeed this one is but a continuation of the illustration of the Gospel lesson for Great Thursday of Holy Week, of which a portion from John xiii, 11, may be read in the text of the right column in our reproduction: οὐχὶ πάντες καθαροί ἐστέ, "Ye are not all clean."

79. Destroyed, but preserved in copies in Vat. ms. lat. 9071. De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1884, p. 142, Dobbert,

Rep. f. Kunstwissenschaft, XIV, 1891, p. 201; Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 191, fig. 276.

The resemblance of our manuscript to the Codex Rossanensis (Fig. 99), noted above in the case of the Last Supper, is even more marked in this case. The large towel wrapped about the lower body of Christ, the energetic manner in which the Saviour prepares to perform the service, Peter's realistic protest, the similar *clavi* on the white garments, the very grouping of the disciples, are details common to both miniatures. In fact, the Leningrad composition serves to confirm Muñoz's opinion⁸⁰ that the group in the Rossanensis must have been copied from an original in which the composition was laterally extended; the process of compressing the picture into a narrower space has pushed the disciples too far to the left, and the gaze of some, originally directed toward Christ, has now no objective at all. One can imagine the original from which the Rossanensis group was condensed by comparing with it the miniature of Leningrad.

Millet⁸¹ classifies our miniature in the "Cappadocian" type of the Washing of Feet, differing from the Middle Byzantine, which added the *motif* of others of the disciples baring their feet, and preferred to represent Christ wiping, instead of washing, the feet of Peter. Our miniature also lacks a *motif* persistent in the later type—Peter's gesture of hand to head in illustration of his words, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." This already appears in the Chludov Psalter (ninth century) and is a feature of the scene at Qeledjar.⁸² The quality of the miniature emerges in the narrative realism of the actual operation; there is here nothing of that reserve with which the Saviour, towel over shoulder, stands but does not stoop before Peter on the columnar sarcophagi (Fig. 98). The latter, as we have noted before (p. 36), reflect, according to Miss Lawrence, the Asiatic subject cycle of the fourth century; if we compare the sculptured scene with its transformation in the Gospel Books of Rossano and Leningrad, we may gauge the extent to which the Oriental love of a story expanded the symbolic brevity of the Hellenistic molds in which themes were initially cast in the Christian East.

The striking resemblance to the composition in the Rossanensis is in itself sufficient to guarantee the relatively early date of our miniature, but it exhibits another feature which would make a late date difficult to sustain. This is the use of letters for the ornament of the mantles of the disciples. Strzygowski⁸³ once said that these do not appear later than 800, a dictum which is not strictly true, for there are isolated instances of the usage even as late as the twelfth century.⁸⁴ But the practice is generally abandoned after the early ninth century, for the good reason that it was merely the perpetuation (through copying of early works) of a mode of decorating actual garments which died out in late antiquity.

14. *Entombment. The Two Maries Watching at the Sepulcher.* (Fig. 100). The border is the same as in the preceding miniature. We have the illustration of the eleventh and tenth lessons for Good Friday, from John xix, 38-42, and Mark xv, 43-47, respectively. From John comes the mention of Nicodemus along with Joseph of Arimathaea as the two who took the body of Jesus, "and wound it in linen clothes with the spices. . . ." A nearly obliterated tree represents the garden, the entrance to which is summarily rendered

80. *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, etc., p. 26.

81. *Recherches*, pp. 310 ff.

82. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, etc., pl. 50, 2.

83. *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, p. 63.

84. E. g. at Rome: arch mosaic of S. Clemente, c. 1125; a lost mosaic of S. Francesca Romana (middle of twelfth century); S. Maria in Trastevere, arch mosaic, 1140-48. But these are all very probably imitative of earlier compositions.

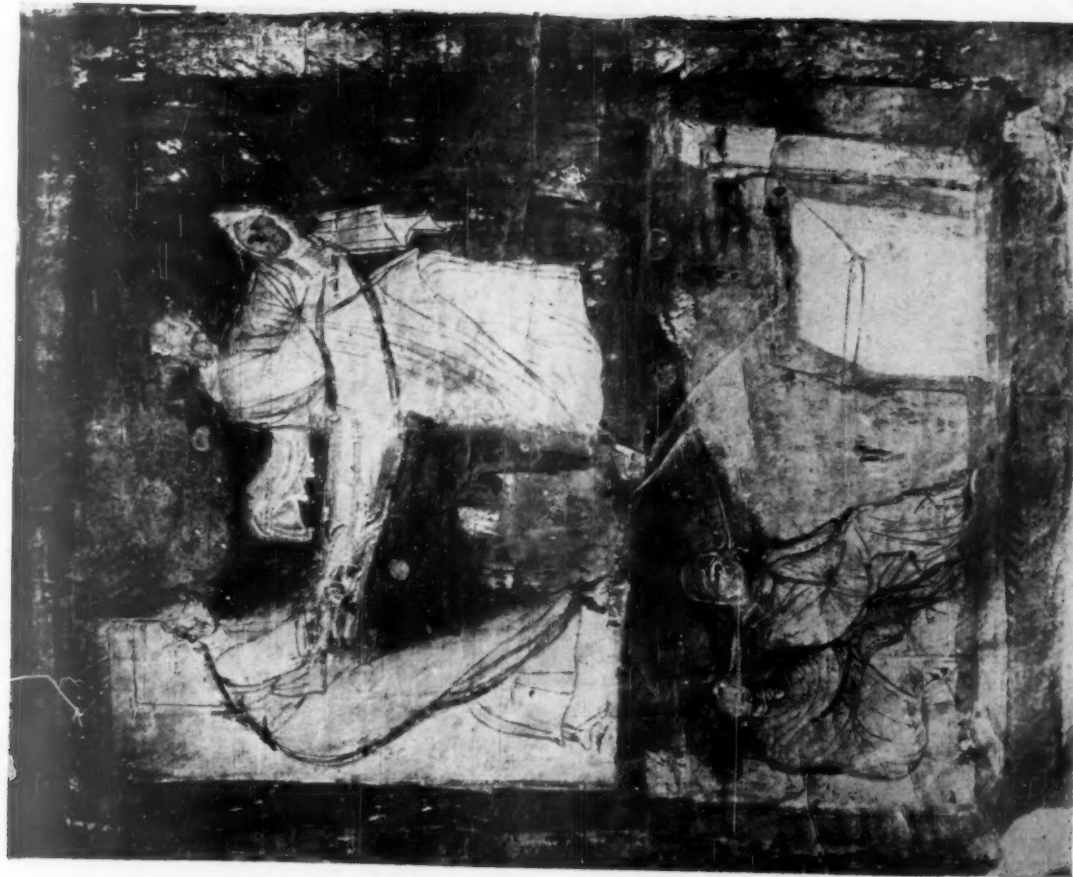


FIG. 100
Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary.



FIG. 101
Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary. Entombment; Maries at the Sepulcher; Baptism of Christ



FIG. 102—Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. Baptism of Christ
(after Jerphanion)



FIG. 103—Leningrad, State Library: Fragment of Miniature of
Gospel Lectionary. Transfiguration



FIG. 104—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of
Gregory Nazianzenus. Transfiguration (after Oumont)

by the portal to the left: "and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." The lesson from Mark tells us that "Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus beheld where he was laid," but the miniaturist undoubtedly had also in mind the striking picture given in Matthew xxvii, 61: "And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulcher." As was pointed out before with reference to the miniature of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (Fig. 75), the artist of the Leningrad manuscript hovered between the earlier tradition of the free-standing masonry tomb and the later literal adherence to the text, since in the former miniature the sepulcher is a construction while here it is an excavation in the side of a mound or hill, with its entrance closed by the same huge rectangular stone on which the angel sits in the scene of Easter Morn.

Millet's careful analysis of the iconography of this scene⁸⁵ is explicit as to the early character of its type as here depicted. Paris gr. 115, an illustrated Greek Gospel of the tenth century, contains the two pictures of the Entombment and the Maries "over against the sepulcher," but on separate pages. The Chludov Psalter of the ninth century uses both scenes, but in illustration of different Psalms; it is followed by a slightly later Psalter of the same family in the Pantokrator monastery of Mt. Athos (no. 61). But already in the ninth century appears the sequence which later prevails in East Christian art (Fig. 84), in a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), where the Entombment follows the Crucifixion, with the same title, ὁ ἐν(ταφιασμός), as here. The same combination is found in the frescoes of Toqale of the tenth century. The seated Maries watching the sepulcher are no longer to be found after the tenth century, save in a miniature of a Greek illustrated Gospel in Berlin (no. 66), of the twelfth or thirteenth century, which in this and in others of its illustrations is following, according to Millet, a very early prototype. This miniature, then, like its predecessor, is still within the primitive cycle of East Christian iconography, before the transformation of its narrative prolixity into a series of fewer and more significant types.

15. *The Baptism* (Fig. 101), ἡ βάπτισις (*sic*, with the change of ι to η that savors, like the τὸ of the Cana Miracle, of provincial carelessness such as the curious misspellings of the inscriptions that label the Cappadocian frescoes). The artist, for his border *motif*, has conventionalized his teasle plant into alternating pods and pairs of trifid flowers. From a semicircle that stands for Heaven, the Hand of God speeds the dove in a shaft of light toward the nimbed head of Jesus. The Precursor looks up at the Hand, gestures with his left hand, and with his right baptizes the head of the Christ. Three angels to the right hold each a napkin on outstretched arms. The text above is part of the last lesson for the Baptism (Epiphany in the Eastern Church), from Matthew iii, 13-17: (Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἄφες ἄρτι οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν (ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιο)σύνην. Τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν. "And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him."

We are fortunate again in having Millet to act as our guide in the discussion of this scene; his long chapter on the Baptism⁸⁶ brings out clearly the classification of our miniature

85. *Recherches*, pp. 461 ff.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.

as first cousin to the Baptisms of the Cappadocian frescoes (Fig. 102). The essential feature is the lack of landscape and perspective, the river being conveniently piled up as a sort of mound to the height of the Saviour's shoulders; Christ turns toward John, not having as yet assumed the frontal pose of Mid-Byzantine examples that vitiates the narrative verity of the composition, while increasing its dignity and spiritual significance. A detail common to certain of the Cappadocian frescoes⁸⁷ and to our miniature, though it seems to have escaped Millet's attention, is the river god representing Jordan (and nearly effaced), who crouches in the left corner of the triangle of the river, resting on his left elbow and holding a trumpet to his lips with his right. Jerphanion believes the trumpeting Jordan to be motivated by Psalms lxxvi, 18, (lxxvii, 17, in the English version), where the Septuagint text mentions the *πλῆθος ἡχους ὑδάτων*, "the multitude of sound of the waters." He is very probably right in this, since this Psalm is one of the readings of the "Imperial Hours" on the eve of the Epiphany in the Greek Church. The presence of the personification is suggested in any case by the frequent allusions in the liturgy to the "rolling back," and other marks of respect on the part of Jordan at the time of the Baptism, as well as the poetic elaborations of the "troubling of Jordan" which are found among the Greek Fathers⁸⁸ and religious poets.

Three angels used to be regarded, in accordance with a criterion long ago set up by Strzygowski,⁸⁹ as an indication of date in the twelfth century or later, but Millet⁹⁰ has disposed of this. The Early Christian prototype of the scene as here portrayed is visible in the Baptism of the painted panel from the Santa Sanctorum (Fig. 77), to which our miniature, reflecting a later development, has added an angel and the river god, suppressing the two disciples of John. It has as usual increased the dramatic reality of the story by substituting for the Hellenistic *contrapposto* of the panel, whereby John holds his mantle with his left hand, the frank extension of both hands outward. The gesture of Christ in the panel, with both hands concealing His sex, is modified to a more dignified extending of the right hand toward John, after the manner of the fresco of Qeledjar.

The close resemblance of our miniature to the Cappadocian Baptisms was remarked by Millet, and there can be little doubt that it represents a Cappadocian later version of the early Asiatic type of the Vatican panel, which is also in essentials the same that is found on the leaden oil flasks of Monza, manufactured in Palestine in the later sixth or early seventh century, for the pilgrim trade.⁹¹ The earlier date of the type, with reference to its congeners in Cappadocia, is however indicated by the stronger narrative interest which superposes the angels without reference to decorative effect, and accentuates the eagerness of John in his climbing feet and bowed back, as in the Baptisms of the sixth or seventh century on the Vatican panel and the Monza phials.

87. Jerphanion's type 2 of the Baptism; see *Eglises rupestres*, I, 1, p. 81.

88. Jacoby, *Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, 1902, pp. 48 ff.; Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 5; Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 203. Antoninus of Piacenza (sixth century), in his pilgrim's account of Palestine, asserts that at the beginning of the baptismal liturgy as performed by the clergy of Jerusalem in Jordan in his day,

the river *cum rugitu redit post se et stat aqua usquedum baptismus perficiatur* (Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, p. 82, note 5).

89. *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, p. 22.

90. *Recherches*, p. 178.

91. On the relation of the panel to the Monza flasks, and of both to the Early Christian art of Asia Minor, see the writer's *The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum*, in *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 1926, pp. 151 ff.; fig. 6.

16. *The Transfiguration* (Fig. 103). The border is of the same character as that of the preceding miniature. Of this miniature we have but the lower half, the upper group of Christ in the glory, flanked by Moses and Elias, being apparently cut off. From the glory descended three rays toward the three disciples, of which the ends may be seen crossing their bodies. We should expect, from the adherence to Matthew throughout our series wherever such was possible, to find here the account of the first evangelist followed rather than that of Luke, though both were read for the feast of the Transfiguration, Luke at Matins and Matthew in the Liturgy. And so in fact we find it, for the outstanding feature of Luke's account is the awakening of Peter, James, and John from slumber to be confronted with the dazzling vision, while according to Matthew, "they fell on their face and were sore afraid." In both accounts, Peter utters his strange proposal "to make three tabernacles." He, therefore, as the least overcome of the three, is the figure kneeling to the right; the head is gone but the posture shows that he was looking upward, addressing the Saviour. James is the disciple at the left, almost prostrate, with hands enveloped in his mantle. John, in the center, rests one hand upon the earth, sinking to the ground on one knee. All three reflect the stunning effect of the "voice out of the cloud," in Matthew.

The attitude of James is found in Cappadocian frescoes of the eleventh century,⁹² but it is regarded by Millet as a variant of the "Byzantine" type of Transfiguration, whereas he classifies the miniature as a whole in the "Oriental" category. His distinctions in the discussion of the Transfiguration are not as clear-cut as in the case of other scenes, but one may accept the criterion for the "Byzantine" type—Peter speaking, James striving to rise, and John succumbing—as generally valid. It may be seen in the Transfiguration of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; fig. 104). The resemblance in attitude of at least two of the disciples places our miniature, according to Millet, in the "Oriental" group, but if his own criterion be accepted, the attitude of James betrays the influence of Constantinople as constituting the variant of the "Byzantine" type referred to above. The early quality of the miniature comes out in the beardless James and John; in the earliest Cappadocian example we have, a fresco of the old church of Toqale,⁹³ John at least is bearded. The two faces have the same early type, related to the heads of the Early Christian manuscripts of Asia Minor, that we noticed in the disciple who looks toward Christ from the right margin of the miniature of the Incredulity of Thomas (Fig. 65).

The conclusion of our examination of these sixteen miniatures brings up again, with I hope more ease of solution, the problem of when and where they were done. We have aso to settle, as a preliminary to the solving of the major problem, the question of the relation of the miniatures to an earlier manuscript from which they may have been copied. We have already seen that the portraits of John and Mark were undoubtedly drawn from the same source which inspired the John and Mark of Stavroniketa 43, and furnished the model also for the John of Coislin 195. It is clear also that our miniaturist was ill at ease in this imitation, handling the figures awkwardly, the accessories with a lack of skill that at times becomes distortion, and either suppressing the perspective architecture of his background, in the case of John, or making a sorry mess of it, in the case of Mark.

With the narrative miniatures, the case is quite different. Nowhere do we feel in the miniatures of the Gospel scenes that the artist is handling an unfamiliar tradition. His

92. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 223.

93. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, pl. 67, 1.

drawing is far from supple, but his compositions are complete, well balanced, and free from *pentimenti*. If he copied the Gospel scenes, as well as the evangelists, from an earlier model, his copying in the former case was at least intelligent and familiar.

M. Millet, on the authority of Thibaut, proposes to see in these miniatures, as well as in the script, an imitation in the eleventh century of an eighth century model. If one chooses to discard the difficulties that always beset an hypothesis of an imitated script, this would afford an explanation of the archaic iconography of the miniatures. We have noted the multitude of indications of early iconography. The very Harrowing of Hell, the "developed type" of which caused M. Millet to relinquish a dating of the miniatures earlier than the eleventh century, contains the early features of the *rotulus* instead of the cross in the hand of Christ, and omits the Gates of Hell, which belong to the Mid-Byzantine type from the tenth century. The Miracle of Cana retains the primitive two episodes of the type which are also found in the archaic frescoes of Toqale, and shows an earlier period than these by retaining the Hellenistic round table in the wedding feast. The sepulcher before which the two Maries listen to the angel is still of the free-standing type in which the conical roof preserves the reminiscence of the Early Christian replicas of Constantine's memorial. In the Meeting of Christ with the Holy Women, the archaic feature of the greeting XAIPETE is still retained, as against the usual IC XC of the later type. The Last Supper so much resembles the early compositions in S. Apollinare Nuovo and the Rossanensis, in the antique couch and table and the conservation of the reclining posture, that it might be mistaken for a sixth century work, were it not for the detached position given to Judas, and the loaf with which Jesus stamps the significance of the Eucharist on a scene which in its early phase was only the prophecy of the Betrayal. The resemblance to the Rossanensis is even stronger in the Washing of Feet. In the union of Entombment and the Maries Watching the Sepulcher we have an early combination which is already discarded in favor of the regular juxtaposition of Descent from the Cross and Entombment in the ninth century miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510).

It is possible that the character of such iconography might have been preserved by a copyist of the eleventh century employing a model of the eighth. It is by no means probable. Nowhere do we find the usual intermixture of old and new ideas that are wont to appear in such cases, as when the copyist of Iwiron 5, in his miniature of Christ Appearing to the Holy Women, retained the ancient composition but changed the inscription from the ancient XAIPETE of the Leningrad miniature to the more up-to-date IC XC. But when we are invited to accept, along with the improbability of an artistic imitation which managed so consistently to maintain the primitive aspect of the original, the hypothesis of a successful imitation of an eighth century script, one's belief is too severely taxed.

Lastly, the style of the miniatures destroys, for such an hypothesis, its last claim to credibility. We have noted the use of the "rainbow" *motif*, characteristic of early Asiatic illumination. The letters on the garments of the disciples in the Washing of Feet are extremely rare after the ninth century. The facial types of the Incredulity of Thomas are reminiscent of the Rossanensis and the fragment of Matthew from Sinope, and the head of Peter in this miniature finds its closest parallel in the head of the same apostle in the eighth century frescoes of S. Saba at Rome. The insignificant Christ of the Miracle of Cana, and His squat proportions in the Meeting with the Holy Women find again their

closest parallels in the frescoes of S. Saba, or in the Christ of the seventh century in the cupola of S. Sophia at Salonika. Certainly the artist of our miniatures has not yet arrived at the significant dignity which clothes the Saviour when He appears in the miniatures of Gregory's Homilies (Fig. 67). These miniatures show, in the reserve of their action, the dignity of postures and gestures, and the growing unreality of episode, that trend toward the hieratic which sets in after the close of the Iconoclastic Controversy and gradually eliminates the quaint realism of the earlier narrative style.

Our miniatures, on the other hand, are conceived throughout from the standpoint of the story-teller. The Miracle of Cana is the outstanding example of this; seldom has a story been told in Christian art with more naïve literalness. The Mary that shrinks against her companion as she hears the words of the angel at the sepulcher, the Jesus Who prepares, with such serious preoccupation in His task; to wash the disciples' feet, the Joseph and Nicodemus bearing away the body of the slain Lord, the Maries so intently watching the Tomb—these are figures that have not yet learned the impassive solemnity of officiants in a liturgy such as enact the scenes of developed Byzantine style. The spontaneity of both hands outstretched, so often found in our miniatures, is lost in the *contrapposto* of later works.

The figures in our miniatures share their realism with the actors in the dramas portrayed on the walls of the Cappadocian churches, though the poetic sensitiveness that transcends the halting technique of the Leningrad miniatures is hard to find in Cappadocia. Nevertheless, the bonds of union with the art of the underground churches are everywhere apparent; the Mission of the Apostles is all but reproduced in a ceiling at Qeledjar; Toqale furnishes the only parallel in Christian art for the Miracle of Cana; the Judas, the bowl with its fish, the omission of haloes on the heads of the disciples, are *motifs* common to the Last Suppers of Cappadocia, and to the Leningrad example; the Baptism, with its triangular river devoid of banks, and its trumpeting river god, finds its place also in the repertoire of the Cappadocian painters. The frescoes whose publication we owe to Jerphanion form the natural continuation, as the miniatures of the Rossanensis and Sinopensis reflect the early stage, of the art and school whose interesting intermediate phase has been preserved to us in Petropolitanus XXI.

We are left then with no alternative but to date the miniatures in or near the eighth century, where the manuscript would be placed on the face value of its text. We cannot, in the face of the abundant evidence of their connection with the Cappadocian frescoes, assign the miniatures to an atelier of the capital. We have to do rather with a provincial work, probably produced in Cappadocia itself, and reflecting the art of Constantinople in a style presumably of less brilliance and sophistication.

That the fountain from which our artist ultimately drew his inspiration was Constantinople is shown by his use of the borders that we have found to be characteristic of illumination of manuscripts in that center. He had access, in some way or other, to the portraits of the evangelists in an early Gospel Book that was also copied in this respect by the miniaturists of Stavroniketa 43 and Coislin 195, manuscripts whose style is by no means provincial. His Pentecost follows almost line for line the type that was used by the author of the corresponding miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus that were illuminated in Constantinople at the end of the ninth century. We find, then, in Petropolitanus

XXI, new evidence for the dominant influence of Constantinople over the mental images and artistic concepts of the artists of Asia Minor in the period preceding the Iconoclastic Controversy, an influence which becomes attenuated and distorted as we pass further East until the Grecoid art of Cappadocia becomes the Orientalized style of Syria and Palestine.

Provincial product though it be, the Leningrad lectionary nevertheless thus allows us to estimate the native style of Constantinople, indirectly, and note its contrast to the Alexandrian manner that must have found its way into the ateliers of the capital with the dispersion of the schools evicted by the Arab conquest of Egypt. In place of the perspective background, we find a neutral one, with locality barely symbolized by such reductions of interiors as that which denotes the "upper room" in the Supper and the Washing of Feet, or by the pair of trees which stand for the garden of the sepulcher. The inability of our artist to open up his background is sufficiently shown by the havoc he wrought with such a perspective in his portraits of Matthew and Mark. The figures move in two-dimensional space, without the free torsion and *contrapposto* that gives so Hellenistic an air to the active men and women of the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter. The play of light and shade is far less vivid, the attitudes far more stiff, the spatial grouping of figures far less convincing, than in the works of Alexandrian style. In Petropolitanus XXI we see the progressive decay of the old Neo-Attic prepossession for limited space and self-contained, statuesque figures, quaintly and attractively modified by the Oriental love of a story. The undeniable charm of the miniatures arises from the poetic force which this poor technician was able to feel in the sacred theme. Given this sample of the Asiatic style in or near the eighth century, one may easily imagine the strong impression which the Alexandrian artists and works of art must have exerted upon the ateliers of Constantinople, and how their lithe and vigorous figures, moving in a real atmosphere of unlimited space, must have opened to the eyes of the artists of New Rome a vista of recovered Hellenism.

We have seen the result of this meeting of Alexandrian and Asiatic tradition in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The chief of the atelier in which they were produced handles the foreign style with an ease and familiarity that proves it native to him. His assistants, B and E, make a valiant effort to imitate him, while D is content with translating the Alexandrian models into Asiatic phrases, producing an effect not at all unlike that of the Leningrad miniatures themselves.

In such an atelier we see the first mingling of the two styles. A subsequent phase in the art of Constantinople should show a greater degree of domestication of the new manner, and such indeed we find in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), illustrated in the reign of Basil I, between 880 and 886. We have already noted (pp. 20, 22) the close resemblance of certain miniatures in this manuscript to the types of the Paris Psalter. Moses receiving the Law (Fig. 43) replaces the group of Israelites who have been obviously moved from their original situation in the Psalter, but the picture otherwise corresponds sufficiently to the Psalter's type (Fig. 23) to warrant at least the supposition that it was adapted from the original of the Psalter miniature. [The Penitence of David (Fig. 46) enables us to restore the missing figures of Bathsheba and Nathan in the composition from which the same scene in the Psalter (Fig. 36) was copied. The Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 47) repeats so much of the Paris miniature (Fig. 25) that it is not difficult to suppose that the artist of the Homilies took his scene from the Psalter miniature or its archetype, adapting it to Asiatic usage, as we have seen, by introducing the dancing Miriam. The



FIG. 105



FIG. 106



FIG. 107

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Details of Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus
Anointing of David; Adoration of the Magi; Ordination of St. Gregory (after Omont)*



FIG. 108



FIG. 109



FIG. 110



FIG. 111

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Vision of Ezekiel; Story of Jonah
 Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzenus, and the Affliction of Job;
 Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Omont)

Anointing of David (Fig. 105) shows a significant relation to the Psalter's rendering of the same subject (Fig. 27) by repeating in reduced scale the curious structure that occupies the background of the Paris miniature to the left; the Constantinopolitan artist has brought it down stage, as he did the background architecture in the Penitence of David (Fig. 46), being averse or not equal to the problem of a spatial background. He has adapted the Psalter's composition in the same sense, stringing out the group to right and left in accordance with his native two-dimensional prepossessions. The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 106) is almost a replica (reversed) of the Epiphany of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 57), that gave us unmistakable evidence of Alexandrian style, through the profile of one of the Magi that so closely repeats that of Hezekiah (Fig. 26). The Story of Jonah (Fig. 109) is fuller than the sequence in the Psalter (Fig. 30), and is of different arrangement, but the similarity is close enough to make one suspect a common archetype, from which the artist of Paris 510 has preserved the Alexandrian triangular sail and long proboscis of the sea monster (see p. 15), which painter D of the Psalter transformed into the canine snout traditional in Asiatic usage. The Joshua Roll itself may have been laid under contribution by the painters of the Homilies; one of its miniatures (fol. 226v.) combines the Joshua prostrate at the feet of the angel with the dramatic figure of the hero staying the sun and moon, with a fidelity to details of both scenes that makes an imitation more than possible. In other cases, when the parallels in the Psalter or the Rotulus fail us, we can see the imitation of Alexandrian models in spirited architectural perspectives, as in the story of St. Cyprian (fol. 332v.), or in the miniature of the Vision of Ezekiel (Fig. 108), wherein the angel's head repeats the beautiful formula of the personifications of the Psalter (cf. the Night in Isaiah's Prayer, Fig. 24), and the mountainous landscape, together with the vivid play of light and shade in the draperies, might be worthy of the hand of the head master of the Psalter's atelier.

But the miniaturists of the Homilies were no Alexandrians. They, like the one who copied the Psalter miniatures for the Bible of Leo, were painters of Constantinople, industriously ransacking the libraries of the city for their models, and finding in the Psalter miniatures and in the Joshua Roll (both of which must have been in Constantinople when the Homilies were illustrated), or perhaps in the original of the Psalter, which we have seen must also have been there, a rich and convenient mine of *motifs* and types the vigorous Hellenism of which stirred their admiration.

In one of the miniatures (Fig. 110), the familiar background of late Asiatic sarcophagi⁹⁴ greets us with its alternation of gable and arch and rosettes in the spandrels; in the picture below, against a bit of perspective landscape that smacks of Alexandrian models, Job's wife holds out on a stick the consolation of a potsherd with which her afflicted husband may scratch his sores; this is the type which in sarcophagus sculpture is found almost exclusively on those of columnar type or their imitations, i. e., in that category which Miss Lawrence has shown to be subject to Asiatic notions of style and iconography. The miniature of the Pentecost (Fig. 88) we have already found to be a replica of the one in our Leningrad lectionary, and a type of distinctly Asiatic affinities. The rare scene of

94. Cf. the writer's *The Sarcophagus of Claudia*

Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, Sardis, V, Princeton, 1924.

the Mission of the Apostles, an Asiatic notion from its beginning (cf. pp. 36ff.), and for which we found a close parallel for the Leningrad example only among the frescoes of Cappadocia, appears again in one of the miniatures of the Homilies (fol. 426v.). The Crucifixion (Fig. 84) classifies at once with that in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 81), which the present writer has elsewhere shown to be a Syrian copy after some Anatolian original in the style of the Codex Rossanensis.⁹⁵ The scenes that accompany it, the Entombment, Christ and the Holy Women, find their echo in the Anatolian miniatures of Petropolitanus XXI. For our best comparisons with the Healing of the Blind Man and of the Paralytic on fol. 316, we must have recourse to a miniature of the Codex Rossanensis and the Asiatic frescoes of S. Saba in Rome. The Rossanensis again furnishes the prototypes of which the artist of the Homilies gives us condensed versions in the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 111).⁹⁶ Millet has shown that in the Transfiguration of the Homilies (Fig. 104), we have a thoroughly Byzantine type.⁹⁷ The iconography, in fact, of the manuscript of the Homilies is dominantly Asiatic; the significant fact, however, is that these Asiatic miniatures that we have cited are not usually the ones which show the Alexandrian style. The latter seem, therefore, to have entered the manuscript by way of imitation of Alexandrian originals from which both style and iconography were borrowed together.

The Asiatic scenes, on the other hand, betray a manner near in character to the miniatures of Petropolitanus XXI. They even show at times the same reminiscences of the early Cappadocian manuscripts (Rossanensis, Sinopensis,) that we have traced in the Leningrad miniatures (cf. pp. 36, 37, 45, 46, 49, 51). The type of Christ is still below the stature of Mid-Byzantine portrayals of the Saviour; He still wears the nimbus with the broad but severely simple cross, not spreading at the ends of the arms as in Asiatic nimbi of the sixth century, not as yet narrowed or adorned with jewels as was common in the Middle Byzantine period, but plain, wide, and with parallel lines as in the frescoes of S. Saba and in the miniatures of Leningrad (Fig. 111; cf. Fig. 70). We find here the same heavy outlining of the drapery, the same restraint of movement, the same lack of background, the same statuesque poses that descend in direct line from ancient Neo-Attic formulas⁹⁸ which became familiar phenomena in our perusal of the miniatures of the Leningrad lectionary (Fig. 67). But here the later date is betrayed by the greater dignity accorded the Christ, in the hieratic solemnity that begins to sober the piquant story-telling of the older Asiatic style. The Saviour dominates the scene, and is no longer portrayed in the humble attitudes in which we found Him in the Leningrad Miracle of Cana, or the Washing of Feet. The symbolic unreality of Mid-Byzantine style is already announced in the Homilies of Gregory.

The foreign stylistic invasion had thus reached its second stage in the ninth century. When the Paris Psalter was illustrated, its Alexandrian master could find at Constantinople few helpers who could compass the Hellenistic freedom of his native style, witness the bungling efforts of his assistant C and the frank Asianism of D, who painted the Story of Jonah and Hannah's Prayer. But the miniatures of the Paris Psalter were executed in Constantinople as we have seen, and from an Alexandrian original that must have been

95. *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, p. 164.

96. Cf. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, etc., pls. I, II.

97. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 222.

98. Cf. the writer's *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924-25, pp. 36 ff.

there also. These could not have been the sole illustrated manuscripts of their kind that the Arab conquest of Alexandria caused to find refuge, or to be produced, in Constantinople. Among such treasures thus added to the imperial and monastic libraries of the capital, miniaturists such as those who illustrated the Homilies of Gregory found a happy hunting ground. Unlike their predecessors, who found the new style difficult in the Psalter, they show more power to assimilate it and produce a not too halting imitation of the brisk impressionism which forms so strange a contrast, in the seventh and eighth centuries, to the two-dimensional limitations of the native manner. Nevertheless, the two styles remain distinct; any eye that peruses the miniatures of Paris 510 can distinguish the flat and narrative composition in the Asiatic manner from the more unified and centralized Alexandrian theme that groups itself about an axis in depth. These are the "two manners" of the Homilies of Gregory that have become a commonplace in handbooks of art history.⁹⁹

The tenth century saw the coalescence of the "two manners." In the Menologion of Basil the Second, illuminated by eight artists of Constantinople a century later than the Homilies, there is no very obvious demarcation between what is inherited from Asiatic tradition and what Alexandria has contributed to the enlivenment thereof. A singularly significant *motif* may be selected to show the continuity of this latter contribution. The reader will remember, in the picturesque rendition which the third painter of the Vienna Genesis gave to the story of Joseph's journey to his brethren (Fig. 12), the colonnette adorned with a knotted scarf that is so reminiscent of Pompeian landscapes. We met with it again, functioning as a fountain in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 19), as one of the properties with which the head master of the atelier furnished his Alexandrian landscape. It was noted in this or some similar manuscript by an artist of the Homilies of Gregory, and inserted by him for picturesque effect in the otherwise conventional episode of the ordination of St. Gregory (Fig. 107). Finally it turns up again, displaced from its traditional position in a landscape, and adorning the background walls of some of the miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II (Fig. 112).

So much for the tenacity of the Hellenistic landscape. It has left its traces in the miniatures of the Menologion in many other features, less obvious than the example we have chosen, but perhaps more essential to the tradition. In the story of St. Ariadne (Fig. 113), the saint flees from the pursuing executioner into one of those defiles that divide the mountains in the Odyssey landscapes and are frequent in Pompeian backgrounds. It is the same device that is used by the draughtsman of the Joshua Roll to produce the army of the Israelites when their presence is called for upon his landscape stage. Joachim and Anna meet and embrace (Fig. 114) before a garden wall with trees emerging behind it that was a feature of the background of the evangelists in the manuscript imitated by the painter of Stavroniketa 43 (Fig. 62) and the painter of the Leningrad lectionary. It is an old Pompeian *motif*, and as such to be expected in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, where in fact we find it in Hezekiah's Prayer and the Anointing of David (Figs. 26 and 27). Retracing our steps along the path of Alexandrian tradition, we find the picturesque combination of wall and foliage once more in the miniature of the Vienna Genesis that depicts the feast of Pharaoh.¹⁰⁰

99. Cf., for instance, Herbert's analysis of the style of the miniatures of this manuscript in his *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1911, pp. 41 ff.

100. F. Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, pl. XXXIV.

The iconographic types of the Alexandrian tradition make their appearance occasionally in the Menologion, but never in the pure form in which they were borrowed by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory. Here they are rather combined with the Asiatic forms, as in the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 115), where Joseph, constant attendant of the Virgin in the Alexandrian Epiphanies,¹⁰¹ is omitted, but the angel that introduced the hurrying Magi to the Virgin at S. Maria Antiqua and in the Homilies of Gregory (Figs. 57, 106), is still present in characteristic pose. The Asiatic tradition betrays itself in the rocky cavern which the artist has placed behind the Virgin, in reminiscence of a feature that distinguishes the Asiatic Nativity (Fig. 77). In the Jonah story (Fig. 33) we have a reduction of the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 30), which we found already tinged with Asiatic influence. But here the process has gone further in the introduction of the prophet, fully clothed, asleep beneath the gourd vine, as he was depicted in one of the miniatures of the Syriac Gospel Book of Rabula (Fig. 32).

Occasionally one finds in the Menologion what might be a direct imitation of the Alexandrian models. Compare, for instance, the rendering of St. Matrona (Fig. 116) with the praying Hannah of the Psalter (Fig. 29); the combination of city and mountain in the background might well be suggested by the earlier miniature, as well as the attitude of the saint herself. Joshua, on p. 4 of the Menologion, meets the angel and falls at his feet before the walls of Jericho in the same composition (though reversed) which we find in the Joshua Roll. There are many miniatures, however, wherein old Asiatic *motifs* are preserved: the sarcophagi which occur so frequently as the last resting places of the martyrs in the long and (it must be confessed) tedious series of executions that mostly illustrate the Menologion, are here and there depicted as of the Asiatic columnar or arcaded type. The old *motif* of gable-and-arch which was the favorite background for the figures on the pagan Asiatic sarcophagi, and which we found preserved in the Homilies of Gregory (Fig. 110), is frequently employed to frame the standing figures of saints in the Menologion. The most surprising instance of the conservation of early Asiatic tradition is the repetition (Fig. 117) in so many details (attitude of John, two angels, the two disciples) of the Palestinian Baptism on the panel from the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 77). To this the artist has added the cross remarked by the pilgrims of the sixth century, which denoted the spot of the Baptism. He has added, however, more than this; the disciples of John are now full figures with Hellenistic counterpoise of movement and Hellenistic faces; Christ has abandoned the prudish Oriental gesture and adopted the attitude of a Hellenistic dynast; the river has acquired a level surface instead of the quaint triangle of the early type; the angels move with some degree of grace toward their task of attendance; and back of the scene appear the characteristic mountains of the Alexandrian landscape.

It is in such more subtle fashion that the new element in Byzantine art shows itself in the Menologion. One cannot divide the miniatures, as in the Homilies, into two categories of Asiatic and Alexandrian. The style of the series is in fact remarkably homogeneous, in view of the employment of no less than eight painters. It is rather in the new vigor of movement in bodies that nevertheless seek the Hellenistic formula of self-balance by *contrapposto*, in a search for physical as well as ascetic beauty, in a shift from the left-to-

101. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, p. 48.



FIG. 112



FIG. 113



FIG. 114



FIG. 115

Rome, Vatican Library: Miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II. Martyrdom of St. Thomas; Execution of St. Ariadne
Meeting of Joachim and Anna; Adoration of the Magi (after Vatican Facsimile)

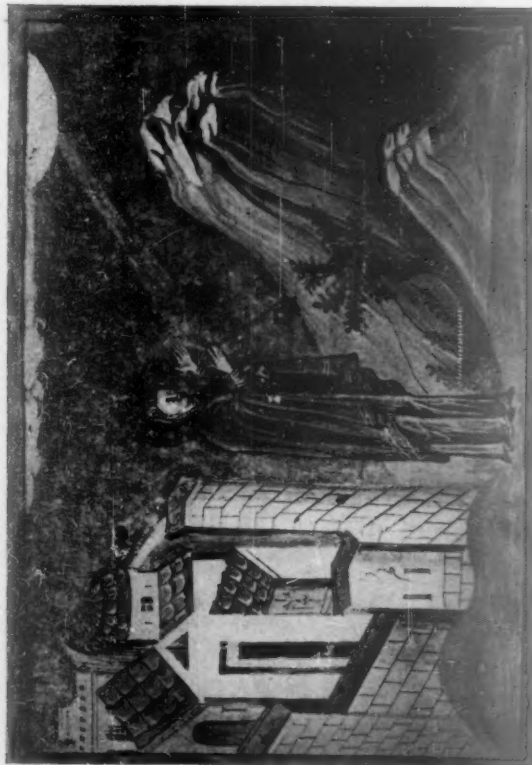


FIG. 116—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the
Menologion of Basil II. St. Matrona
(after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 117—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the
Menologion of Basil II. Baptism of Christ
(after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 118—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the
Menologion of Basil II. St. Euphrasia
(after Vatican Facsimile)

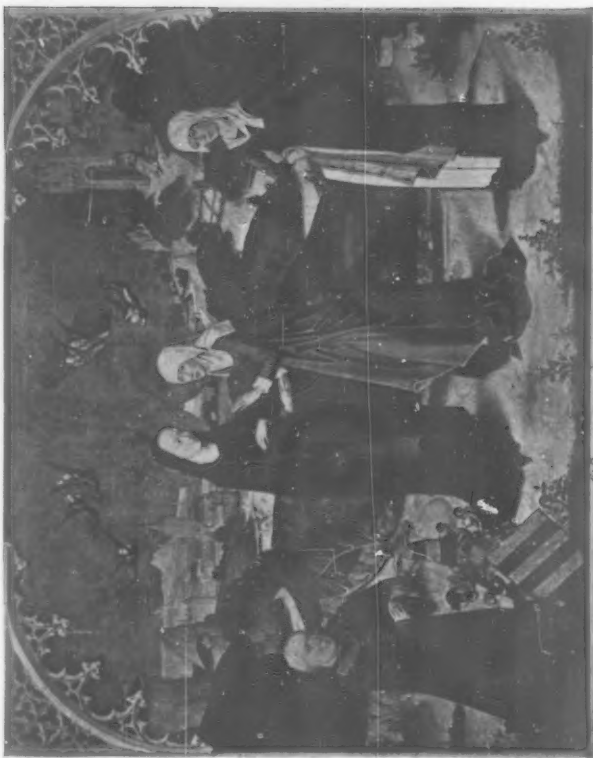


FIG. 119—Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Visitation, by the
Master of the Lyversberg Passion

right narrative composition to one arranged on an axis of depth, in an attempt to free the drapery and to give solidity to bodily forms, that the silent teaching of the Alexandrian miniatures in the libraries of Constantinople has left its mark on this style.

The trade-mark, however, of the new factor is always, in the last analysis, the landscape background. It is handled by our octette of artists conventionally enough. They ring the changes on the garden wall, the two mountain peaks that leave a valley between, against which to relieve a figure, or a conical single mount which again serves as background for a figure or a group. Most of all they love, with characteristic Asiatic preference for limited space, the wall or arcade that stretches across the picture, which can be varied by the different treatment of the structures at each end, or even combined with the monotonous mountain. Throughout the long series, one sees the *disiecta membra* of Hellenistic landscape pieced together in various combinations and patterns, but never really arriving at the illusion of unlimited space that one realizes in the best miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The epitome of the conception of landscape in the minds of these painters of c. 1000 is the miniature of St. Euphrasia (Fig. 118), wherein we see the formula of the double mountain, the semi-distant architecture to the left, and to the right a comical commentary on the mechanical construction of the Menologion landscapes in the shape of the isolated column, distant echo of the romantic vistas of Pompeii, that balances insecurely on a mountain peak!

This in itself, without the countless indications afforded elsewhere by the miniatures of the Menologion, should prove that the landscape which these artists used formed no part of their native tradition. Its very absorption into their style has deprived it of verity and added it as one more item to their list of conventions. In even the more convincing landscapes of the series, where mountains, architecture, trees, and colonnades or walls combine into an ensemble of quasi-picturesque effect, there is yet the constant factor that belies any suggestion of space throughout the miniatures, viz., the gold that fills the unoccupied area. This, or some other neutral filling, was from the very beginning of Asiatic style, the native mode of shutting off the space behind the figures, and its unnatural combination with the remnants of perspective landscape illustrates in a perfect manner the collision of the two traditions. It is in every way like the result in German painting of the fifteenth century, when the miniaturist tradition of the school of Cologne was interrupted by the infiltration of Netherlandish landscape; the painters imitated with success the settings of Dirk Bouts or Memling, but filled their skies with gold, as did the painters of the Menologion, in obedience to ancestral practice (Fig. 119).

The two factors that thus appear in the Menologion in preliminary coalescence were finally welded into a consistent style in the eleventh century. It was done mainly at the expense of the Alexandrian landscape, as one may see in the mosaics of St. Mark's by noting to what proportions the "two-mountain" formula has shrunk in its employment to represent the garden of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 66). In the figures, however, we may see the influence of the Alexandrian factor in the lithier, slenderer proportions, with heads that express an ascetic content in features that are nevertheless more Hellenistic than before. Antique formulæ of drapery such as the flying mantle fold have entered in, to become a permanent part of the Byzantine vocabulary. A semblance of Hellenistic *contrapposto* enables the long, loose-jointed mannikins to approximate self-balance after the manner of

Greek statuary; the formulæ of Hellenistic modeling provide a factitious solidity. The foreign factor has been potent above all in the change of composition from the narrative movement from left to right to a static arrangement around a central axis. But in the background of every composition appears the gold or neutral tone that holds the Byzantine style true in the main to its Attic aversion to unlimited space, and confines the ghostly existence of the actors in its sacred themes to a world of two dimensions.

It was inevitable that the Alexandrian element, as something foreign and borrowed, should never affect anything but the outer aspect of the style. One passes inevitably also from this conclusion to a more critical attitude toward the current conception of the Byzantine "renaissance." The creation of Kondakov, this concept rested, as did his *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, mainly upon the manuscripts. Indeed, if one seeks examples of this revival of antique art that is supposed to have revolutionized East Christian style in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is only to find them very rare in monumental works, somewhat more frequent in ivories, but the bulk of them in the miniatures. One may even go further and discover that the nucleus of examples on which the concept is based consists, in the last analysis, of the groups of manuscripts and ivories that cluster about the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll. Indeed, if these outstanding putative products of the "renaissance" be removed from the tenth century to the pre-Iconoclastic period, as we have seen good reason for doing, the Macedonian "renaissance" loses a considerable part of its material basis.

We have seen that the miniatures of the Bible of Leo were copied from the miniatures of the Paris Psalter in the early tenth century, and that four of its subjects were copied again in the Vatican Psalter of the twelfth or thirteenth century. We have good evidence also that the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, or the illustrations of the rotulus from which its miniatures were copied, were among the models gleaned from the libraries of Constantinople by the industrious painters who made up the illustration of the Homilies of Gregory in the ninth century. We thus have instances extending over four centuries of this sort of imitation of Alexandrian prototypes. The "renaissance" seems therefore to be not of a particular period, but only that vision of antiquity "through a glass darkly" which was vouchsafed the scribes and miniaturists working in the imperial and monastic libraries of the capital and reproducing as best they could the masterpieces of a freer and more Hellenistic style than their native tradition afforded. Thus would be explained the phenomenon of the "aristocratic" Psalters considered hitherto to be more or less original creations of the Byzantine art of the "renaissance," for the satisfaction of secular taste, and contrasting with the "monastic" Psalters which are the inheritors of the native Asiatic style.¹⁰² We may admit the existence of a taste for such re-creations of antiquity, but the original genius that imagined these types of the Paris Psalter and the manuscripts with like adornment was lost with the extinction of the Alexandrian schools.

In the light of the above considerations, the Byzantine "renaissance" is little more than the stylistic imitation of works in Alexandrian style such as the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll, existing in the libraries of Constantinople, and copied or imitated for generation after generation by the scribes and illuminators of the capital.

102. Cf. the writer's *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924-25, p. 38, note 1.

It was an influence naturally confined for the most part to the decoration of manuscripts, but spreading also into the ivory carvings, just as some Carolingian ivories faithfully reflect, even to the point of actual copies, the style of the manuscripts of Reims. Indeed, an excellent parallel to the change in Byzantine miniatures which was produced by the importation and imitation of Alexandrian art and artists at Constantinople is to be found in the much more fundamental revolution in the traditional Celtic art of England that followed the reform of the Benedictine order from Continental sources in the tenth century, and the consequent importation of liturgical books from across the Channel, with their new and stimulating draughtsmanship in the style of Reims or St.-Denis. The copying and imitation of the illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century, in English works of the eleventh (Brit. Mus. Harl. 603), twelfth (Eadwine Psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge), and thirteenth (Tripartite Psalter in Bibl. Nat.) centuries, is a fair parallel to the copying or imitation of the Psalter miniatures of Paris or of their archetype in Constantinople, by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory in the ninth century, of the Leo Bible in the tenth, and of the Vatican Psalter in the twelfth or thirteenth.



TWO SMALL TWELFTH CENTURY CROSSES MADE AT COLOGNE

BY W. L. HILDBURGH

IN Germany the twelfth century was a period of tremendous activity and expansion in the working of metals, and especially in the production of champlevé enamels on copper. Of the great centers of that activity, none is better known to us through its surviving products than Cologne, with its great Benedictine Abbey of St. Pantaleon. Although to the ateliers of that abbey in particular were formerly attributed many of the pieces which have come down to us,¹ of late years not only have such attributions become less specific, but even the existence of a great monastic goldsmiths' workshop at Cologne has been denied.² The Cologne workshops appear to have concentrated upon important objects,³ and in them the goldsmith's art—as taken in its wider sense, to cover fine metal work in the baser metals—and especially enameling developed in an unexampled manner. From them came a whole series of the finest extant champlevé enamels, made by a few great craftsmen and their followers, now mostly in the church treasuries and the museums of Germany, but represented also (notably by the fine reliquary attributed by von Falke to Fridericus, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)⁴ in public and private collections in other countries. The production of the lesser enameled objects, such as crosses, book-covers, small reliquaries, and the like, seems for the most part to have been left to other workshops than those in which these great pieces were made. It is therefore, I think, of peculiar interest to find two small crosses, one with almost a minimum of enameling, the other with none, of very minor importance as compared with the large works above referred to, whose style and ornamentation seem to proclaim them both to be products of Cologne, and closely associable with some of those works.

The first of these (Figs. 1 and 2) obtained (with no history whatsoever attaching to it) at Brussels, is of copper retaining considerable traces of gilding. It is $7\frac{5}{8}$ in. high, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, and about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick at the edges of the raised and molded rim round the front. Its back is flat. Its bottom edge, still gilt, shows no sign of a projection for its support; and the four small holes near its lower end—which, with the traces of solder remaining about them on the back, indicate that the cross was at some time upheld by means of a piece attached to that part—have been pierced without reference to the engraved ornamentation of the front or the back, showing fairly conclusively that they were added after the

1. Cf. O. von Falke and H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt a. M., 1904, pp. 21 ff., with accompanying plates.

2. Cf. Father Josef Braun's *Die Pantaleonswerkstätte zu Köln*, in *Stimmen der Zeit*, III, 1926, pp. 137 ff.

3. Cf. *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten*, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. 40 and pp. 33 ff.; the similar, but slightly smaller, one in Vienna is shown in pls. 36-39.

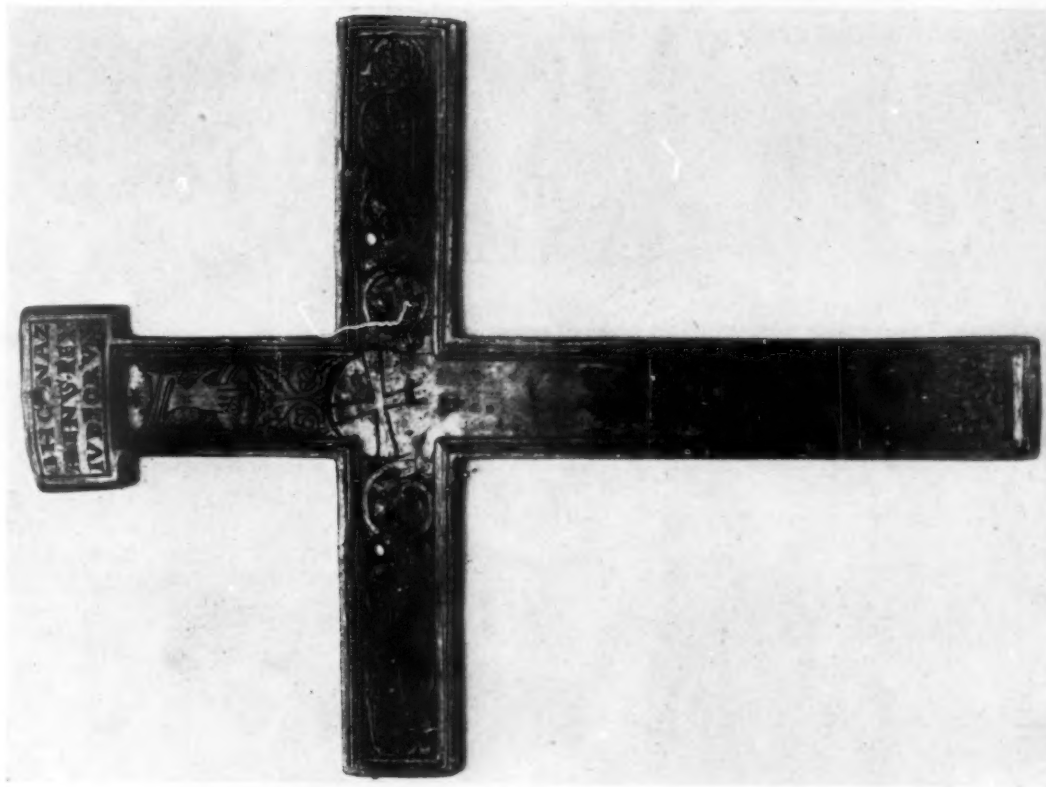


FIG. 1

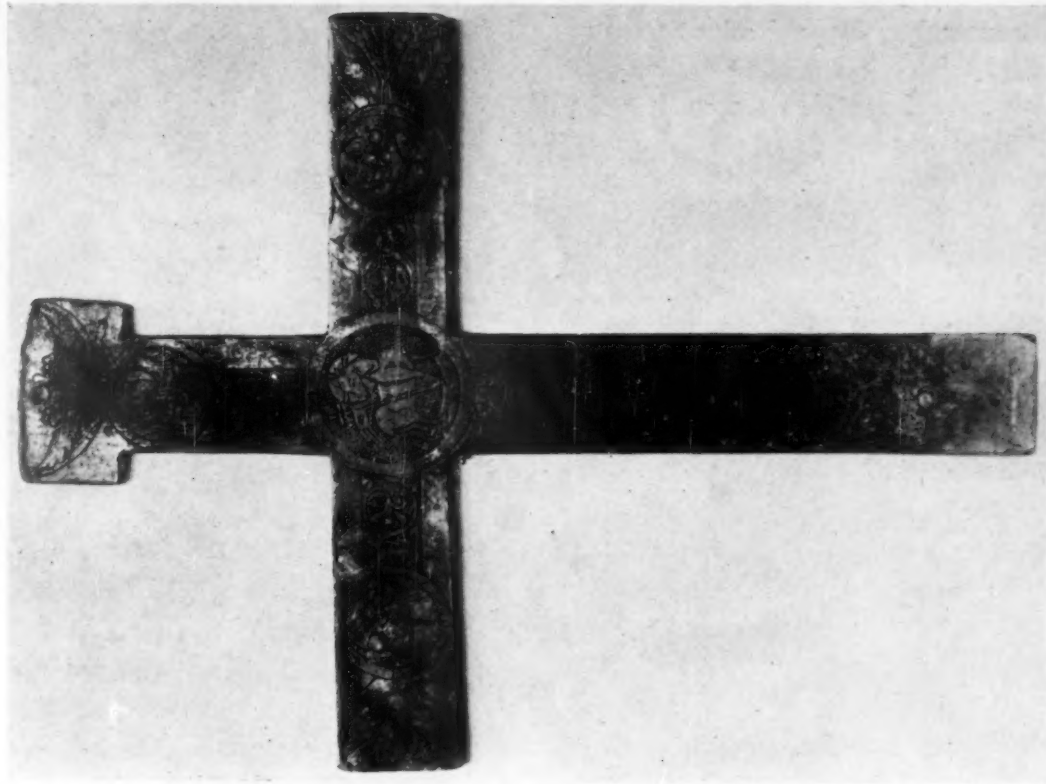


FIG. 2

South Kensington, Victoria and Albert Museum (Loan): Front and Back of a Cross of c. 1160-65

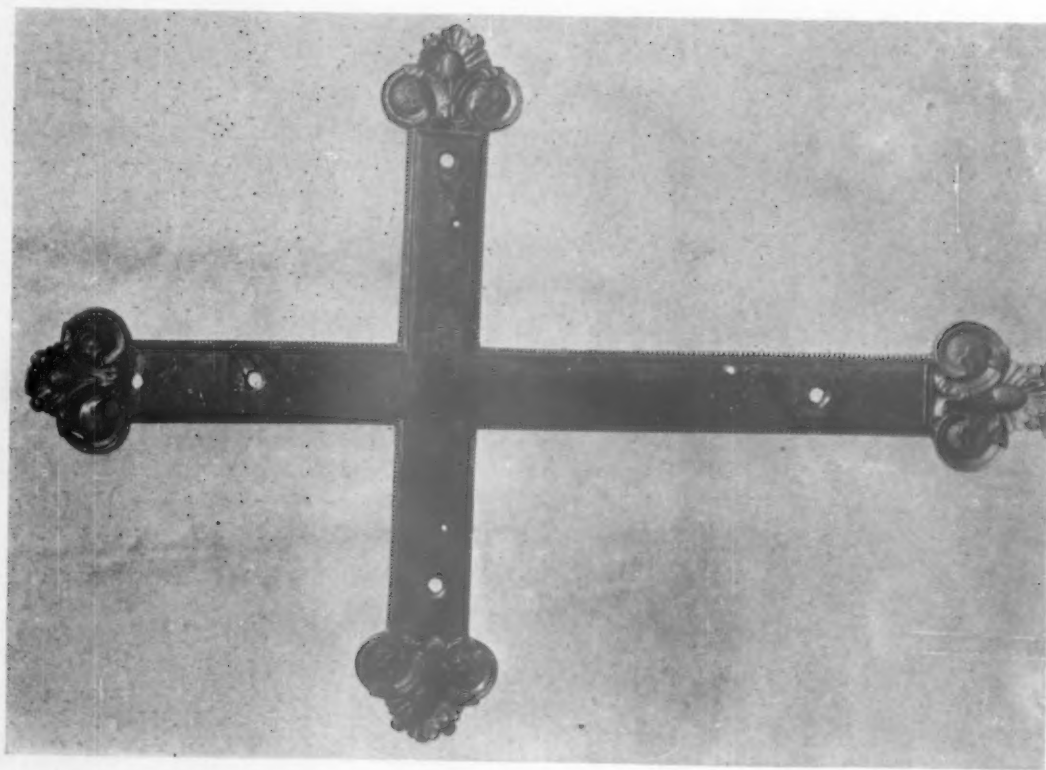


FIG. 3

South Kensington, Victoria and Albert Museum (Loan): Front and Back of a Cross of c. 1180-85

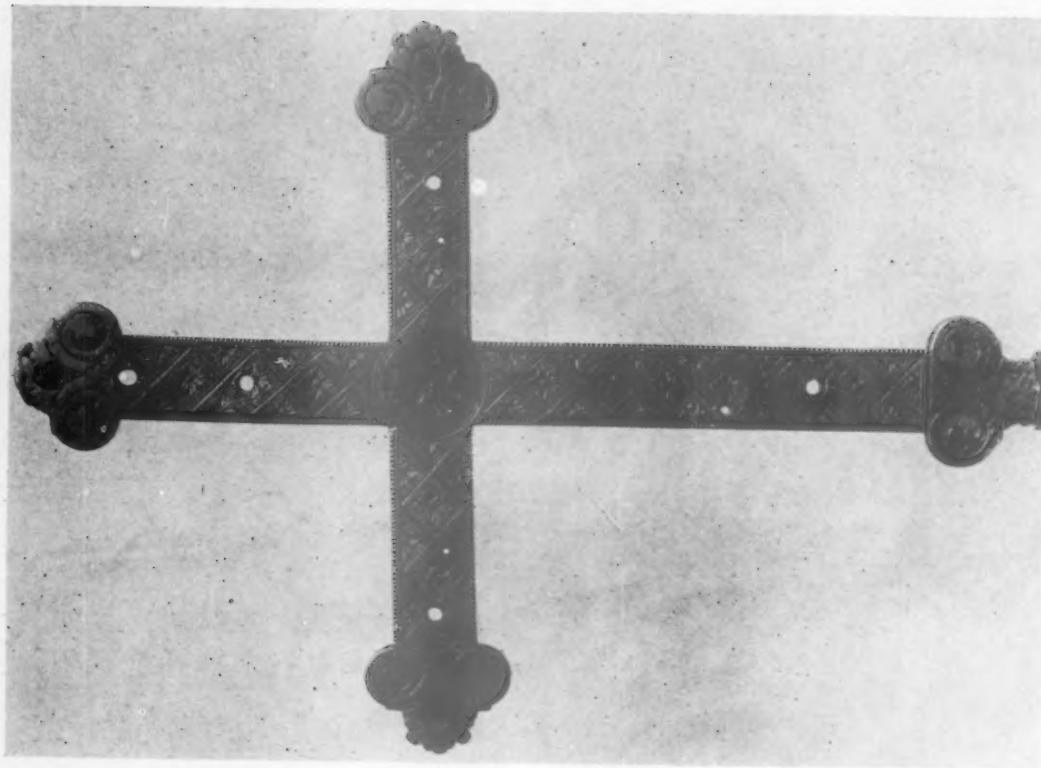


FIG. 4

original completion of the cross. A hole near the upper edge, between the C and the N of the titulus, also appears, as indicated by its edges, to have been made after the cross was engraved, and the unworn condition of its edges suggests that if it served for suspension it was either but little used or else it held, by means of a rivet or a pin, a piece which served as the actual suspension.

Although the cross no longer possesses its crucifix, the size and attitude of that figure are fairly well defined by the three holes for attaching it, the blank spaces it covered, and the inclination of the cross in the nimbus; the figure seems to have had the head bent slightly towards the right shoulder, the hands about the level of the top of the head, the arms carrying not much more than their own weight, and presumably the feet side by side (as commonly in this period) and resting upon a suppedaneum cast in one piece with the figure and held by one rivet.⁵ The nimbus is formed of a circle, unornamented save for the outline of a cross, on the surface of the metal. Directly above the nimbus is a floral ornament, roughly symmetrical, above which is the Hand of God, making the Latin gesture of blessing and holding a crown; the Hand issues from a segment containing an eight-pointed star and, instead of the more usual cloud, doubtless symbolizing heaven. Above the *Dextera Dei*, and outside of the body of the cross (as defined by the latter's molded edge), is the titulus, bearing in letters of blue champlevé enamel the inscription IHC NAZ ARENVS. REX IVDEORVM, in three lines.

On the front, the arms and the space below the figure are ornamented with an engraved floral scroll in a ground—which surrounds also the emblems and ornament above the nimbus—formed of very small circles made with hollow-ended punches. The flat back is ornamented only by engraving and by small punch marks like those of the front. The center is occupied by a circle enclosing the Lamb of God. From this radiates, in each limb, a band of ornament similar to that on the front, but here having a broad plain band on either side, terminating in a circle containing an evangelist's symbol. The symbols are shown only as to the upper parts of their bodies, with an open book in front of each; they are winged and nimbed. Beyond the symbols is, at the end of each limb, conventionalized foliage.

The form and proportions of the cross are very similar to those of the somewhat larger cross (see Fig. 5)⁶ of stout sheet copper formerly in St. Pantaleon and now in the church of St. Maria in der Schnurgasse, in Cologne, with enameled front and engraved back.⁷ The crucifix of this cross had almost the same attitude and situation as the crucifix of ours; the raised edge of the front of our cross is paralleled very closely by an edging on the other; and the type of ornament is the same on both. Our cross, however, has a rectangular titulus, with lettering like that on a number of things attributed by von Falke to the St. Pantaleon workshops, not present on the other cross; while the latter has a small rectangular projection, not present on our cross, at each junction of its arms. The St. Maria cross is believed to have

5. Numerous examples of bronze figures of this kind, combining the crucifix with a suppedaneum having a hole for attachment, are reproduced in F. Witte's *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln*, Berlin, 1912, pls. 1-5.

6. Reproduced from *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten*, pl. 41; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 37 ff., 127.

7. A description of the back says that the engraving shows our Lord blessing, between A and Q, within a circle, with foliage, and (at the extremities) with the winged symbols of the evangelists; cf. F. Bock, *Les trésors saecres de Cologne*, Paris, 1862, p. 165.

been made about 1170. Again, the engraved ornament of the front of our cross much resembles the enameled ornament of the plaques of the twelve-sided reliquary, formerly in Cologne and now in the Archducal Museum in Darmstadt,⁸ attributed by von Falke to Fridericus's workshop of about 1160. Furthermore, the half-figures of the symbols of the evangelists on the back of our cross are very like the corresponding half-figures reserved in an enameled ground and engraved at the corners of the top of the portable altar similarly attributed to Fridericus and made about 1160, in the Viktor Church at Xanten.⁹

Further minor similarities between other objects attributed by von Falke to Fridericus's workshop and our cross could be cited. Recalling the great use made of engraving on objects attributed to that workshop, and the occurrence on our cross of enameled lettering such as occurs on a number of pieces thought to have been made there, I think that we need not hesitate to attribute our cross to a contemporary of Fridericus working at Cologne, presumably about 1160-65.

The second cross, shown in Figs. 3 and 4, of copper and retaining strong traces of gilding, is also attributable to Cologne, but must be dated a few years later than the period to which we have ascribed the first. It is $13\frac{1}{16}$ in. high, $9\frac{1}{16}$ in. wide, and about $\frac{5}{16}$ in. thick in its plane parts. From its lower extremity extends a long stout copper tang,¹⁰ of circular section, which in the illustrations is completely hidden by a part of the modern wooden base of the cross. When discovered lately, the cross bore a bronze crucifix of the fifteenth century, for the attachment of which three holes had been especially made, and an engraved bronze titulus, of even later date, both of which additions have since been removed. We may perhaps learn something of the attitude of the original crucifix from a plaque—on which, however, the figure is engraved and enameled and is not in the round—of the great altar at Klosterneuburg, made by Nicholas of Verdun about 1181. This plaque¹¹ shows Christ crucified, between the Virgin Mary and St. John, His hands nailed, a little higher than the shoulders, to the cross; His feet on a suppedaneum; the central part of His body swayed to His right and far forward; and His head hanging upon His right shoulder. Since our cross appears, as we shall see, to have been made under the influence of Nicholas of Verdun, and but little later than the altar cited, there seem to be good reasons for presuming that its crucifix had something of the same form as the one on the plaque.

The greater part of the front of the cross is smooth, and bounded by straight edges; set back a little from these edges there may be seen the rounded ends of the ornament of the sides of this part; this ornament is a sort of small and very close gadrooning, resembling the milling on a modern coin, but magnified. At each end of the cross, beyond the smooth part, is a sort of trefoil of beautiful floral ornament in low relief. The back, which is flat throughout, has at the crossing an engraved representation of the Lamb of God within a circle; and radiating from this, in each limb, is a fine chased ornamentation of obliquely-set squares containing each a sort of square rosette in a field of dots formed by cross hatching; the trefoil-shaped ends are engraved with ornament resembling very

8. Cf. *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten* . . . , pl. 35 and pp. 32, 127.

9. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 29 and pp. 29 ff., 126.

10. Not included in the measurements given above.

11. Cf. C. Drexler (for text) and T. Strommer (for photographs), *Der verduner Altar . . . im Stifte Klosterneuburg bei Wien*, Vienna, 1903, pl. 26.

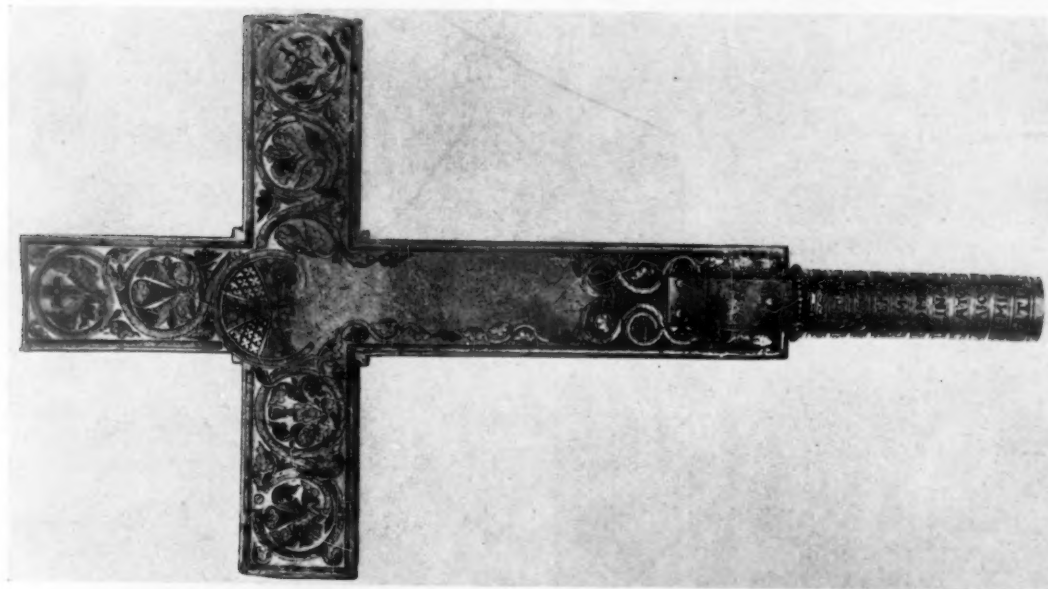


FIG. 5—Cologne, St. Maria in der Schnurgasse:
Front of a Cross from St. Pantaleon



FIG. 6

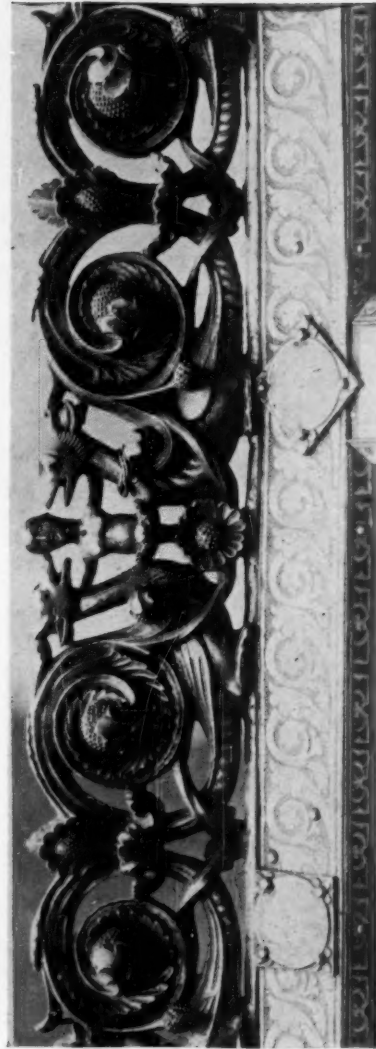
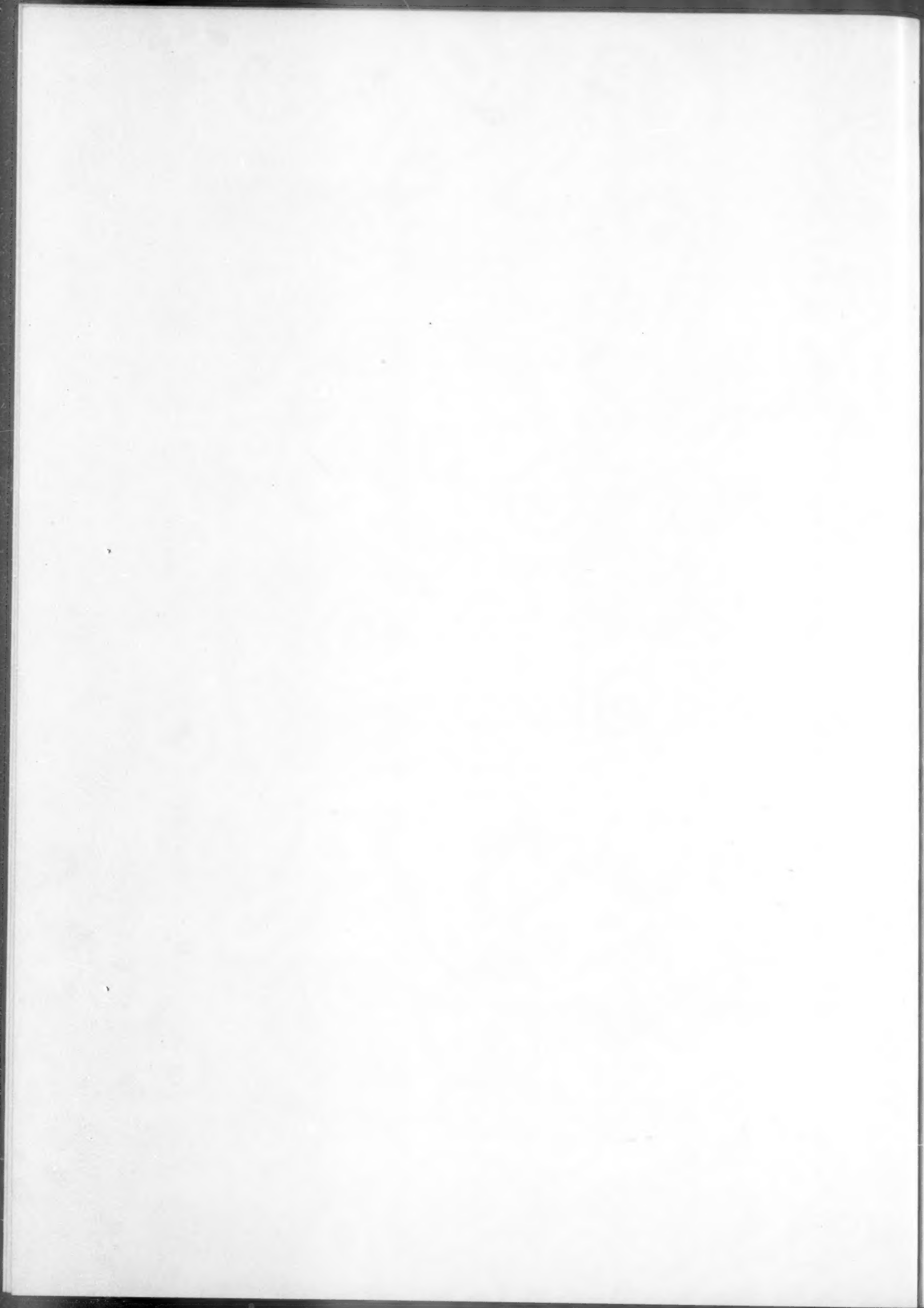


FIG. 7

Siegburg, Katholische Pfarrkirche: Details of Cresing of St. Anno Shrine



closely in design—but, of course, not in relief—the ornament on the corresponding parts of the front. Along the straight edges of the back the ends of the gadrooning on the sides appear as a sort of beading; and a line of beading runs across the surface of each limb, at the base of its trefoil end.

The relief ornament of the trefoils enables us apparently to localize and to date this cross with unusual precision, for it is almost identical with some of the conventional foliage in the bronze cresting of the reliquary shrine, now at Siegburg, of St. Anno (or Hanno), Archbishop of Cologne, who was buried in the Abbey of Siegburg. This shrine,¹² produced in Cologne, is known, through inscriptions upon it, to have been made about the year 1183. Its maker, although not named in written records, has been believed to be either Nicholas of Verdun, or someone working under his immediate influence, who brought to Cologne a new style of enameling which appears to have been employed there first on the shrine of St. Anno. A number of other reliquary shrines of the same type¹³ were produced by this master and the craftsmen working with him or under his influence, culminating in the magnificent Shrine of the Three Kings, in Cologne cathedral, which has been assigned by von Falke, in a detailed study¹⁴ written some years after the publication of *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten*, to Nicholas of Verdun¹⁵ whose altar at Klosterneuburg is one of the greatest masterpieces of mediaeval metal work.

On the shrine of St. Anno the superb openwork cresting, cast in the round in the form of scrollwork containing figures, has in that scrollwork certain combinations of fruit and foliage so closely resembling those in the trefoils of our cross that there can be no question as to their having been designed, if not actually modeled, by or under the immediate influence of the master to whom our cross is to be credited. This is notably so in the cresting of the ends (see Fig. 6¹⁶ for a portion of this); in the cresting of the ridge (see Fig. 7¹⁶ for a portion) there may be seen very similar details arranged symmetrically, as on the cross. Furthermore, there may be observed, below the cresting of Fig. 7, flat engraving corresponding closely to that on the back of the cross at its ends, in a ground practically identical with the grounds of the square rosettes. We may find in the cresting of one end of the Shrine of St. Benignus,¹⁷ which is also at Siegburg, the same sort of scrolls—a little more elaborated than ours—as on the ridge of the St. Anno Shrine, but in this case arranged as a series of running spirals instead of in pairs; this cresting has been attributed to another artist following, about 1190, designs by the "Master of the St. Anno Shrine." In the cresting of the ends of the Shrine of the Three Kings,¹⁸ believed to have been made about 1200, we get something very like the cresting of the St. Benignus Shrine; but since in neither of these crestings do we find the very close similarities occurring in the cresting of the St. Anno Shrine we may, I think, very reasonably conclude that our cross was made

12. Cf. *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten* . . . , pls. 49-52, and pp. 48 ff., 128.

13. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 46 ff. and pls. 53-64.

14. *Der Dreikönigenschrein des Nikolaus v. Verdun im Kölner Domschatz*, München-Gladbach, 1911.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, "Text," pp. 9, 11.

16. By courtesy of the Rheinisches Museum (Bildarchiv), Cologne.

17. Cf. *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten*, pl. 58 (photograph at left), and pp. 53, 129.

18. Cf. *Der Dreikönigenschrein* . . . , pls. V-VIII. Some of the backgrounds to the statuettes of this shrine are formed of square rosettes set in diagonally-placed squares, very like the ornament of the back of our cross, but similar ornament is so commonly to be found that it would be unwise to seek to draw conclusions from less than practical identity of the rosettes.

about the period 1180-85 rather than at a later date. We may, too, if we accept as correct von Falke's deductions as to the authorship of the Shrine of the Three Kings, reasonably assume to have existed a close connection between the maker of our cross and Nicholas of Verdun. It is hardly likely that the latter himself made it—he must have been far too occupied with more important work—but (assuming the correctness of von Falke's conclusions) it does seem possible that he may have designed it and that it was made under his immediate supervision. If such were indeed the case, the cross has an exceptional interest, for there are, I believe, only two minor objects (both of them including enameled portions), a quatrefoil reliquary in the Lyons Museum and a reliquary formerly in the Ursuline Convent at Arras¹⁹ which have hitherto been attributed to Nicholas of Verdun.

19. Cf. *ibid.*, "Text," p. 14.

REVIEWS

GREEK FICTILE REVETMENTS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD.

By E. Douglas Van Buren. xx, 208 pp. 1; 145 figs. on 39 pls.; 1 map. London, John Murray, 1926. 24s.

In two earlier volumes Mrs. Van Buren surveyed the architectural terra cottas of Etruria, Latium, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. She now deals with the early material found in mainland Greece, the coastal islands, and Apollonia in Thrace (why included?). The range in time is greater than the title would indicate, since a number of pieces belonging to the fourth century are described. There are two principal divisions of the book: *Sites* (pp. 3-72) and the *Catalogue* (pp. 75-187). At the beginning there is a short *Introduction*; at the end *Comparative Tables*, an index, and the plates.

In the seventh century large terra cotta discs, with numerous bands of geometric ornament, were used as central acroteria of Greek temples. The most familiar example belongs to the Heraion at Olympia, but Mrs. Van Buren mentions twenty-one others, all found in the Peloponnese except three in nearby Aegina. These discs are never associated with cornices or simas of any interest, but in several instances semicircular antefixes, fitting over the ends of semicircular cover tiles, belong to revetments containing the discs, and are sometimes decorated with whirligigs. There is another early group of small triangular antefixes, several of them with the decorative pattern known from the example found at Tiryns (fig. 108), which also belong chiefly to the Peloponnese. No acroteria or cornices belonging to the same buildings have been found, but several of the antefixes were accompanied by simas decorated with the red or black guilloche (fig. 70). In Northern Greece a sima of this sort is frequently associated with a cornice whose principal ornament is the "Doric leaf" in red or black; above the leaf there is commonly a narrow band or recurved leaf on the "abacus" of the cornice, and at the bottom a guilloche (fig. 21). The antefixes belonging to this scheme are palmettes, usually of a somewhat clumsy form that clearly looks forward to the later type (fig. 22). Though this revetment belongs primarily to Northern Greece, a few examples are found at Aegina (figs. 3-4) and in the Peloponnese (fig. 145, a fine cornice where the guilloche is double).

About the beginning of the sixth century a wholly different ornament for the cornice was introduced, consisting of a double band of lotus and palmettes in alternation. The earliest-looking example (figs. 71-72) was found at Corinth, probably belonging to the temple of Apollo, and the new pattern was perhaps first used there, but the best example of a complete revetment was found by the Americans at Halai in Lokris (fig. 97). The sima still has the guilloche, but the antefix has a new design, clearly descended from the earlier type. There are not a great many examples of this combination. The time-honored guilloche on the sima soon gave way to a red or black

meander (figs. 77-78), the antefix assumed the form of a palmette over a lotus (fig. 76), and thus, without substantial change in the cornice (fig. 1), was formed the complete "Corinthian scheme," which was popular in all Greece in the middle and second half of the sixth century. The Megarian treasury at Olympia supplies a complete example.

Toward the end of the century there is another change in the cornice: the palmette-lotus, which is still the principal decoration, changes from dark on a light ground to cream on a dark ground (figs. 29-30). Sometimes the lotus is replaced by a "papyrus" palmette (figs. 32 and 35), and the patterns show a continual increase in complexity, particularly in Athens, and remind one greatly of the designs on red-figured vases (figs. 36 and 38). There is usually a subordinate band of ornament: laurel leaves, almost limited to Athens (figs. 29 and 32), or bead-and-reel or Lesbian leaf or, most frequently, a meander (figs. 90-91). The simas in general retained the dark meander (fig. 79), though designs in light-on-dark, similar to those of the cornice, were sometimes added on the lower surface, and occasionally such patterns are found on the cymatium (fig. 39). The ornament of the antefix is usually cream-color, but otherwise as before (fig. 16).

These are the decorative schemes that were successively popular, but the designs have a good deal of individual character, and several interesting revetments do not follow even the broad lines of the regular schemes. A cornice found at Korope in Thessaly, for example, has a unique and splendid decoration consisting of lotus and guilloche (fig. 103); the author places it at the middle of the sixth century. There is a little group of terra cottas belonging to the first half of that century in which a wave pattern is used very effectively (figs. 63, 88, 117). But the most unconventional revetments are found at Thermon, where the artificers followed their native traditions with little regard to cosmopolitan fashion. Their products are excellently described on pp. 64-71.

Terra cotta was used also for the lion-head waterspouts on the simas; for human heads, used (chiefly at Thermon) as antefixes or waterspouts: for gorgon's heads, used occasionally as acroteria, like the discs, or as antefixes; for ridge-pole palmettes, found in relatively small number (fig. 32, a fine example); for pedimental sculpture, chiefly in Athens; and for acroteria, usually in the forms of Nikes or sphinxes (fig. 120). There are uncertain traces of two acroteria consisting of mounted horsemen, such as occur several times in Magna Graecia.

The foregoing paragraphs, intended as a sort of guide to the material contained in Mrs. Van Buren's book, have been written in the hope that they will be useful to readers who take a general interest in the subject. The author addresses herself primarily to specialists; the book is primarily a collection of data, to be employed in further

research. The essential part of it is the *Catalogue*. This consists of seventeen lists of the terra cottas under the proper headings: cornices, simas, etc. In each list the order is largely chronological, and there is also a certain amount of grouping according to pattern and sometimes according to place. Each fragment is minutely described, dimensions are given, an approximate date is assigned, and where there are previous publications, some of them are cited. In some instances a few additional references would have been useful: Rave, *Griechische Tempel*, fig. 6, is a good illustration of sima 120 and the other members of revetment 107, and some of the more convenient illustrations of the disc acroterium of the Heraion might have been cited. The completeness and absolute precision of the catalogue can hardly be judged except by one in Greece, but it has every appearance of a most accurate, conscientious, and scholarly piece of work.

In the section entitled *Sites* forty-seven places are discussed. Two of them do not appear in the catalogue. The principal sites are Athens, Corinth, Olympia, Delphi, and Thermon. The importance of the first four might have been predicted, but the remarkable vigor and independence of the ceramic art at Thermon is one of the surprises brought by excavation. Under each site there is a concise description of the discoveries and especially of the buildings to which the revetments belong, and then the terra cottas belonging to each building are discussed. In very many cases, particularly at Athens, Corinth, Delphi, and the Argive Heraion, the building is unknown and the author has been obliged to select from a great mass of fragments those that certainly or probably belonged together.

Some readers who will have little use for the book as a whole will find the descriptions of certain sites convenient. The discoveries at Thermon and Corfu, as well as those at several less important sites, receive a more satisfactory summary than will be found elsewhere in English, and references to more detailed publication are given. But these summaries are unimportant for the main purpose of the book and naturally receive less of the author's critical attention than the revetments themselves. The reader of the first paragraph on p. 4 will be surprised to learn that not a stone of the foundation of the early temple at Aegina was found in place, that Fiechter's ground plan was in large part merely borrowed from the Hekatompedon at Athens, and that the dimensions are very uncertain. In dealing with the temple of Apollo at Corinth, the author writes (p. 25): "As we have seen, it goes back at least to the second half of the VII century." But there is no previous statement to that effect, and few scholars would date it materially before 600. On the other hand, the early terra cottas which Mrs. Van Buren assigns to the temple afford evidence against the singularly late date, "soon after the middle of the sixth century," suggested by Dinsmoor in his transfiguration of Anderson and Spier. It would have been worth while to mention that the Kardaki temple in Corfu (p. 22) is the building that plays a large and somewhat mysterious rôle in the older books as the temple at "Cadacchio." Platanistos in Euboia (p. 42) is not in the town of Karystos, but some eight miles away. Homer does not mention a temple on Sounion (p. 61); the line referred to is Od. x, 278. In the discussion of Argos (p. 10), there is reference to an "edifice (e) on the

plan," but no plan is given and the citations do not make clear in what book it is to be found.

In the *Comparative Tables* are listed the existing parts of 224 revetments, and the decoration of each is briefly indicated. The table thus shows at a glance the combinations of patterns that made up single decorative schemes and also the succession of patterns. The author nowhere states the exact principle on which the table was prepared, and I do not know why 37 of the 124 simas are omitted from it, and smaller numbers of some other members, while every cornice is included. Doubtless it does not matter whether all examples of a standard scheme appear, but the omission of these simas is partly responsible for the disappearance of the light-colored guilloche from the table. The catalogue of simas contains four examples (30-33) of a white or cream guilloche and two others (28-29) in which one of several bands is light. Of the six two are not in the table at all, and the other four are not there described according to the catalogue.

The plan of the book requires a certain amount of repetition and duplication, which is frequently advantageous. Thus a misprint on p. 11, note 1, results in a wrong reference, which is correctly given on p. XX, note 2. A dimension wrongly printed on p. 180, line 2, is correctly given on p. 18. On pp. 39f. the fine revetment found at Halai is most definitely placed in the second half of the sixth century and then in the first half; reference to the catalogue shows that the earlier date is correct.

The illustrations are good, considering the condition of the terra cottas, and include many pieces not previously published. Misprints and small clerical errors are fairly numerous, but usually of no importance. Transliteration is nobody's business but the author's, but "cymation" and "akanthus" make a queer combination, not to mention "torus" and "toroi." The book is well made and lies flat when opened.

The most important deficiency is in cross-references. In the *Catalogue* and *Sites* there are references to the *Tables* and to the illustrations, but neither *Sites* nor *Tables* contains references to the *Catalogue*, which is the essential part of the book. Such references could have been placed particularly well in the table. The illustrations have as captions only the names of the places where the material was found, and nothing more is given in the list of illustrations. The reader who finds something interesting in the *Sites* or the *Tables* and wishes to look up the full description in the *Catalogue* is likely to spend some time in finding it, and if he starts from one of the illustrations his search may be still longer.

It seems regrettable, also, that there is no connected historical summary or synthesis. Even if compressed to three or four pages, it would surely have been welcome to nearly all readers. One may conjecture that the author intends to prepare a historical treatment on a large scale after cataloguing the material of the Aegean islands and Asia Minor. That would be well worth while, and no one could do it so well as Mrs. Van Buren. In the meantime her catalogues, products of laborious and accurate scholarship, are the foundations for all study of the subject.

Franklin P. Johnson

PUBLIKATIONEN AUS DEN KUNSTHISTORISCHEN SAMMLUNGEN IN WIEN. *Band II: Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum.* Compiled by Fritz Eichler and Ernst Kris. x, 246 pp.; 84 pls.; 844 figs. Vienna, Anton Schroll & Co., 1927. 43S.

This is a beautifully published volume with an abundance of illustrations, all reproduced clearly and on good paper. The rearrangement of the collections in Vienna has necessitated a change in the plan of publication and this catalogue takes the place of the projected second volume on the Estensische Sammlung. Only cameos or gems with relief and related works of art are included. The cameos of all periods are described and illustrated so that one can easily compare the ancient, mediaeval, Renaissance, and modern gems and recognize their close stylistic and historical connections. After a list of the inventories and an excellent bibliography of the more frequently cited literature follows a history of the collection (pp. 3-22), and a chapter (pp. 23-43) on the court artists, with a discussion especially of those gem cutters of the Renaissance of whose works an accurate idea is here given for the first time. The cameos are treated in chronological order, Greek and Hellenistic (pp. 47-48), historical cameos and early imperial gems (pp. 48-67), Graeco-Roman cameos with mythological and other scenes (pp. 67-80), Roman cameos of the later imperial age (pp. 80-88), Roman phaleræ (pp. 88-89), Graeco-Roman vases and work in the round (pp. 89-94), and mediæval and Byzantine cameos (pp. 94-100), Italian cameos of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (pp. 100-149), imitations of ancient gems in the sixteenth century (pp. 149-166), German, French, and Netherland cameos of the sixteenth century (pp. 166-176), cameos of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pp. 176-193), imitations of ancient cameos in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (pp. 193-203), cameos of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 203-222), imitations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 222-240). The volume is concluded with tables giving references to previous catalogues and a good index and a list of artists.

The description of each cameo is so detailed that it supplements the knowledge gained from the illustration. Its history, its place in art, and all necessary information are given so that we have an ideal catalogue which all students of glyptics must use. It takes its place with the other great catalogues of gems and we hope that future volumes will maintain the scholarly standard set by this luxurious publication of one of the most important collections of gems in the world. Where cameos have been previously published, this new catalogue antiquates the earlier publications. So in the case of the *Gemma Augustæ*, the largest and most famous ancient cameo, the new description in six pages gives us a more scientific and up-to-date discussion than that in Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen*. Its genuineness is proved and defended against the doubts of such archaeologists as Klein in his *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*. It is dated in the early imperial period just after the introduction of the Cult of Augustus and Rome in the Oriental provinces.

David M. Robinson

THE ERECHTHEUM. MEASURED, DRAWN, AND RESTORED BY GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. Text by Lacey Davis Caskey, Harold North Fowler, James Morton Paton, and Gorham Phillips Stevens; edited by James Morton Paton. xxvi, 673 pp.; 236 figs.; portfolio of 54 pls., 21 x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens by the Harvard University Press, 1927. \$40.00.

Students of archaeology and especially of Greek architecture and art have waited long for this volume but it was well worth waiting for. The twenty-four years of study given to the Erechtheum by officers and students of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have produced a work which has antiquated all previous treatises and which will long remain the standard and most scholarly book on one of the most famous Ionic temples of antiquity, next to the Parthenon the best known building erected on the Athenian acropolis.

The volume is appropriately dedicated to the memory of James Rignall Wheeler and Theodore Woolsey Heermance, to both of whom is due the inception in 1903 of the great undertaking. Dr. Heermance, director of the School from 1903 to 1905, suggested to Professor Wheeler, chairman of the Managing Committee, that the plan adopted by the Greek authorities for a thorough reconstruction of the North Portico of the Erechtheum offered an opportunity for a detailed study of the building. Professor Wheeler endorsed the idea and influenced the Carnegie Institution to send an architect to Athens. Mr. Gorham P. Stevens was appointed and in less than two years made the drawings (pls. I-XXX) which have since been revised and are now the property of the School of Applied Arts of the University of Cincinnati. Mr. Stevens discovered evidence for windows in the east wall of the Erechtheum, and his other discoveries and excellent drawings in connection with this most perfect example of Ionic architecture have long since gained international recognition. The book owes its main architectural value to Mr. Stevens, since 1911 director of the American Academy in Rome. But full credit must be given to the other collaborators, and the publication committee in the preface recognizes this fact. Dr. Heermance died in 1905 but before his death he had laid out the plan of the publication and composed a very considerable part of the chapters which he had assigned to himself. Dr. Hill, director of the School from 1906 to 1926, devoted much time to the study of the Erechtheum and gave invaluable advice to those who have contributed chapters. It is a matter for deep regret that Dr. Hill did not contribute a chapter or section himself.

Chapter I, *Description of the Erechtheum*, is based on the first draft of Dr. Heermance, enlarged and completely rewritten by Dr. James M. Paton, who in 1910 assumed the general editorship and in spite of many difficulties and with the patient and efficient help of Professor George A. Chase, has brought it to a successful conclusion. Chapter II, *Notes on the Construction of the Erechtheum*, was written by Dr. Paton from Dr. Heermance's notes, but here again the statements have been revised by Mr. Stevens and Dr. Hill. Chapter III, *The Sculptures of the Erechtheum*, was

written by Professor Fowler. It shows the influence and help of Stanley Casson and Ludwig Pallat and is a very detailed account of all the sculptures and fragments of sculpture. Chapter IV is devoted to the inscriptions with detailed commentary and translation. It could not have been entrusted to a better man than Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, who combines a fine knowledge of Greek architecture and an excellent acquaintance with Greek inscriptions. Here are discussed the important report of the commissioners of 409 B. C. giving the state of the building at the southwest corner, the ornamental details not finished, lists of surfaces that are unsmoothed, and of bases and column shafts that are unfluted, the state of the North Portico and of the Porch of the Maidens, stones on the ground, and specifications. Here also are the accounts of 409/8 which tell of the work on the frieze, cornice, pediments, ceiling, and roof. The accounts of 408/7 tell of the work on a coffered ceiling, the painting of the epistyle, the channelling of the east columns, and the work on the reliefs of the frieze. Fragments of accounts later than 408/7 are added in a fourth section. Chapter V, *History of the Erechtheum*, is by the general editor, Dr. Paton. He discusses the site of the Erechtheum, the Erechtheum as temple, Christian church, Turkish house, as a ruin, and its reconstruction. Professor Paton has made an extensive search in European libraries for manuscripts of old travelers and has been able to add much to the history of the building. He has also corrected many popular statements, such as that which is even in scientific writers like Gardner, D'Ooge, and Judeich, that Disdar, the military Turkish commandant, had a harem in the Erechtheum. At the end of the volume are valuable appendices on *The Erechtheum in Writers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, *Notes on the Sources for the Later History of the Erechtheum*, *Chronological List of Sources later than 1750*, and additional notes on *The Transverse Beam*, *The Date of Inscription I and Inscription XXIX*, followed by five indices.

This luxurious publication reflects great credit on the American School in Athens and on American scholars. The Americans are now the greatest authorities on the three famous buildings on the Athenian acropolis, though the researches of the Germans cannot be neglected and perhaps the work of the great German architect, Dr. Dörpfeld, who has written so much on the Erechtheum, deserves more attention. There are some inconsistencies and contradictions in the new publication here reviewed, as is to be expected when so many different scholars have written the different chapters. On many problems the last word has not been said, as the researches of L. B. Holland show. More fragments of the architecture and of the sculpture will be found and new light will continue to be shed on the difficult questions connected with the Erechtheum. But we have now a solid foundation in this detailed study of the existing architectural, epigraphical, and literary testimony. The evidence is presented in a scholarly and scientific manner with no wild hypotheses. Modern archaeological and historical knowledge are used to reconstruct, as far as possible, the original appearance and the history of the temple.

David M. Robinson

ORIENT ET OCCIDENT: RECHERCHES SUR LES INFLUENCES BYZANTINES ET ORIENTALES EN FRANCE AVANT LES CROISADES. By J. Ebersolt. 118 pp.; 26 pls. Paris and Brussels, G. van Oest, 1928.

The modern treatment of this subject may be said to have been initiated by Strzygowski's *Orient oder Rom*, of 1901, and the particular type of study represented by Ebersolt's book first appeared in Bréhier's article *Les colonies d'Orientaux en Occident au commencement du Moyen-Age* (in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XII, 1903, pp. 4 ff.). The work of Ebersolt is brief, in spite of the nine chapters into which it is divided, and the comprehensive sound of their titles: *De l'antiquité au début du Moyen Age*; *Le prestige de Byzance (VI^e siècle)*; *L'attrait de la Gaule (VI^e siècle)*; *L'attrait de l'Orient (VI^e siècle)*; *L'apparition du croissant (VII^e siècle)*; *Le croissant et la croix (VIII^e-IX^e siècles)*; *L'hellénisme et l'orientalisme sous les Carolingiens*; *La route du Saint-Sépulcre (X-XI siècles)*; *La leçon des pèlerinages sur la trace de l'Asie et de Byzance*. The text contents itself mainly with the citation of facts significant of the relations of East and West during the period covered, with no development of the problems involved. One seeks in vain, for instance, any treatment (beyond a mere allusion) of the copying of East Christian models in Carolingian or Ottonian ivories, of the "Asiatic" columnar sarcophagi, of the possibility of Byzantine architects in Perigord, of the immediate impulse for the peculiar Byzantine direction taken by Ottonian art of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the relation of the "miraculous" images of Christ and the Virgin in Italy to the exportation of icons during the iconoclastic controversy. Ebersolt, in fact, confines himself mostly to the relations of France with the East; e. g., French examples are cited of the imitation of the Holy Sepulcher buildings in Occidental churches, but the Italian ones are not mentioned.

His discussion of the influences of the Holy Sepulcher on Western art would have profited by inclusion, at least in the bibliography, of E. Baldwin Smith's *A Source for Mediaeval Style in France* (*Art Studies*, II, 1924), with its illuminating discussion of the origin of the "two-storey" type of sepulcher used in Carolingian and early Romanesque representations. One might also expect in a work like this a mention of Professor Porter's note *Our Lady of the Hundred Gates*, published in the *Clemen-Festschrift* of 1926, and other writings of that author bearing on the relation of East and West. A singular omission, in Ebersolt's brief allusion to the Western use of the horseshoe arch, is E. T. DeWald's article on that subject in the *American Journal of Archaeology* of 1922. Our author has evidently, in enumerating the facts that indicate the influence of the East, decided to avoid interpretation thereof. When such interpretation is attempted, it is not always happy, e. g., in the case of the well-known story, preserved by Gregory of Tours, of the crucifix of Narbonne that insisted in visions that its nudity be clothed. The usual, and in the light of early mediaeval iconography the probable, interpretation of the story regards it as a reflection of the expansion of Eastern conceptions in Gaul, including the preference for the Oriental type of the Crucifixion in which Christ is clothed in the *colobium*; Ebersolt takes an opposite view, "ainsi le Christ représenté

sur la croix vêtu seulement d'une ceinture était alors une nouveauté . . . sans doute due à un des Orientaux . . ." The "nouveauté," however, is found on the doors of S. Sabina and the ivory Passion casket of the British Museum as early as the fifth century, and the latter work was assigned to Southern Gaul by E. Baldwin Smith.

The worth of the book lies in the select but extremely useful bibliographies. These indeed form the essential portion of it, the text being little more than a useful running commentary on the citations. These bibliographies, however, make the book indispensable to the student of early mediaeval art, especially as their use is facilitated by a careful index. The plates reproduce outstanding examples of the use of Oriental motifs in Western art.

C. R. Morey

ART ET ARTISTES DU MOYEN AGE. By Émile Mâle. Paris, 1927.

From various and sundry periodicals Émile Mâle has collected a variety of articles published by him over a period of a quarter of a century and has combined them into a single volume to form *Art et artistes du moyen âge*. While there is much interesting material included within the covers of this book it contains no definitely new contribution to the history of art, for of the fifteen chapters the first is the only one not previously published. And this first chapter, as the author himself states, is but a rapid résumé of the three volumes which he has already consecrated to the religious art of France. The inclusion in one small book of articles on a great variety of subjects, ranging from Arabic influence on French Romanesque architecture to manuscript illumination of the sixteenth century, has inevitably precluded a certain lack of unity. With articles of sufficient profundity to be of interest only to a scholar in a particular and limited field are placed reviews of books which may be read with profit only by the comparative layman. Yet despite this lack both of organization and of new material, it is impossible to read anything from the pen of Émile Mâle without being impressed by the conviction that he is almost unique among archaeological scholars in possessing the ability to write prose that is not only clear but beautiful.

Nevertheless, despite the literary beauty of his style, the wisdom of reprinting certain of the articles contained in *Art et artistes du moyen âge* seems doubtful. Several of them which were excellent pieces of convincing scholarship in their adequate original publication are of little value as here published with almost no illustration. Such are the two studies devoted to that sixteenth century illuminator of manuscripts, Jean Bourdichon, which cannot be understandingly read without the reproductions which accompanied the articles as they first appeared in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*.

There are also reprints of several book reviews by M. Mâle, one of which, a review of Auguste Rodin's *Les cathédrales de France*, was first published as long ago as 1914. While doubtless satisfactory enough as a review at the time of the publication of the book considered, since it in no respect modifies or alters any of Rodin's statements the value of its inclusion in Mâle's present volume thirteen years later is to be questioned. As for the review entitled

Les cathédrales françaises étudiées par une américaine, the astonishment expressed by Mâle at the fact that an American should display some knowledge of French Gothic architecture is scarcely flattering to our scholarship in the field of architectural history. The third review, which considers Raymond Koechlin's *Les ivoires gothiques français*, is entirely too unstinting in its praise. An archaeological book no matter how excellent, that is conceived on such an ambitious scale and which is at the same time almost a pioneer in its field, certainly possesses defects which require a more balanced and tempered criticism from a critic of Émile Mâle's authority.

By far the most valuable part of *Art et artistes du moyen âge* are the sections on architecture. They make one wish that in supplement to the work of such men as Robert de Lasteyrie, Lefèvre-Pontalis, and Aubert, Mâle would summarize the development of French Romanesque and Gothic architecture as he has already summarized the religious art of those periods. The chapters which deal with Arabic influence on French Romanesque architecture, particularly on the school of Auvergne, bring out many interesting points not the least of which is the fact that the Arabs of Spain are known to have sent offerings to Notre-Dame-du-Puy that Our Lady of Puy might protect their fields from lightning and tempests. In another interesting chapter Mâle gives a discussion of the Gothic architecture of the Midi—a division of Gothic art that has been extraordinarily neglected—which could well be expanded into a valuable book.

While articles such as these last, even though nothing but reprints, do much to increase the value of *Art et artistes du moyen âge*, it must be confessed that such a book from the hand of Émile Mâle is, on the whole, somewhat of a disappointment. M. Mâle is in the difficult position of having set for himself an extremely high standard in his three excellent volumes on the religious art of France. While *Art et artistes du moyen âge* would be acceptable if written by many another art historian, we have learned to expect something epoch-making from Émile Mâle.

Donald D. Egbert

AMERICAN ARTS. By Rilla Evelyn Jackman. 460 figs. Chicago, Rand, McNally & Co., 1928.

This is an encyclopaedic textbook written in a commonplace and dull style, based on secondary sources and generally ill-proportioned. Its single point of originality is a more generous inclusion of the arts and crafts than is usual—a procedure particularly instructive in the Colonial period. There are many omissions of a serious sort. Surely under the Gothic revival in architecture the late Frank Miles Day, his partner, Mr. Klauder, the late Walter Cope, and the designers of Harkness Quadrangle at Yale deserved mention. Among notable designers in the Renaissance tradition, one misses Hornbostel, Zant-zinger and Borie, and York and Sawyer. Among living painters, William Lathrop and Henry G. Keller surely should have been included. No attention whatever, beyond noting their exhibiting societies, is given to artists of Modernist tendency. For the author the American arts seem to have died before the World War. In the cut op-

posite page 513 St. Thomas's, New York, appears just as it stands to-day, but is described as destroyed by fire. All in all, a careless and mediocre book!

Frank J. Mather, Jr.

GESTICKTE BILDTÉPPICHE UND DECKEN DES MITTELALTERS. Vol. 1: Die Kloester Wienhausen and Luene—Das Lueneburgische Museum. By Marie Schuette. Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1927.

The publisher of this new book by Marie Schuette has done a fine job: the 62 plates are well photographed and reproduced; the 20 color plates, particularly, are the last word in the printer's art. One only regrets that the text was not arranged as a separate, smaller sized handbook.

The embroidered hangings of the two monasteries represented have been known for a long time, but were almost inaccessible to the scholar. The canonesses at Luene exhibit their collection for only a few days annually. Wienhausen, owner of eight large hangings showed them for the first time last spring, when they formed the center of interest at a Berlin exhibition (catalogued by Otto von Falke).

Embroidered hangings stand between stained glass and tapestry. From the first they borrow the arrangement in narrow stripes with innumerable small figures and the color scheme. The material is homespun linen and sheep's wool, or, in exceptional cases, thin silk thread; the embroidery is obviously the work of the nuns, ladies of high social standing, therefore good needlewomen, but seldom good designers. Even by using an artist's cartoon, or, more likely, by copying from block prints, they did not produce works of great art. Marie Schuette's book, combined with the Berlin exhibition, has given these hangings an undue prominence. They have great charm, they attract and hold our attention as human documents, but they are certainly not "monumental" works, do not rank with the Halberstadt and Quedlinburg tapestries, nor with professional embroidery such as Opus Anglicanum or the Chapelle of the Golden Fleece in Vienna. Rather might they be compared with the Bayeux tapestry.

The eight Wienhausen hangings illustrate the clerical and secular lore of the fourteenth century: the *speculum humanae salvationis*, the legends of St. Thomas, and St. Elizabeth, the tale of Tristan and Iseult. All have elaborate inscriptions in low German; the nuns must have known not only the Tristan version of Gottfried of Strassburg, but older texts as well, such as that of Eilhard of Oberg, clerk at the court of Henry the Lion. It is regrettable that the author failed to find any books belonging to the monastery library.

Of greater interest than the Wienhausen hangings are the all-white embroideries at Luene. All variants of diaper, chain, and split stitch are used; the ground is most often worked *à jour*, smaller ornaments and inscriptions are darned in. The technical interest is balanced by the iconographical. These nuns must have been more learned than their sisters of Wienhausen; they used only Latin inscriptions. They must have owned a Latin copy of the *Physiologus*, not unlike the ninth century copy at Berne. A comparison of one altar cloth (p. 33, pl. 37) with the Thun tapestry (J. Stammer, *Die Teppiche des hist.*

Museums zu Thun, Berne, 1891, pp. 19-67; B. Kurth, *Deutsche Bildteppiche*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 83 and 211, pl. 25) should not have been omitted.

The colored wool embroideries at Luene date between 1490 and 1510, but owing to the retarding influence of monastic seclusion they often have quite early Gothic motives. The "Easter" rug (pls. 52 and 53) is charming as well as iconographically curious. The seven angels playing on harps, lutes, cymbals, etc., representing the music of the spheres, are finely balanced by the worldly singing of the birds in the border, each of which contributes its note on an inscribed scroll. Even the eagle, phoenix, pelican, and lion, symbols of the resurrection, here sing their little song of gladness.

Five "bench cloths" have illustrations of the legends of St. Bartholomew, the patron of Luene, St. Catherine, and St. George. The passion of St. George on two cloths is not complete, possibly a third cloth has disappeared. These two hangings with their iconographic wealth and elaborate inscriptions deserve a more scholarly treatment than the author gives them. One of the medallions has the inscription: *hic mittitur in bovem ardentem*. The bronze animal's head is particularly well designed, but the author says that the saint is being tortured in a "stag."

(The Detroit Institute of Arts owns a gold signet ring of Ionian Greek workmanship of the fifth century, Mitra slaying the bull, a half-kneeling man with a bull's head. The horns, ears, and snout conform exactly to the St. George medallion. With due caution, might not an Asia Minor or Syriac traditional representation of the Cappadocian saint have reached a Saxon monastery and been preserved there, to be used eventually as a cartoon by the nuns?)

There are a few other kindred mistakes. On p. 14, speaking of the center panel of a silk embroidered altar cloth at Wienhausen, (pls. 10, 11) the author calls the dragons' wings "Decken," and apparently does not know that the direct or indirect model of this type of embroidery, lions and dragons opposed, forming squares with winged griffins in the center, must be looked for in the Sassanian and Siculo-Arabic silk weaves.

The two volumes that are to complete the work will be welcome to the scholar as well as to the teacher and needlewoman.

Adèle Coulin Weibel

WANDTEPPICHE. Part II: Die Romanischen Länder. By Heinrich Göbel. Leipzig, Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1928.

Dr. Göbel in the second volume of his encyclopaedic work on the history of tapestry weaving assembles the information concerning the craft in France, Italy, and Spain. It is a monumental task, which he has executed with admirable industry and thoroughness. As a reference book the volume is most useful. Many of the documents have appeared only in publications rather difficult of access and even the information on the French State Factories, which of necessity occupies the bulk of the volume, is worth reprinting, for the original publications, especially that on the Gobelins, are not always available. The volume is made especially useful by the inclusion of

inferior types, such as the coarse Aubusson weaves, for the history of an industrial art written primarily from the industrial point of view should be complete, and most of the students in the field have neglected these lesser phases. On those periods, however, in which the documents are incomplete and the tapestries unidentified, the text must be used with the greatest circumspection. The half-tone illustrations assembled in a separate volume with nine color plates of uneven quality, though not clear enough for detailed study, are adequate as indications.

One major question Dr. Göbel has had to consider in this volume: Are there any French tapestries of the second half of the fifteenth and opening years of the sixteenth century? This is the outstanding single problem in the history of European tapestries and is of importance for the history of the industrial arts in France and possibly for the history of French painting. The problem is also of wider interest, for it involves basic considerations of method.

Dr. Göbel assumes that there are French tapestries of this period and identifies as French about a hundred and fifty pieces. He makes this attribution on the basis of stylistic analyses which in the nature of the case are undependable coupled with deductions the premises of which are without basis in proven facts.

The documentary resources for the history of the industry in this period are very meager. In documents concerning Tournai between 1450 and 1530, forty-three pieces and sets are referred to, ten of these verdure and, in addition, three hundred and twenty-five weavers are listed. In Audenarde less than a half dozen sets, three of them verdure, are mentioned and the lists of workers are very incomplete. The Brussels city records do not exist, but there are occasional references in private inventories and accounts. For Ghent there are very few documents. One set of Bruges weave of this time, 1502-7, is known by documents, and about a score of weavers are referred to. In Antwerp the tapestry weavers cannot be distinguished from the cloth weavers, and since the city was a central distributing point for the Netherlands it is impossible to say which sets mentioned in transactions were of local weave. In addition there are indications of more or less production at ten minor centers in Flanders and the adjacent part of France. There are also records of occasional isolated weavers in various cities in central France during this period, for example, a half dozen in Paris, a half dozen in Felletin, in Aubusson a dozen, a half dozen in Tours, a dozen in Troyes and scattered individuals elsewhere.

Over against this limited list of documents is a great mass of material, literally hundreds of pieces of tapestry only a very few of which can be directly related to the documents. Five of the Tournai sets of the period are quite definitely known, three more have been very plausibly identified. All these sets are associated with only four shops. One Audenarde set has been tentatively identified, but by a process of deduction rather than by direct reference, so that it is still open to discussion. One piece has been documentarily established as a Brussels weave. Of the one Bruges set known by documents only three fragments remain. None of the work of any of the other cities is documentarily established.

In addition to these, certain pieces have been attributed to Tournai and Brussels on the basis of inscriptions, but these might be open to discussion. Of these the most widely recognized are the Mass of St. Gregory, in the Spanish State Collection, that bears the word "Brussels" and the name apparently of the weaver, Van Aelst, and the Life of Christ in Trent, which bears a similar inscription.

Thus, less than a dozen tapestries or sets of tapestries can be attributed on the basis of records. This leaves hundreds of unidentified pieces. The question then arises, to what extent can stylistic analysis, the method employed in the parallel situations in the history of painting, serve in the attribution of tapestries to weaving centers? The problem has never been squarely faced by students in the field. The answer is flatly and conclusively that stylistic relations are of no provable value in the identification of the place of weaving. For to say that two pieces stylistically similar come from the same city, and that two pieces stylistically different come from different cities is to assume that all the workers in one city employed the same style of interpretations for all the types of cartoons they were called upon to weave, and that all the workers in each other city employed consistently a different style in the rendition of all types of cartoons. There is no evidence whatever for this large assumption. Indeed, what little evidence there is points in the opposite direction, for weavers, to a certain extent at least, moved from city to city. There is, in fact, no reason to believe that all the workers in one shop necessarily worked in the same way, and it seems reasonable to suppose that in proportion as a weaver was skillful he would adjust his interpretation—hatching, color transitions, outlines—to the style of the cartoon on which he was working.

Stylistic analysis, then, is of no demonstrable value in determining the place of weaving. Yet at least two local groups have been defined; that of Tournai, first outlined by Dr. Betty Kurth, and that of Brussels. Here are integral groups that have, on the basis of certain documented pieces in each, come to be generally accepted as the work of these cities. But it cannot be said conclusively that the similarities are due to a common place of weaving, only that the cartoons in each instance were by artists in some way interrelated.

Nevertheless, Dr. Göbel, without considering the assumptions involved, relies wholly on stylistic analysis in an attempt to determine the place of weaving of many undocumented pieces. He assembles five or six groups, though his lines of demarkation are not clear. In most of the pieces included in these groups he finds more or less close relations with Tournai and Brussels work (pp. 243, 270, 273, 274, 276, 277, 281, 291, 296, 304, 309, 310, 313, 317, 318, 320, 322). He also finds some differences from those pieces that have been identified as Tournai or Brussels work (pp. 270, 272, 273, 277, 278, 283, 289, 303). The simplest hypothesis would be that these five or six groups, all resembling known Tournai or Brussels work, were the products of some of the many unidentified shops in Tournai or Brussels or in the related cities in the Netherlands.

Dr. Göbel, however, supports quite another hypothesis. He attributes all these groups but one to Touraine and this hypothesis he states as a fact. In order to reach this conclusion he makes, explicitly or implicitly, five other

hypotheses. He assumes that there were producing shops in Touraine; that these were probably founded by Tournai workers (p. 270); that these Tournai workers probably brought cartoons with them (p. 270); and that since some of the later pieces are more closely related to identified Tournai work than some of the earlier ones, the shops which Dr. Göbel supposes existed in Touraine probably received further workers from Tournai from time to time (pp. 281 f.). To account for the color differences that he believes he finds Dr. Göbel also makes the fifth assumption, that there was probably a dye industry in Tours or Troyes (p. 278). None of these assumptions have any documentary support whatever.

Moreover, Dr. Göbel does not explain why, if, as he assumes, the weaving was done by Tournai workmen and the staff was renewed from the same source after an interval, and the first workmen brought their cartoons with them, there should be those differences in style and technique which he was first attempting to explain. In short, in accounting for the similarities to identified Tournai and Brussels work he has destroyed the explanation of the differences.

The attribution of the last group is even more puzzling, since it is made without explanation or discussion. Dr. Göbel states that a set of coarse tapestries representing the Nine Heroes is late Renaissance Felletin work. He recognizes a similarity to Tournai work and so suggests that they were copied from Tournai tapestries or that Tournai workers had moved to Felletin. He also sees a relation to Audenarde work, but no documented Audenarde tapestries in the style are known. No documents support these assumptions nor is any evidence of any kind cited in behalf of these surprising and highly speculative theories. Moreover, the costumes are those of about 1530. This would mean, since Dr. Göbel calls this set late Renaissance, that it was being repeated a half century, more or less, after it had been designed.

The identification of the St. Mark's Passion is still more surprising. Dr. Göbel recognizes a connection with Tournai (p. 442). Yet in the captions the set is suddenly derived from Venice (?), though there is no record of any tapestry production in Venice at this period. Dr. Göbel considers the style of these pieces to be that of the third or fourth decade of the fifteenth century. In the captions they are dated in the middle of the fifteenth century. But again we have no documented tapestries for the second and third decades of the fifteenth century. Moreover, the bascinet with a mail worn by one of the soldiers in the Betrayal never appeared after 1425, while the high peaked bascinets that the other soldiers wear had already given way to the rounder headed type by 1410 or 1420.

No statement in Dr. Göbel's book is quite so puzzling as that concerning the aesthetic quality of the St. Mark's

set. The monumental simplicity of the drawing, the dramatic massing of the compositions, and the contrast and balance of the strong, pure colors, all within a well limited scale, against the red or blue-black backgrounds make these panels second only to the Angers Apocalypse in beauty and force. There is an emotional intensity, notably in the Crucifixion and the Three Maries at the Tomb, not found in any other known set except the Apocalypse. No half-tone illustration could convey their quality, and the plates illustrating the two complete pieces shown in Dr. Göbel's book are especially inadequate.

The volume is far more satisfactory for the later periods. The Fontainebleau factory is excellently covered save that Dr. Göbel does not discuss one type, represented in the Paris Musée des Arts Decoratifs by a signed piece. This type always shows a large figure of a god or goddess under a trellis, surrounded by grotesques.

In the account of the Beauvais factory Dr. Göbel has made a useful contribution by publishing some little-known early work, notably a set woven there about 1675 copying an early sixteenth century series (ill. 203).

The documentary material on the Spanish looms has been brought together from obscure local publications and some examples of documented tapestries are illustrated (ills. 483, 484). One group, almost certainly of Spanish origin, is unfortunately not discussed. These pieces, which appear from time to time in the market, are in very clear, high-keyed colors and rather fine weave. The ground is often a fine pure golden-yellow. They have designs composed of architectural ornaments, sometimes combined with escutcheons. They are late Renaissance in style and aesthetically more important than the contemporary Spanish pieces Dr. Göbel does publish.

At several points the make-up of the book could be improved. The text would be easier to use if it were broken up by more subheadings or had marginal glosses. The notes are numbered in separate series for each city, yet the page headings do not indicate which city the notes on that page refer to; thus the reader is forced to turn back and forth. This holds true also of the index, which is divided into seven subject sections. The addition to this volume of an index by collections is fortunate. The lack of an index to the volume of illustrations is serious.

In spite of these deficiencies, however, the work remains^s the most important comprehensive publication in the field that has yet appeared and it will for a long time be the most useful reference book on the subject. It is to be hoped that the whole work will be fully translated into English. The translation of the first volume is almost useless because the specific citations, that are the most valuable part of the book, have been eliminated in the process of condensation.

Phyllis Ackerman

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FIG. 1—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel. *The Nativity*

STAINED GLASS PANELS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF DIRK VELLERT IN THE GOLDMAN COLLECTION

By ARTHUR EDWIN BYE

A FEW years ago Mr. Henry Goldman of New York, whose collection, although small, is distinguished for the rarity and exquisite quality of the paintings and sculpture it contains, purchased from Mr. Roy Grosvenor Thomas a series of twelve Flemish glass panels portraying scenes from the life of Christ, together with nine small medallions, seven depicting prophets with scrolls, two containing the initials I and M.

There is little known of the provenance of these panels, except that they came from the collection of Sir Thomas Neave, baronet, of Dagnam Park, Essex, an ancestor of whom acquired them in Flanders about the year 1800.¹ The ancient glass once at Dagnam Park is well known; several fine English armorial panels from there are in the collection at Ronaele Manor, the country seat of Mr. and Mrs. Fitz Eugene Dixon near Philadelphia.

Until recently the Goldman panels have been attributed, on the general grounds of style and period, to Bernard van Orley, the most famous artist of the early part of the sixteenth century in Flanders. But such a pretentious attribution has not been considered satisfactory by the recent owners of the panels, who have long recognized that further study of their authorship was required.

For one to look for some conspicuous artist as the designer of such excellent panels as these is not only natural but necessary. It was the general practice of sixteenth century glaziers to go to the best painters for their designs, and many authentic drawings exist to testify to the part played in this way by artists as famous as Dürer, Holbein, Lucas van Leyden, and many others. The Goldman panels are of very great beauty, with that intimate charm peculiar to the art of the Low Countries. The story of each is told with a naïve naturalism traditional in Flanders, and which we can trace in painting from the illuminated manuscripts of the fourteenth century down through the van Eycks, Roger van der Weyden, Memling, Bouts, to Hugo van der Goes. The twelve panels are not of equal merit. Clearly some, for example, The Nativity (Fig. 1) and Christ Stilling the Tempest (Fig. 6), are by a master hand, while others are inferior, as if executed, at least, by an assistant. There is a distinct Italian influence in the dramatic gestures and in the elegance of the figures: Mary reminds one of the gentle Virgins of Raphael; the Adulteress (Fig. 7) is likewise Raphaellesque. This is not strange, as it was the ambition of every Flemish painter of the early sixteenth century to be called "The Flemish Raphael;" Gossaert van Mabuse, Coninxloo, and van Orley, all strove in the same direction.

1. They are mentioned in Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*, IV.

But the coloring of the panels is purely Flemish, in all superb, rich, glowing, varied, yet restrained and tasteful. If it is true that the art of glass painting was on its decline at this period, in that it was given to story-telling, imitating the oil painters, too pictorial, too naturalistic; nevertheless the decadence had not yet progressed far. In the first third of the sixteenth century, when these panels were painted, there was exquisite refinement, enough lingering of Gothic restraint, while technical skill was at its height.

Bernard van Orley was not, of course, the designer of the Goldman panels. The figures are not his types. There is lacking his refinement of drawing, his infinite care in the delineation of figures, his caprice, his rich preponderating architecture, elaborate ornament, and bizarre costumes. No, the panels were designed by an artist who, more than van Orley, combined Gothic feeling with Renaissance forms. There are, too, distinct traces of the influence of Lucas van Leyden in many of the figures, or of Dürer, in the drawing of the folds of garments and in the architectural and landscape backgrounds. What artist shows these combined characteristics, mixed as they are with the mannerisms of the Italianized Flemings?

Mr. Arthur E. Popham, of the British Museum, whose special subject is Flemish art of the sixteenth century, has suggested that the panels may have been designed by Jan van Rillaer or Rillaert, who in 1547 was town painter of Louvain. He based his suggestion on the general similarity of some of the figures with those in a painting of The Judgment of Solomon in Berlin by Rillaert, dated 1528. This picture does indeed show some of the combined elements of the Antwerp school of this period, also shown in the Goldman panels, but the affinity between them goes no further. No extant glass designs by Rillaert are known.

A master far more likely to have designed the panels was Dirk Vellert.² I am indebted to Dr. Nicholas Beets of Amsterdam for this suggestion.

Dirk Vellert is perhaps best known as an engraver who signed his plates D*V—hence the name Dirk van Star, by which he was designated until his identity was established by Dr. Gustav Glück in 1901.

The date of the birth of Dirk Jacobs Vellert or Velaert is not known, but we know he was made master of the Antwerp Guild in 1511, the same year as Joos van Cleef. He was a friend of Dürer, to whom he made a present of some red paint, and whom he banqueted when the great Nuremberg artist visited Antwerp in 1521. Up to this date he was known as a glazier; but from 1522, when Lucas van Leyden was in Antwerp, he tried etching. His friendship with Dürer must have first inspired him, while the presence of Lucas must have given him the opportunity for instruction. In any case, his plates show the influence of both these masters.

Dr. Nicholas Beets has attributed to Dirk Vellert, and with success, the great series of glass windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, England. From these, and from his

2. For Dirk Vellert, see Gustav Glück, *Der Wahre Name des Meisters D*V, "Dirk Vellert,"* in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXII, 1, 1901; article on Dirk Vellert by Dr. Nicholas Beets, in *Onze Kunst* (French edition, *L'Art flamand et hollandais*), 1906 and 1907, and *Onze Kunst*, Oct.-Dec.,

1922-1923; by the same author, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XII, Oct., 1907, March, 1908; also Schintz, *Die Glasgemälde des Kunstgewerbe Museums in Berlin*, 1913, where the Goldman panels are mentioned; and Ludwig Baldass, *Dirk Vellert als Tafelmaler*, in *Belvedere*, 1922, 3.



FIG. 2—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
Christ Preaching on the Lake of Gennesaret



FIG. 3—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum



FIG. 4—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Parable of the Vineyard



FIG. 5—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes



FIG. 6—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
Christ Stilling the Tempest



FIG. 7—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Woman Taken in Adultery

known window in Antwerp Cathedral, executed in 1540, as well as from numerous extant designs for roundels known to be his, we can recognize his style. In his etchings he borrowed from Dürer and Lucas, the Antwerp mannerists Mabuse and Quentin Matsys, as well as from the Italian classicists Mantegna and Marc Antonio Raimondo. He himself passed through a period of mannerism, which, however, is less apparent in his glass designs.

He had, however, a personality of his own. Characteristic is his predilection for numerous large figures, somewhat crowded (in his glass less so) but well placed against a background of fanciful architectural forms. The way in which he handled perspective is noticeable. The figures, as well as the buildings in the background, perceptibly diminish in size and importance, so that the eye can often follow a snake-like line toward the horizon. In contrast to this, one or two figures stand out predominantly in the foreground. The composition, therefore, even when crowded with figures, is seldom confused. His types are a combination of Italian and Flemish; the draperies are arranged very much like those of Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, in decorative folds, with a conspicuous use of line. Peculiar is his treatment of hands, with nervously articulated fingers, spread outward, open, with the palm showing. His drawing is strong and vigorous, but he could be tender in his delineation of Christ and the Virgin, and always he showed a taste and refinement superior to the average glass designer of his day. His last dated etching was done in 1544; he must have died shortly after.

As far as the date of the Goldman panels is concerned, they were certainly executed after 1522, after Vellert had come under the influence of Lucas van Leyden, and also after he had passed through his mannerist phase. There are many details similar to the windows of King's College, which were executed between 1516 and 1531. The costumes indicate a date of 1525-1530. We may therefore safely assume that the Goldman panels, at any rate those designed by Vellert, were made about the year 1530.

1. THE NATIVITY

One of the finest of the whole series of glass panels in the Goldman collection is that picturing the Nativity (Fig. 1). It is of a different size and design from any of the rest, having an ornamental arch at the top and an inscription at the base. These are probably fragments from some other glass, reconstructed thus, for the main figure agrees in style with the rest of the panels. The result is by good fortune a charming simplicity of composition. The Virgin comes as close to the Raphaelesque conception of the girl-like mother as a glass painter could represent her; the dramatic gesture, restrained in emotionalism, is characteristic of Vellert at his best. In coloring, this panel is more varied than the rest, probably from its having been so much restored. The prevailing color scheme for the panels is grisaille and white with amber (silver stain), giving light and transparency, with a few enlivening touches of color, like purple for the robe of Christ, or blood-red for some other garment, and somewhere a little green, pale rose, or blue. Here the Virgin is robed in white; she kneels on a floor composed of white and golden tiles. The figured background of the lower half is purple, but this is probably a reconstruction, as above the trees are green and the sky white. The columns and ornamental features are all of amber color, except the little capitals, which are blueish green, while the space in the spandrels is blood-red. This is the richest of all the panels and most effective in the way the white robe of the Virgin

shows against the purple, amber, and green. Very curious are the sun, moon, and one star, placed in the upper left-hand part of the sky, as if the artist had conceived these heavenly bodies as witnessing the Nativity. We are afraid, however, they do not belong to the panel.

The inscription underneath in abbreviated old Flemish script, is composed of unrelated fragments, and has no connection with the subject above. Several Dutch scholars have attempted to solve the puzzle thus presented, but without success.

The left side unabbreviated would read: EENEN PENNINC HEEFT PEETER. . . . DAER HIJ DEN TOL HEEFT. . . ., which may be translated: "A penny Peter has [or had] . . . For he has the toll [or tax] . . ." The reference is evidently to Peter and his coin for the tax gatherer, but no passage in the Bible, whether Dutch or English, bears any resemblance to it.

The right side unabbreviated would read: U WIJZE MAECHDEN ZIJN MIT. . . . U LOTTE ZIJN MIT IDELEN LAMPEN . . ., which may be translated as: "You wise virgins are with. . . . Your lot is with idle lamps . . .," which clearly alludes to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

2. CHRIST PREACHING FROM A BOAT IN THE LAKE OF GENNESARET

In composition and drawing this panel does more to remind one of the influence of Lucas van Leyden on Vellert than any other of the series. The youth with upraised hand in the middle distance is very like a figure by Lucas, but equally like a figure in Vellert's engraving of the Martyrdom of St. John. That Vellert could treat a crowd without confusion is here amply proved. The composition is very characteristic of him, the landscape being close to that in the print just referred to.

The sky, landscape, and figures in the middle distance are treated in grisaille, as is also the boat, although the masts are golden. Only Christ is in purple. In the foreground the seated male figure is given a rose-brown robe, with blue sleeves and a red cap. The women are in white and gold, seated on a green ground.

3. THE HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC AT CAPERNAUM

This is probably not by Vellert himself. The composition is confused. Christ is an unimpressive figure; the drawing of the face is weak, the hair is unkempt, the gestures stereotyped. The scribe or pharisee in the foreground is also a stiff, ill-drawn figure. But that the panel was executed in Vellert's workshop is likely, because in the smaller figures we see excellent drawing, while the coloring conforms to that of the other panels, being mostly grisaille and silver stain. The pharisee alone is clad in heavily colored garments, having a red-and-gold robe with a white turban. Christ wears the usual purple tunic. The only other color note is the pale rose of the blanket of the sick man.

4. THE PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD

This is very much like Vellert in the treatment of the heads and hands, and one of the best panels in the drawing of the folds of the garments. The type of Christ which we find here occurs in four other panels, namely, The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (Fig. 5), Christ Stilling the Tempest (Fig. 6), Christ Preaching from a Boat on the Lake of Gen-



FIG. 8—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins



FIG. 9—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Levite in the Parable of the Good Samaritan



FIG. 10—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Crucifixion



FIG. 11—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
The Descent from the Cross

nesaret (Fig. 2) and The Wise and Foolish Virgins (Fig. 8). It is a quiet, gentle, spiritual face, with fine, delicately traced features, light hair with well arranged curls falling down to the shoulders, and a double pointed beard. We recognize this as Dirk Vellert's handwork in contrast to the others, for example, the Christ of the Crucifixion, which is much cruder and coarser. The drawing of the hands, particularly those of the central figures, is characteristic of Vellert as we know him from other works.

There is less color in this panel than in any of the others, except for the purple robe of Christ; the only other color is the pale green of the grass.

5. THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES AND FISHES

Here again, as in Christ Preaching from a Boat (Fig. 2), the designer has successfully treated a difficult subject. A lesser artist would have attempted to picture an immense crowd of figures, and could have given us only a confused composition. But with justification Vellert has taken for granted that we know the episode, and he has shown us only the central figures.

Our photograph is deceptively dark. The panel itself is light, but with richer, more contrasting colors than most. The ground is a bluish green; the purple of Christ's robe is a fine transparent color. The kneeling figure is clad in a blood-red tunic with a white mantle, while the standing figure to the right has a pale vermilion tunic and a white mantle. The other figures, and the architecture are in grisaille and amber.

6. CHRIST STILLING THE TEMPEST

This is the finest of the panels in showing the designer's powerful grasp of the subject, sense of decoration, his simplicity of composition, directness, and restrained color. In design it compares well with the best stained glass of the Middle Ages, and proves that Vellert was first of all a glazier. The sky, in contrast to most of the other panels, is here a strong blue, while the water is white, the boat, sail, and two seated figures grisaille, the purple robe of Christ forming the one strong color note, while the smaller figure with upraised hands in prayer is robed in light green.

7. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.

Another panel which is clearly by Vellert is that representing The Woman Taken in Adultery. Christ, in long purple robes, is kneeling, having scratched on the ground the words:

QUI SINE PECCATO
FUERIT EMITTAT

In the Vulgate John, viii, 7, reads:

QUI SINE PECCATO EST VESTRUM, PRIMUS IN ILLAM LAPIDEM MITTAT,
"He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone at her."

One of the finest figures in the series is that of the adulteress in this panel. How serene, if not impudent, she stands! It is here that Vellert shows the influence of Italian art.

The figures are all treated in grisaille and amber, except for the middle figure behind Christ, which has a blood-red robe and a green and white head scarf. The buildings are also in grisaille, while the sky is pale blue and the trees olive green.

8. THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS

This is a composition characteristic of the Antwerp school of this time, showing as it does a few figures against an elaborate architectural background. Here again, as in *The Miracle at Capernaum*, the execution is not so good, but the coloring is extraordinarily fine, mostly grisaille and gold, with the purple robe of Christ and the blood-red cloth behind Christ.

9. THE LEVITE IN THE PARABLE OF THE GOOD SAMARITAN

In this panel the landscape background is given importance to emphasize the remoteness of the spot where the episode takes place. So the sky is a pale steel-blue, the distant trees yellow, and the forest green. The figures are grisaille, the costume of the Levite alone is enlivened with color, the sleeves being red and the boots a dull rose.

10. THE CRUCIFIXION

It is doubtful if this panel was designed by Dirk Vellert himself. In comparison with such a panel as *Christ Stilling the Tempest*, how totally lacking it is in grasp of the significance of the tragedy it tries to portray! It is a mere school piece, devoid of the essential characteristics of the master, although it is saved from mediocrity by the coloring, which is almost entirely grisaille, bright and sparkling with amber and gold, the bodies in pale flesh tones, and the foreground pale green.

11. THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

This is a far finer panel than the last in all respects. It is powerfully conceived, forcefully constructed, beautifully drawn. The artist has grasped the significance of the theme, concentrated his efforts on the figure of the man lowering the body of Christ, and given to the dead body a real pathos. True, there is little sadness in the aspect of Mary, and John, or Joseph of Arimathea, but they stand in mute dejection, and are well executed. These figures are especially characteristic of Vellert, recalling, as they do, the figures of Dürer, while the distant landscape, with a walled city, is familiar to us in Vellert's prints.

The landscape, the foreground, the cross, and crown of thorns are rendered in grisaille and amber, the sky being white. The man lowering Christ has red breeches and hose, a lavender vest, and pale green sleeves. In the garments of the other figures there are touches of pale old rose and blue.

12. CHRIST APPEARING TO ST. MARY MAGDALENE

Although this is a decoratively designed panel, it is probably not by Vellert. The drawing is too coarse. Christ lacks the spiritual quality which Vellert, to a certain extent at least, attained in other panels, and which he ought to have achieved to a greater extent in this special scene. In coloring, too, it is inferior. The sky, a pale gray blue, is restored. The garden fence is brown, as is also the sepulcher. The trees and the ground are of two tones of green. The distant figures are grisaille and amber. Christ is in purple, and the Magdalene is dressed in a rose-brown dress with white sleeves and gold-embroidered mantle.

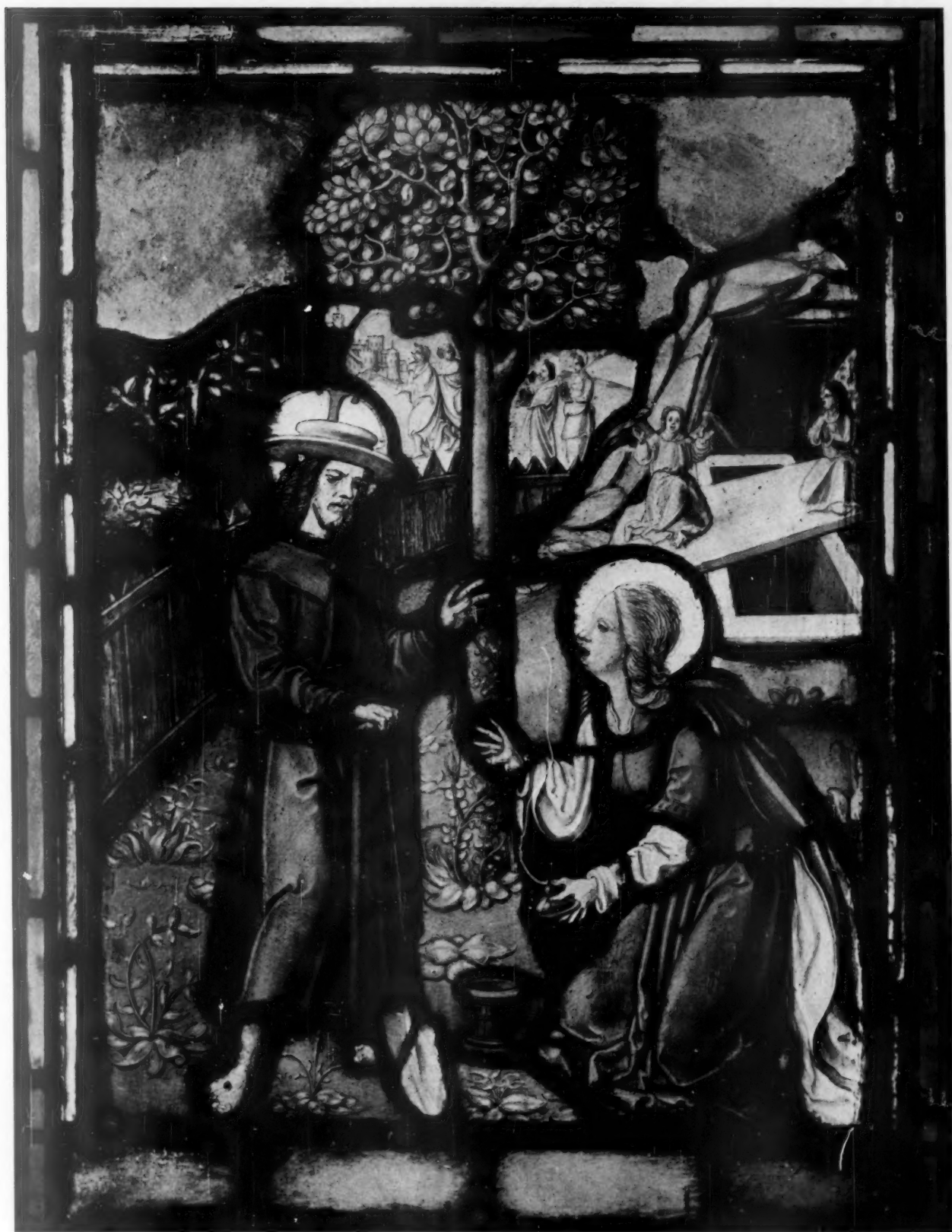


FIG. 12—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Panel
Christ Appearing to St. Mary Magdalene



FIGS. 13, 14, 15—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Medallions. (13 and 15) Isaiah and (14) Solomon



FIGS. 16, 17, 18—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Medallions. Prophet and the Initials I (Jesus) and M (Mary)



FIGS. 19, 20, 21—New York, Collection of Mr. Henry Goldman: Stained Glass Medallions. Prophets

13-21. PROPHETS

It is somewhat difficult to identify the little figures in the medallions. They are charming and have all the qualities of Vellert's style. Essentially decorative and fantastic, they are bright and rich in color. Several are reconstructions and are incomplete. They do not seem to bear any relation to the larger panels, as prophets frequently do, foretelling the events portrayed in connection with them.

The first three prophets (Figs. 13, 14, and 15) over The Nativity and Christ Preaching from a Boat, bearing labels upon which are recognizable Bible quotations, can be identified as Isaiah (1 and 3) and Solomon (2). Very quaint and ingenious, they are painted in grisaille with blue background and touches of rose-lavender on the garments. The labels are written with the customary abbreviations. Unabbreviated, the first would read: FACIEM MEAM NON AVERTI AB INCREPANTIBUS ET CONSPUENTIBUS IN ME. ISAIAH 50. In the King James Version this passage reads: "I hid not my face from shame and spitting." The second label unabbreviated would read: TRAHE ME POST TE CANTICORUM PRIMO. In the King James Version the Song of Solomon, i, 4, is translated as: "Draw me, we will run after thee." The third label unabbreviated would read: CORONANS CORONABIT TE DIVIS TRIBULATIONIBUS. The last parts of the lines as they actually appear (DEO and IIS) are unrelated, being fragments of some other inscription added. In the Vulgate Isaiah, xxii, 18, reads: CORONANS CORONABIT TE TRIBULATIONE.

In the central medallion (Fig. 17) over The Miracle at Capernaum and The Parable of the Vineyard we find a fancifully clad figure in yellow vest, red sleeves, and green hat, the Flemish conception of an Oriental, reminding one of the bizarre Easterners in pictures by Roger van der Weyden and Dirk Bouts. It is quite a different figure from the first three. His scroll bears no inscription, so we cannot identify him. The letters (Figs. 16 and 18) at either side of this medallion, I and M, crowned, are, of course, the initials of Jesus and Mary, and need no explanation.

As impossible as the fourth to identify, are the three prophets of the next series (Figs. 19, 20, and 21) over The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes and Christ Stilling the Waters. The first and third are exquisite in decorative design, although largely reconstructed from fragments. Both are gayly clad in yellow with red sleeves and green caps against a blue background. The ornament is grisaille and gold. There is no inscription to tell us whom the figures represent.

The middle prophet is different from the others, but equally characteristic of Dirk Vellert. He is a very bizarre personage in purple-and-yellow robe, with green cap against a red background. His scroll bears an abbreviated inscription, apparently to be interpreted as: CUM NUN QUEM ACCEPTURUS SIT. But this is not to be identified with any Biblical reference.

EL GRECO—AN ORIENTAL ARTIST

By AUGUST L. MAYER

THE present tendency of the Spaniards to consider El Greco an integral part of the history of Spanish painting has encouraged me to bring together here the evidence against this point of view. After the long indifference to El Greco in Spain, not only has an overestimation of the artist himself grown up there, but also a habit of imagining (one cannot say seeing) decisive influences of his art on that of Velasquez and Goya.

El Greco did not completely enter into the Spanish tradition any more than he did into the artistic culture of Italy. However much he may have learned from the Venetians, from Michelangelo, and from other artists, he became no hanger-on of Latin civilization, he remained a Greek reflecting vividly the Oriental side of Byzantine culture.¹ The fact that he signed his name only in Greek characters is no mere accident.

That El Greco felt at home in Spain is partly due to his conscious or subconscious awareness of the ever present and perceptible connections, both superficial and intrinsic, between Spain and the Orient. It is true that the art of El Greco is not entirely consistent; like others he reveals the conflict resulting from the intrusion of a strong and definite personality into a developed and well established artistic tradition, at a great period of European culture. We refer to his amalgamation of sensual and supersensual, naturalistic and quite unnatural, finite and infinite. Of the true Greek sensitiveness to form there is little trace. So far as it is present it reveals the intermediation of North Italian models. The thing that always stands out most conspicuously in El Greco is the Oriental element, the bent toward that which is supersensual and unbounded, toward the Oriental magic of space. El Greco achieves a certain supernatural abstraction of space, like that of mosaics with gold ground, in which all the disturbing and accidental features of concrete space are smoothed over. Whenever in his works space is more exactly defined for any reason, the artist, nevertheless, transforms the actuality, and endeavors to catch the endless sequence characteristic of Oriental art.

The fundamental difference between the intuition of El Greco and that of the Spaniards, using intuition in the widest sense to mean trained vision, apperception, and artistic formulation by the imagination, can be shown by innumerable examples. We shall choose only some of the more obvious and striking of these.

Let us begin by making a comparison between El Greco's St. Bernardino of Siena and Zurbaran's St. Francis, which exists in a number of versions and represents the saint as Pope Nicholas once came upon him when visiting his burial place. With Zurbaran all emphasis is laid on bringing out the solidity of the apparition. The holy monk is made

1. The present article is intended to provide a supplement and commentary for what I have already written on the subject in the last edition of my book on El Greco

(Delphin) and in the introduction to my critical catalogue of El Greco's works (Hanfstaengl).

tangible; though dead he is given an uncanny life. There is about him the same vitality, the same uncanny vividness, the same appeal to the senses (with the peculiar combination of the rawest visual and the weirdest imaginative material), the same enlivenment of the unusual, and the same elevation of almost gruesome objects into sublime art, that we encounter in the works of Velasquez and Goya. The naturalism that underlies this representation of Zurbaran's runs through the whole of Spanish mysticism. The divine is brought home to us and made objective: not only can we see and touch it, but we can almost even smell it. In the case of El Greco the contrary is always found. His St. Bernardino has only approximate human form. Not merely in a physical sense does the saint's head rise toward, even project into, heaven: the body is nothing, the intellect everything. But precisely where the Spanish painters had appropriated an Oriental element, namely, that Biblical trait of moral athleticism involved first in the prophets' mission and later in the saints' and martyrs' championship of God, El Greco as a Greek is the true descendant of his great philosophical forefathers and prefers contemplation and intellectual values—this contemplation, to be sure, is not without the mystic Oriental coloring injected by the Neo-Platonists. The same line of criticism holds good for El Greco's representations of St. Francis, which a whole world separates from the St. Francis of Zurbaran or from the St. Jeromes of Ribera. In these comparisons it may be that the Spaniards' pictures seem more banal, but in the long run they prove more vital than the coolly intellectual works of El Greco.

It is not surprising that the theme of the Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple had a special interest for El Greco throughout his life. For his temperament nowhere expressed itself so completely as in this scene with its agitated crowd. Although in the earliest versions the artist approaches the European, particularly the Venetian, sensuous treatment of the subject, later on he gives only the quintessence, the deep content of the episode, and, almost omitting to paint the earthly details and almost restricting himself to symbols, he makes the principal feature the overwhelming triumph of the spirit over material things. It is also symptomatic that in his late years El Greco should have chosen, precisely in the case of this subject, to work on a larger scale, as in the monumental picture of the Brotherhood of the Sacrament at S. Ginés in Madrid.

The genre-like details of Western, mainly Venetian, origin are reduced to a minimum in the later versions of the Expulsion, and are given an entirely new symbolic meaning. In the same way, in the other late works of El Greco, the details of genre tend to disappear. This is extremely significant because El Greco's life extended into the very time when, with the growth of the new naturalism, a special interest in genre-like treatment arose.

Before we pursue further the comparison of El Greco with Zurbaran and other Spaniards of the epoch of great national art in Spain, let us consider the relationship of El Greco to his Spanish contemporaries. We wish to anticipate and meet the possible objection that comparison of El Greco with Zurbaran is not exactly permissible because the two artists belong to quite different stages in the general artistic development. Although, according to my conception of the differences from generation to generation, the different stages represented in this comparison play no such major part as the fundamental distinctions of race, yet I recognize the difference of the art epochs represented by the two men.

The Spanish artist who corresponds in a certain sense to El Greco is Luis de Morales. That he cannot measure up to the Greek in the endowments of genius and of artistic temperament is unimportant in this connection, as is the circumstance that he is a little older. Morales is the principal representative of the Spanish Mannerism of the sixteenth century, the Spanish proto-Baroque. Here we can make this as a mere assertion. We still have to discuss later, and at some length, the character of Mannerism as the European style of the sixteenth century. Morales, almost exclusively a religious painter, a creator of Spanish types of artistic and cultural importance, not only an artist of unalloyed seriousness but one of the most outstanding representatives of Spanish melancholy, belongs absolutely to the company of European Mannerists in his choice of format, method of filling the area, proportions, exaggeration of movement, and striving for elegant posture; and he shows, in his own way, his Milanese education, and, especially, his intimate relations to certain Netherlanders. He has that smoothness of form and that definiteness of expression characteristic of all European Mannerists except Tintoretto, who does occupy a unique position. Particular in contrast to El Greco, Morales' clarity and definiteness of statement, and, above all, genuinely Spanish sculpturalness are very striking. A comparison of his *Ecce Homo* with the middle section of El Greco's *Espolio*, or of his *Saint with Donor* with El Greco's *St. Julian with Donor* (Prado, from the Errazu collection), or again of his *Dolorosa* with El Greco's, shows the whole difference between Spanish religious feeling and that of El Greco, between true Spanish composition and that of the Greek.

The *Burial of Count Orgaz* has a certain Spanish flavor in its melancholy, and its portraits are undeniably striking reproductions of real Spanish types; but, taken either as a whole or in detail, the picture is not Spanish in the same way as Zurbaran's *St. Bonaventura on His Deathbed* in the Louvre. Nor do we refer to the differences that are really due to difference of period. There are other essential differences that transcend the century and remain constant through all periods. We recognize in Zurbaran's work the greater naturalism and the entirely earth-bound individualism of the Spaniard, who tries to get a thrilling and human expression, based on the simple phenomena of sense, and who reveals an objectivity to which any miracle is an exceptional but thoroughly comprehensible proceeding. El Greco's complexity and subtlety, the gentility and refinement of Greek and other Eastern culture, are not to be found in any Spanish painter. In this connection, too, be it remembered that nine-tenths of the Mudejar decorative work executed by Spanish Christian artists represents a vulgarization of the original Arabic.

Weisbach has correctly pointed out that El Greco occupied a much debated, but unique and exotic position in Spain. Then, however, he goes on to say that "the spiritualistic in his art was brought to full maturity partly through his own endowments, partly through his contact with the religious feeling of Spain." I believe I have already demonstrated that the religious spirit of Spain had nothing in common with El Greco's. It is no cause for wonder that, on account of the artistic license he allowed himself in the composition of religious themes, El Greco came into conflict with the Spanish theologians. Take for example the lawsuit over the three *Maries* that in the *Espolio* the artist put, contrary to the Bible, right beside the action. That a large audience in Spain, nevertheless, took so keen an interest in the religious painting of El Greco is because the intensity of his pictures for the Church was felt, and they were therefore accepted, with all their strangeness, as the Netherlandish pictures had been accepted a century before.

Weisbach is right in contradicting Dvořák's assertion that El Greco took over his religious spiritualism from the French Mannerists. It is not worth while here to go into this matter further. For it indicates a complete misunderstanding of El Greco's art to try to establish such a derivation on the basis of a few external similarities due to contemporaneity.

In his religious pictures El Greco is not only cosmopolitan and courtly, like the Mannerists and many of the Baroque artists, but he has also a kind of calculated coolness, very different, however, from that of Bronzino. El Greco aims at a restraint of expression, a reserve, even when, in and of themselves, his models sometimes seem akin to the types of so sensitive an artist as Correggio. But to the same degree that his Madonnas stand apart from those of Correggio, his types of saints differ from those of Michelangelo. In both cases El Greco shows a conscious evasion of any human warmth, a conscious elimination of any such definite statements as are to be found in the Italian types of the artists mentioned. This explains why the Mercy Seat in the Clouds is lacking in appeal to Western Europeans, why the Assumption of Mary is festive but not sublime. The cool reticence of these pieces recalls, as does that of the Funeral of Count Orgaz, the Moorish idea of concealing all excitement, of always preserving calm and dignity, and is related to the *Sosiego* of the Castilian. But a comparison of El Greco's portraits with those of the Spaniards shows that the latter let themselves out more freely, and in their portraits, as in their religious pictures, reveal a greater warmth of humanity. (Compare, for example, the portrait of the boy, that is, the son of El Greco, in the Funeral of Count Orgaz.) Even in the reticent Spanish portraits we penetrate more readily into the character of the sitters than we do in El Greco's portraits, where, notwithstanding the total extraordinary effect, a sort of intrinsic stiffness is perceptible. Not only has the temperament of the artist molded the portraits; it seems as if the men themselves were wholly permeated with his spirit: there results a subtle unity, a unique kind of artistic magic.

We are naturally not at all disposed to classify all these works by El Greco as soulless, an epithet which Weisbach applies to the great majority of the Mannerists' output. Where the human flame fails to flare up we perceive in El Greco the intellect, intellectual absorption, intellectual activity. We are almost tempted to think in connection with El Greco of the philosophical formula, of Oriental inspiration, voiced by the Englishman Berkeley: All phenomena are nothing but the ideas of God generated in Himself and communicated to individual minds as perceptions. There is nothing real except God, the minds, and the ideas.

El Greco lived in an ideal world. Unlike Cervantes, he felt no need for the conquest of knowledge, no necessity of clarification through a Don Quixote and a Sancho Pansa. On the other hand, his art is diametrically opposed to that of Velasquez, who seeks through form to escape the trivialities of actuality.

The surge of atmosphere, the movement of space, Velasquez shares with his great Baroque contemporaries. The discovery of the infinite may be styled the greatest achievement of the whole Baroque. But the presentation of the infinite is utterly unlike that in Oriental art. The Baroque renders the infinite perceptible by our senses, brings it down to our measure. In the case of El Greco, however, we might speak of an abstract kind of infinite. The surge of atmosphere is not felt; the space does not darken toward the edges,

it does not undergo any material dissolution. Rather, the magic distance is present to begin with; we are aware of a detachment, an elusiveness, like that which, likewise on Spanish soil, the Orient had already offered in the monuments of Moorish art, in the forest of columns of the mosque of Cordova and in the rooms of the Alhambra. As examples let one observe particularly the landscapes of El Greco, the fantasy of Toledo in a Storm, or the great landscape of the Laocoön. In spite of all the clearness, one is aware of something unmeasurable about the distance. In Western painting no landscape stretches away in such a fashion from the observer, or maintains such an unbridgeable chasm between itself and the onlooker.

In my inaugural lecture at the University of Munich, in 1911, I was the first to characterize Mannerism as a great stylistic movement, to point out that it must be considered a positive and integral element in art, and that it represented an epoch comprising most of the artists after Raphael's death from Pontormo to El Greco. My thesis found at that time so little response, the idea that Mannerism above all was a decadent phenomenon, and represented an age of exhaustion, was so firmly rooted, that I abandoned any thought of giving my ideas a wider publicity through publication. Meanwhile, what I then said as a pioneer has become public property. Weisbach from one point of view, Dvořák and the Pinder group, Pevsner especially, and, finally, M. Hörner, have all done successful work in defining Mannerism as the European style of the sixteenth century.

Let us set down the characteristics of Mannerism. It is the aristocratic mode *par excellence*, a thoroughly courtly and cosmopolitan art, full of artistry and artificiality. It seeks not the simple but the complicated, aims entirely at "style." It is "sentimental," in the sense of Schiller's terminology and definition (in contrast to the naïve sensuality of Titian), and often of a pessimistic turn. Its colors are coldly glittering and, even in the case of deeper coloring and shading, without much glow. Notable features are the lack of harmony, the refinement of the dissonances, the convulsiveness of line and light, reflecting inner disunion, the emphasis on overslender proportions both in the details and in the whole shape of the picture, the introduction of the magic of light as an essential factor in painting, the industrious filling up of the areas, the numerous half figures in the foreground, the compositions that not infrequently seem to be slipping off at the bottom. Generally the effect of depth is not aimed at, but a kind of mixture of relief and Gobelin effect. Pathos is combined with nervousness. *Forza* and *grazia* are joined in a singular paradoxical union. Self-assertion often conceals inner incapacity. The scheme, the recipe, often plays too great a part. Instead of their former bondage to the soil, the tendency of artists to move about freely makes its appearance; instead of the pursuance of native tradition, freedom and the capacity of appropriation. Mannerism is an absolutely international style.²

2. Here is a short list of the most important newer writings on the subject of Mannerism:

B. Croce, *Der Begriff des Barock. Die Gegenreformation*, Zurich, Rascher, 1925. W. Weisbach, *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation*, Berlin, P. Cassirer, 1921; *Barock als Stilphänomen* (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, II, 225 ff.); *Gegenreformation—Manierismus—Barock* (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIX, 16 ff.); *Der Manierismus* (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1919). W. Friedländer, *Die Entstehung des anticlassischen Stils in der italienischen Malerei um*

1520 (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 49 ff.) N. Pevsner, *Die Barockmalerei in den romanischen Ländern* (*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*); *Gegenreformation und Manierismus* (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 243 ff.); *Beiträge zu einer geistesgeschichtlichen Grundlegung der Kunst des früh- und Nachbarock* (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIX, 225 ff.). M. Hörner, *Der Manierismus* (*Zeitschrift für Aesthetik*, XVII, 262 ff.). M. Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (Munich, 1924), pp. 259 ff. G. Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, II, 1, pp. 165 ff.

El Greco is one of the most important, and certainly one of the latest, of the Mannerists. But his membership in this Western European group is only a conditional one. The qualities of artificiality and intellectuality, his method of filling up the areas, and certain rules of composition, he shares with the Mannerists, particularly the Italian ones. But his art has no more intimate relation with that of the Italians³ than his fundamental point of view does with that of the Spaniards. Even in his early works El Greco betrays his dissimilarity not only in his somewhat foreign accent but in more far-reaching modifications of syntax.

It is worth while to investigate the significant differences between El Greco and his Italian teachers, the more sensuous early Baroque masters Titian and Correggio, as well as the main representatives of Mannerism: Tintoretto and Bassano on the one hand, and Michelangelo, Parmigianino, Bronzino on the other. Many general points of difference have already been covered by our explanation of the fundamental distinction of the art of El Greco from Western European art. The following are some specific points that remain to be mentioned. Figures that are taken over from Titian and types from Correggio are remodeled; they lose their material weight and gain in animation. Either the gestures are exaggerated, or, contrariwise, outward expression of feeling is rigidly restrained, as in the Assumption of Mary. It is clear that El Greco learned abundantly both from the Manneristic compositions and from the sensuous genre paintings of Jacopo Bassano. But the nobility and the extravagance of El Greco's forms far transcend all the dignity of the Venetian citizenry. His treatment of light and shade, even in the apparently naturalistic passages and details, differs from Bassano's procedure; just as the nervous magic of his reproduction of light in mystic scenes differs from that of Tintoretto. We can occasionally find in El Greco, especially in his earlier period, some naturalistic touches: instances are the indication of cast shadows, as on the clouds of the Mercy Seat in the Prado;⁴ the strong plastic modeling of legs; the very material reproduction of stuffs and of animals; and, especially, the effects of artificial lighting, as in the well-known picture called the Spanish Proverb, and in the early Adoration of the Shepherds at S. Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo. Yet the very earliest version that we have of the so-called Spanish Proverb is fundamentally different in dynamic quality and rhythm of light and shade from any of the superficially related scenes by Bassano; likewise the Golgotha in the Prado differs absolutely in its composition from Titian's altarpiece at Ancona; and there is a world of difference between the Adoration in Toledo, just mentioned, and the famous Holy Night of Correggio, although this Italian picture had apparently made an impression on El Greco, as is shown too by later versions of the theme. In these later versions, however, precisely that which gave a naturalistic effect in the early picture is all eradicated; the Christ Child, with His large white robe, becomes more and more the source of light; His little body becomes less and less visible, and curls up smaller physically in order to be the more potently expressive

3. It is therefore a double error to find El Greco subject to any sort of influence of the Mannerists Zuccaro and Tibaldi, who began their work at the Escorial only in 1585, that is, long after El Greco formed his style.

4. It is very characteristic of El Greco that strong cast shadows are still to be found in his mature Resurrection of Christ in the Prado, but, in contrast to the picture in S.

Domingo el Antiguo, the indication of earth has been eliminated. In this connection we would like to call attention again to the fact that all indication of earth is omitted in the early Assumption of Mary and that the Pentecost in the Prado differs radically from Titian's famous picture in S. Maria della Salute in the suppression of all spatial elements.

(cf. example in New York, Metropolitan Museum). Equally radical differences are apparent if we compare El Greco's pictures of the Agony in the Garden with paintings by Correggio, Titian, Bassano, and Tintoretto.

There is no doubt that Tintoretto is the most creative magician and the greatest spirit among the Italian Mannerists, even among all European Mannerists; yet not only is his style "impure," as is that of practically all Mannerists,⁵ but also he contrasts with El Greco in the way he wrenches open the space by an exaggerated emphasis of depth, in which matter Tintoretto, indeed, especially in his later works, was pursuing anything but a crudely naturalistic ideal. In the emphasis of the material depth of that which I would call the European form of the infinite, he differs from the Greek, just as he does in the genuinely Venetian effort to use the foreground as a bridge over to the observer. We can see that El Greco studied the Venetian practice carefully and wished to adapt it to his purposes, but in the early Adoration of the Shepherds, already cited, something entirely different has come out of it, and El Greco finally wisely decided to abandon the method altogether. Tintoretto's composition, his development of areas and his use of rhythmic curves as filling, reflects beyond question the greatest inventiveness; but, at bottom, Tintoretto remains true to the old Venetian mode; his is merely a very original variation. El Greco, on the other hand, reveals from the very beginning an entirely different feeling for space; and, more than that, he combines with his different way of filling areas a different composition, in which the figures are thrown toward the edges with a kind of centrifugal force, and the empty spaces, musical pauses, thereby acquire an active effectiveness.

While the whole Mannerism of the sixteenth century can be regarded as a species of decadence, in the sense of overrefinement, and as the issue of a rich artistic culture of long standing, this is particularly true so far as El Greco is concerned. Far more than in the case of any Italian Mannerist, it is clear that he created from an overirritated nervous condition something far from bad. But it would be fallacious to say that his art represented a state of exhaustion: rather his was the art of the Orient flaring up for the last time, like the flamboyant shapes of the towering guards in his Resurrection of Christ, or of the apostles in his Pentecost at the Prado.

5. It is unnecessary here to discuss El Greco's "dualism" and what is contradictory in his style, for I have already

written of these matters in my earlier studies of the artist.



FIG. 1—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Wooden Altar-Frontal from Tahull (Photo. Serra)

EARLY SPANISH PANEL PAINTING IN THE PLANDIURA COLLECTION (I)¹

By WALTER W. S. COOK²

DURING the last few years an unusual collection of mediaeval Spanish art has been brought together by Sr. D. Luis Plandiura of Barcelona. Situated in the *barrio* of Ribera, one of the most ancient sections of the city, the present home of Sr. Plandiura is built over the ancient garden of the Captain-General of Catalonia.³ Directly across the street is the Mercado del Borne, one of the oldest markets of the city, and from the windows one can see the park of the Ciudadela, where the former city fortress stood. Within a stone's throw of the house are numerous churches and civic monuments rich in Catalan history and tradition, such as the church of S. Maria del Mar, La Lonja, or Stock Exchange, and the Plaza de Palacio. A short distance beyond are the former royal chapel of S. Agueda, now the Provincial Museum, the Crown Archives of Aragon, and the cathedral of Barcelona. The house itself is in one respect quite unusual, since the two lower stories are given over entirely to the family business, known in Spain as *coloniales* (an import business dealing in sugar, coffee, cocoa, etc.),⁴ and the three upper stories are reserved for the exhibition of Sr. Plandiura's art treasures.

In many respects the Plandiura collection differs radically from other private collections in Spain. At Madrid the majority of the private collections are limited to Spanish art from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and for the most part these have been inherited as family heirlooms and conserved by their present owners as a part of the family capital. Sr. Plandiura's collection, on the other hand, is entirely of recent acquisition and is the direct expression of his own personality and taste. The first objects were acquired in 1914 and the bulk of the collection was brought together between 1915 and 1920. The works of art are chiefly of the mediaeval period and some of the most prized possessions date between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.

Prior to 1914 the art treasures of Catalonia were allowed to emigrate from their native land, and these were almost invariably sent by local dealers to Paris and London, where they were resold to private collectors in Europe and America. During the war, however, Sr. Plandiura, with the ardent enthusiasm of a modern collector, set out to repatriate many

1. Summary of a paper read before the annual meeting of the College Art Association of America in December, 1927. I have also discussed several of the altar-frontals mentioned in this article in a lecture at the home of Col. Michael Friedsam, New York City, in April, 1928.

2. I am indebted to Sr. Plandiura for many courtesies shown to me during several visits to Barcelona. He has been of invaluable assistance in tracing the provenance of many of his art objects and has also furnished me with the

illustrations reproduced in this article, which were made by the Barcelona photographer D. Francisco Serra.

3. Now calle de Ribera, no. 6. The main staircase of the house is built directly over the fountain of the ancient garden.

4. The family business was founded in 1856 and the present house was built by D. Antonio Plandiura, the father of D. Luis. The name of the father is inscribed above the stairway in the main entrance hall. The full name of the son is Sr. D. Luis Plandiura Pou.

of the mediaeval objects which had already left the country. The early Catalan panels still in the possession of French and English dealers were repurchased and brought back to Barcelona; local churches and cathedrals also parted with their treasures, and the collection grew by leaps and bounds. To-day every important school of mediaeval Spanish painting is included and the early art of Spain is better represented here than in any other private collection in Spain. Sr. Plandiura's home is a veritable treasure house which no student of Spanish painting can ignore.

Although the strongest features of the Plandiura collection are the Romanesque and Gothic panels, sculpture, and frescoes, other fields of art are also represented.⁵ There is an unusually fine collection of Hispano-Moresque, Valencian, and Catalan ceramics, with superb examples of Talvera, Teruel, Paterna, Manisses, and Alcora wares. There are also Limoges enamels, Hispano-Moresque brocades, and Spanish velvets, Catalan glass of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish furniture. These objects are exhibited on the third and fourth stories of the house and the top floor is devoted entirely to a collection of modern painting, mostly of the Catalan school. The modern painting does not date back more than fifty years, and this is the only collection in Spain where it is possible to study the contemporary Catalan school as a whole. The walls of several rooms are hung with canvases by Fortuny, Pablo Picasso and his pupils, Ramón Casas, Santiago Rusiñol, Ricardo Canals, Isidro Nonell, Joaquín Mir, and others. The reception room is decorated in the modern Pompeian style with mural paintings by Xavier Nogués, the most prominent of the living artists at Barcelona.⁶

In spite of its importance the Plandiura collection is comparatively unknown outside of Spain and the purpose of this article is to call attention to the group of Romanesque and early Gothic altar-frontals, or antependia, all of which formerly hung in small parish churches in the provinces of Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. The earliest painted altar-frontals of Spain were executed, as I have already shown elsewhere,⁷ as imitations of the rich antependia made of precious metals which existed in the great cathedrals and monasteries. They were made either in the form of painted panels, or a combination of painted panel and stucco, or carved in low relief in wood and polychromed. Comparatively few altar-frontals in wood have been preserved, but these are important, since they exerted an influence on the style and composition of the painted panels. Two early examples and a fragment of a third are now preserved in the Plandiura collection.

5. For brief discussions of Sr. Plandiura's collection see *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, Barcelona, 1921, XLV, p. 318; Pablo Tachard, *La collection Plandiura*, in *Vell i Nou*, October, 1920, pp. 224-34; *idem*, *Les grandes collections d'objets d'art ancien en Espagne*, in *Vell i Nou*, January, 1921, pp. 357-73; Joan Sacs, *Les collections Plandiura*, in *L'amour de l'art*, VII, 7, 1926, pp. 221-240; J. Folch i Torres, *La collection Plandiura* in *Gaceta de les arts*, *Epoca II*, I, no. 2, 1928. For a discussion of two Romanesque frescoes in the Plandiura collection see my article *A Romanesque Fresco in the Plandiura Collection*, in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 3, pp. 266-273. Recently an important Catalan fresco from S. Pedro de Burgal has been acquired by Sr. Plandiura, as well as fragments of mural painting from the chapel of the castle in the town of Orcau.

6. Other modern Catalan artists represented in this collection are: Juan Llimona, Ricardo Canals, Joaquín Suñyer, Domingo Carles, Ibo Pascual, Mariano Pidelaserra, Francisco Gali, Joaquín Vayreda, Tomas Mallol, Manuel Humbert, Nicolas Raurich, Enrique Galwey, Francisco Labarta, Joan Colom, Felix Elias, Domingo Espinal, Benito Mercade, Martí y Alsina.

7. *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85-101; VI, 2, pp. 31-60; VIII, 2, pp. 57-104; VIII, 4, pp. 195-234; X, 2, pp. 153-204; X, 4, pp. 305-365; *An early Aragonese Panel at Frankfurt am Main*, in *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, Düsseldorf, 1926, pp. 375-81.

THE WOODEN ALTAR-FRONTALS

THE WOODEN ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM TAHULL

The earliest wooden altar-frontal in the Plandiura collection (Fig. 1)⁸ was found in the parish church of S. Climent de Tahull, a small hamlet in the comarca of Ribagorza in the Bohí valley of the Pyrenees.⁹ When the panel reached Barcelona it was entirely covered with an unsightly coat of paint, but this has been removed and an inscription on the center of the upper frame shows that the altar-frontal was repainted in the year 1579 (HOC PINTAT A (D) 1579). In 1924 the panel was thoroughly cleaned and some of the original color came to light. This restoration was commemorated by a small plaque, now attached to the upper left frame, which reads: "*La restauració feta an aquest frontal de Tahull l'any 1579 fou feta en Barcelona por l'artista d'Arturo Cividini de Bergamo en Maig de l'any 1924.*"

The composition of this wooden antependium is similar to that of the painted panels of the period, consisting of a central compartment with the *Majestas Domini*, and lateral compartments of equal width. The side compartments are subdivided into upper and lower registers and each subdivision contains three figures in low relief. The wooden figures were carved separately and attached to the back of the panel by means of wooden dowels. The composition is enclosed by a narrow wooden frame which is fastened together at the four corners with wooden dowels. The upper right corner is somewhat damaged and traces of the original color can still be seen on the lower left corner. The bevel of the frame was painted in two colors, green and yellow, and there are indications that the surface of the frame was originally embellished with stucco ornament.

The Saviour, in the central compartment, is seated on a high throne with a projecting foot rest. He is not shown with the usual cruciform nimbus but wears a crown, the front of which has been slightly damaged. The nose has also been broken but the remainder of the head, including moustache and beard, is well preserved. A long tunic, the border of which is enriched at the neck and on the breast with a series of squares alternating with bead ornament in imitation of jewels reaches to the bare feet. The mantle is draped over both shoulders and one end is wrapped around the waist, falling in zigzag folds over the right knee. On the left knee He holds an open Book of the Gospels and the right hand is raised in benediction. The thumb and three fingers of the right hand are missing. In its original state the drapery was undoubtedly polychromed, but all traces of color have now disappeared. The figure is relieved against a plain dark green background and surrounded by a mandorla which was formerly decorated with stucco ornament. The inside bevel of the mandorla is red and a thin yellow line accentuates the contour at the base.

8. This measures 1.36 m. by 0.98 m.

9. Tahull lies in the northwest corner of Catalonia. It belongs to the municipality of Barruera, province of Lerida, and is in the diocese of La Seo de Urgel. It is an ancient town and formerly belonged to the counts of Pallars. There are two Romanesque churches, S. Maria, and S. Clemente. The latter church was consecrated December 10, 1123, according to the date of consecration painted on one of the circular columns of the church, and this date is verified by the document of consecration found

in the altar. The church has a wooden roof, nave and two aisles, and an apse with Lombard decoration on the exterior (J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, III, pp. 73 ff., figs. 23-28; *idem*, in *Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari*, 1907, pp. 119-123, figs. 1-4). The apse contained an interesting series of mural decorations which have now been removed to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. III, pp. 27-30; pls. XI-XII; J. Folch i Torres, *Museo de la Ciudadela, Catálogo de la seccion de arte románico*, Barcelona, 1926, pp. 134-138).

Four symbols of the evangelists formerly filled the spandrels outside of the mandorla but these have now been lost. That these were carved in low relief and attached to the back of the panel is indicated by the presence of dowel holes. After the original wooden symbols had been lost they were replaced by white symbolic beasts painted against a green background. The present iconographic arrangement shows in the upper left spandrel the angel of St. Matthew, in the upper right the eagle of St. John, in the lower left the lion of St. Mark, in the lower right the ox of St. Luke.

Each of the four divisions in the side compartments contains a blind arcade of three arches; the arches spring from tall capitals and are supported by slender colonnettes with a torus molding and high base. Each of the niches shelters a carved figure, and originally all twelve apostles were undoubtedly represented. During the successive restorations some of the figures have been transposed, and one at least has apparently been replaced by a figure that did not originally belong to the panel. When the panel was photographed in 1909 at Tahull¹⁰ a figure with head resting on his right hand, possibly St. John, was shown in the upper right niche, but this has now disappeared, and a hanging Judas, which did not appear at Tahull, is now shown in the lower right compartment. That some of the figures were transposed in the restoration of 1579 is indicated by the fact that when the panel was photographed at Tahull St. Peter was not in the usual position at the right of the Saviour, but on the left, in the position usually occupied by St. Paul, and the latter saint appeared on the left of St. Peter. Aside from possible transpositions, however, it is highly probable that in its present state eleven of the apostles are original and that the Judas was transferred in 1924 from another panel.

Although the Judas, who hangs from the limb of a tree in the lower right compartment, has been transferred from another altar-frontal this is one of the most interesting figures of the series. He is shown with black hair and beard, a short red tunic or jacket open at the waist, and long white hose; a small black devil resembling a monkey clings at his waist and gnaws at his vitals. The hanging Judas is fairly common in mediaeval art,¹¹ but this conception of the dead figure with a devil eating his vitals, symbolical of remorse, is unique in Catalan sculpture. A demon is also portrayed on the portal of S. Maria El Real at Sangüesa, Navarre (Fig. 3), directly above the head of Judas, but does not hang at the waist as on this altar-frontal.

With the exception of Sts. Peter and Paul, and Judas it is impossible to distinguish any of the remaining nine apostles by their attributes. One of the apostles, in the lower right register, holds a book open with both hands, but each of the others clasps a closed book in one hand and raises the other hand in an attitude of teaching. Some wear a long dark red tunic under a light green mantle and others a green tunic and red mantle. Some are

10. For the panel in its previous state see the photograph by Mas, no. 3390 C.

11. For early examples of the hanging Judas see the Rabula Gospel, dated 586 (Garrucci, III, pl. 138/1); Codex Rossanensis, fol. 8 (Gebhardt and Harnack, *Evangeliorum Codex Graecus Purpureus Rossanensis*, p. XLII, pl. XV); London, Br. Mus., ivory casket in the Maskell coll., fourth-fifth century (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, London, 1909, no. 7, pl. IV); Brescia, museum, ivory casket (Garrucci, VI, pl. 444); Milan, ivory diptych, fifth century (*ibid.*, VI, pl. 450/1);

Venice, S. Marco, ciborium column (*ibid.*, VI, pl. 497/2); Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, ivory situla from Milan or Reichenau, c. 980 (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, pl. III, 3); Gerona, cathedral, Beatus manuscript, dated 975; Stuttgart, Provincial Library, no. 23, psalter, tenth century (Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia* (V), in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 49); Saulieu (Côte-d'Or), St.-Androche, sculptured capital, twelfth century (A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pl. 52); Madrid, Bibl. Nac., Bible of Avila, thirteenth century (Cook, *op. cit.*, fig. 67).

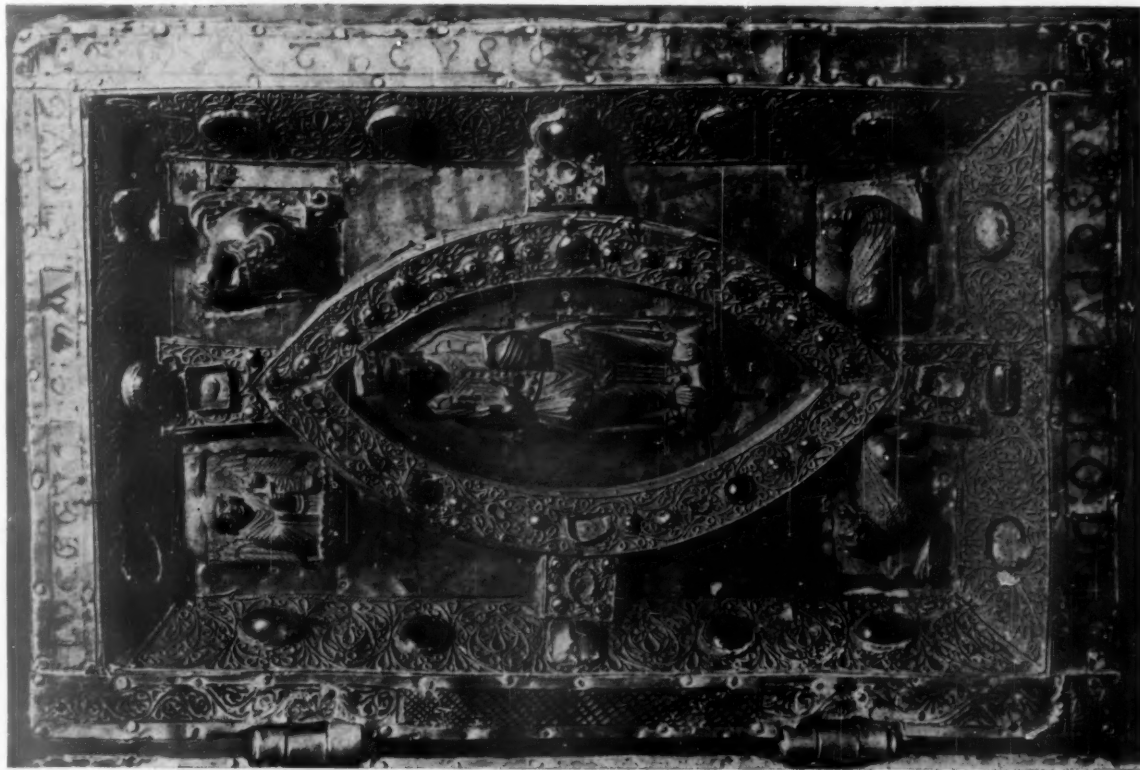


FIG. 2—Oriiedo, Cathedral: Cover of Ivory Diptych
(Photo. Mas)

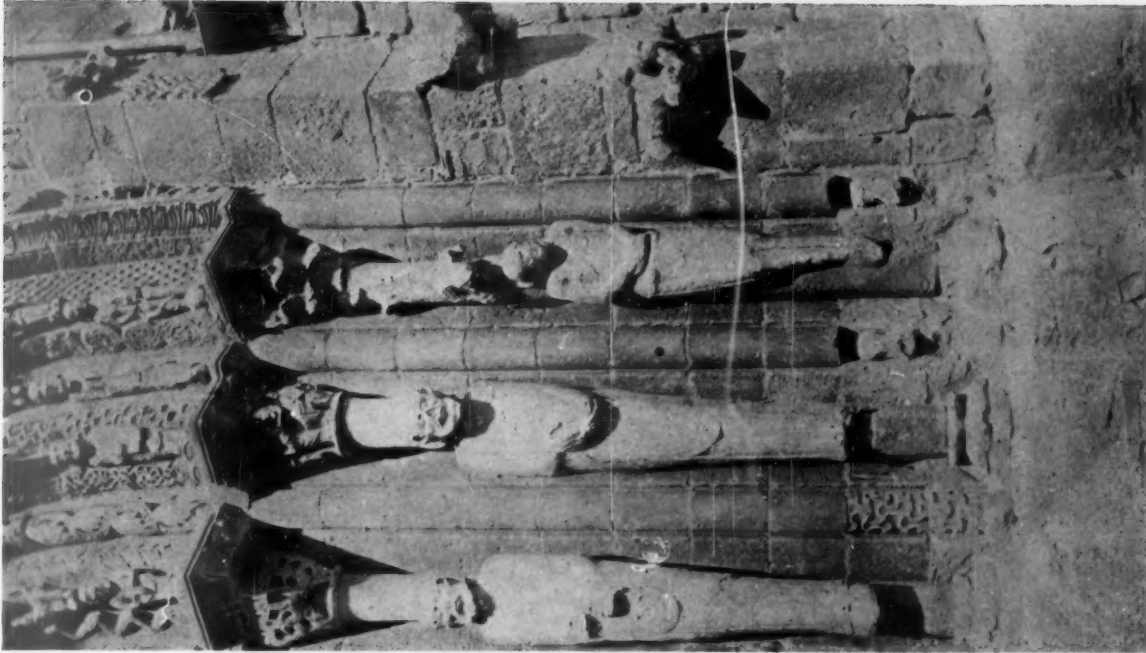


FIG. 3—Sangüesa (Navarre) S. M. la Real; Detail
of Façade (Photo. Byne)



FIG. 4—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Wooden Altar-Frontal from Benevent de Lerida (Photo. Serra)

represented with black, red, or brown hair and moustache, and two are beardless. None has a carved nimbus, but nimbi were undoubtedly painted on the backgrounds. All the figures are placed against plain backgrounds of red, orange, yellow, or green and the colors alternate in each register. Rows of small dots indicate that the arches and colonnettes were formerly embellished with pearl ornament in stucco.

The figure and drapery style of this antependium show close affinities with the late Romanesque sculpture of France. This is especially evident if we compare the figure of the Saviour in the central compartment with the *Majestas Domini* of the west façade of Chartres. The manner of wearing the mantle on our altar-frontal, with the left arm almost entirely covered and with one end wrapped around the waist, is closely analogous to that found on the French tympanum, and the throne with projecting foot rest is almost identical in both works. This similarity is not strange in view of the fact that the sculpture of Chartres exerted a powerful influence on late Romanesque sculpture in Spain, an influence which continued until late in the thirteenth century. It appears again in the figure of Christ on an ivory diptych in the Camera Santa at Oviedo (Fig. 2), dated 1163, where there is the same treatment of the tunic in small folds below the knees, the same wide band of ornament at the neck, and the same type of crown and throne.

The Spanish quality of the Plandiura altar-frontal, however, is quite unmistakable and is best illustrated by the facial types. The long head, the manner in which the hair is cut low over the forehead, the bulging eyes with large black pupils and heavy eyebrows, the long nose and wide mouth, the pointed beards and drooping moustaches, are all characteristic features of Spanish sculpture. The hair of St. Peter, which fits over the skull like a circular cap, is closely analogous in treatment to that found in the angel of Matthew on the Oviedo diptych (Fig. 2). Equally Spanish are the stilted arches supported on slender colonnettes, the use of stucco ornament, and the alternate color scheme employed in the drapery of the apostles and in the backgrounds of the lateral registers.

The style of this altar-frontal shows that it should be dated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The church of S. Climent de Tahull was not consecrated until December 10, 1123, and the frescoes in the apse appear to have been painted in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The altar-frontal is certainly the work of a native Catalan artist and may have been executed in a workshop at La Seo de Urgel.

THE WOODEN ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM BENEVENT DE LERIDA

One of the most unusual wooden antependia which has thus far come to light in Catalonia was found in a church at Benevent de Lerida, in the Conca de Tremp, province of Lerida (Fig. 4).¹² Unlike the preceding frontal the figures were not made separately and doweled to the back of the panel; the artist has carved into a large plank, more than three inches in thickness, and the figures are sunk beneath the level of the surrounding frame. This technique has afforded excellent protection for the sculptured figures, none of which have been replaced or transposed as in the preceding work. The antependium was highly polychromed and much of the original color has been preserved.¹³

12. Benevent de Lerida is directly north of Lerida.

13. The panel measures 1.42 m. in length and the sides are unequal in width, measuring 84 cm. on the left and 81 cm. on the right. Cracks have appeared in the lower

left-hand corner and on the right side of the panel. When the frontal was first brought to Barcelona it was completely covered with later coats of paint, but it has been thoroughly cleaned and the original color restored.

The frontal consists of a central mandorla with the *Majestas Domini* and is flanked on either side by lateral compartments. The side compartments are further subdivided into lower and upper registers, each containing three figures of apostles. The mandorla and the narrow bands which divide the lateral compartments horizontally are decorated with a lozenge and roundel pattern carved in low relief. The same design, enclosed within a twisted rope pattern, is repeated on the upper surface of the frame. Stucco was also applied, most of which has now disappeared, and traces of color show that the lozenges and roundels were originally painted red and green.

The Saviour is enthroned on a dark red rainbow arch and is depicted with a white cruciform nimbus, dark green hair tinged with red, and large eyes with black pupils. The beard and moustache are not carved, as in the preceding work, but are painted in black. The Saviour is clad in a red tunic and blue mantle which falls over both knees. His right hand is raised in benediction and with the left He holds a yellow book, the open pages of which contain the following inscription in uncial letters: IH(ESU)S AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM¹⁴ ET DIXIT EIS: PAX VOBIS: EGO SUM DEUS (?) DIXIT (or DICIT).¹⁵ The dark blue background, against which the Saviour is shown, is no doubt a later addition, since traces of light blue underpainting are still visible at the inner edge of the mandorla. The outer bevel of the mandorla is also light blue in color.

A unique feature of this panel is the manner in which the evangelistic symbols are portrayed. Usually the angel of St. Matthew appears outside the mandorla in the upper left spandrel and the eagle of St. John in the upper right, the symbols of Mark and Luke appearing below. Here, however, the symbol of St. John, resembling a duck more than an eagle, with dark green feathers tinged with red, is placed in the upper left spandrel and is held by a kneeling apostle. The lion of St. Mark, with dark red body and green wings, is placed opposite, on the right, and is likewise held by a kneeling apostle. The ox of St. Luke, with red body, is shown in the lower left and the angel of Matthew, depicted with green tunic, red mantle, and green wings, is placed in the lower right. The two latter symbols, however, are not held by the apostles.

The arrangement of the twelve apostles in the lateral compartments is no less unusual. As already noted in our discussion of the preceding panel, St. Peter usually appears in the upper register, immediately on the right of Christ, and St. Paul is on His left, whereas in this panel St. Peter, with the double keys, black beard, green tunic, and red mantle, is placed inconspicuously in the lower register and on Christ's left. St. Paul is even further removed from the Saviour, since he is placed in the extreme lower left corner of the panel. He holds a sword in the right hand and a book in the left and is represented with nimbus, red hair and beard, and is clad in an orange-red tunic and blue-green mantle. The beardless figure in a red tunic and blue mantle who holds the eagle in the upper left register is undoubtedly St. John.

14. Luke, IV, 30: "*Ipse autem transiens per medium illorum, ibat.*"

15. Luke XXIV, 36: "*Dum autem haec loquuntur, stetit Jesus in medio eorum, et dicit eis; Pax vobis; Ego sum;*

nolite timere." Dr. E. A. Lowe has called my attention to the above lines from the Gospel of St. Luke, and on palaeographical grounds he dates this inscription in the thirteenth century.

None of the remaining apostles can be identified by means of their attributes. Each is depicted with a nimbus and book and is clad either in a red-orange tunic and green mantle or a green tunic and orange mantle. There is little modeling about the eyes and mouth; the eyebrows, the almond-shaped eyes with large pupils, as well as moustache and beard, are indicated by color and are not carved. Three of the apostles are beardless and the remainder are represented with red or black beards. All have red hair and a spot of color on each cheek. Originally the backgrounds behind the figures were a dark neutral red, but this is now much lighter in tone.

Stylistically this altar-frontal appears even more Spanish than the preceding antependium. This local flavor is undoubtedly due in large measure to the curious contours of the heads, the short stature of the bodies, the abnormally large feet, and the use of polychrome and stucco. There are no traces of direct foreign influence and the fact that the panel is carved from a single piece of wood indicates that it may have been executed by a provincial artist of the Conca de Tremp. That this provincial artist worked from poor models or no models at all is shown by the arbitrary arrangement of apostles and the unusual conception of the evangelistic symbols of St. John and St. Mark. The uncial inscription on the Book of the Gospels held by the Saviour offers an indication of the date of this work, which cannot have been earlier than the thirteenth century.

FRAGMENTS FROM A WOODEN ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM CASTANESA

Aside from the two wooden antependia mentioned above, a group of small fragments of a third antependium are also preserved in the Plandiura collection (Figs. 5, 6, 7). These were found in a parish church at Castanesa, province of Huesca, and consist of a mutilated figure of Christ and six apostles.

The figure of Christ is cut at the knees; there is no nimbus, and the mantle shows traces of green color. The cover of the Book of the Gospels which He holds in His left hand is red and there is a large dowel hole above His waist. The head has been mutilated and most of the nose is missing.

Of the original twelve apostles which were shown in the side compartments six have been preserved and two of these are without heads. It is possible to identify only St. Peter (Fig. 6), who holds the double keys in the right hand and a book in the left. Each of the remaining figures also holds a book in the left hand and the right is raised in an attitude of speech. Most of the figures have been bleached by exposure to sun and rain, but traces of red and green can still be discerned on the robes of some.

The ultimate provenance of these fragments is at present unknown, but the elongated heads (Figs. 6, 7) and attenuated bodies betray the influence of the Gothic style and show characteristics of the Pyrenean school. They can hardly be dated before the end of the thirteenth century and may even have been executed as late as the fourteenth century.

THE STUCCO ALTAR-FRONTALS

If the Romanesque altar-frontals of Spain are classified according to medium a second category would include those in which the backgrounds of the panels are modeled in stucco. The stucco antependia are peculiar to Spain and the majority of the preserved examples have been found in or adjacent to the province of Lerida, where Moorish influence

was especially marked during the Middle Ages.¹⁶ During the past few years several additional stucco altar-frontals have come to light and interesting examples are now preserved in the collections of Sr. Plandiura, D. Romulo Bosch, and D. Alejandro Soler y March at Barcelona. There are no less than four antependia of this type in the Plandiura collection, two of which are of supreme importance for the history of mediaeval Catalan painting.

THE MADONNA STUCCO ALTAR-FRONTAL

A recent acquisition of the Plandiura collection is a stucco antependium containing the enthroned Madonna and Child in the central compartment, with scenes from the life of the Virgin in the lateral compartments (Fig. 8). The exact provenance of the panel is unknown; but it was found somewhere in the province of Lerida.¹⁷

The Virgin (MATER D[OMIN]I), in the central compartment, is seated in a three-quarters position, facing toward the left, and holding the Child on her right knee. She wears a dark red nimbus, red gown, and blue mantle: the white stucco crown is decorated across the front with a band of lozenge and pearl ornament and is surmounted by three *fleurs-de-lis*. Her feet are encased in yellow sandals and rest on a green carpet. The throne has a red bolster and is covered with a yellow brocade. The Child (IH [ESU]S PTP[?]),¹⁸ Who also faces slightly toward the left, is represented with a cruciform nimbus, long dark red tunic, and light orange mantle. He holds a Book of the Gospels on His left knee, and His right hand is held aloft in benediction. The narrow mandorla is painted black.

The evangelistic symbols are shown in the spandrels outside the mandorla: on the upper left, the angel of St. Matthew (MATEUS), with green nimbus, dark red tunic, green mantle, violet wings and a yellow book; on the upper right, the eagle of St. John (IOH [ANNE]S), with dark red nimbus and green body; on the lower left, the lion of St. Mark (MARCUS), with dark red nimbus and pale violet body, and in the lower right, the ox of St. Luke (LVCAS), with dark green nimbus and dark red body.

The scenes from the life of the Virgin, shown in two registers in the side compartments, are divided from the central compartment by columns consisting of red shafts and green bases and capitals. The scenes begin at the upper left with the Annunciation. The angel (GABRIELIS) wears an olive green nimbus, long dark red tunic, green mantle, and violet wings. In his left hand he holds a long scepter terminating in a flower and his right is raised in a gesture of salutation (AVE MARIAE). The Virgin, shown with a nimbus, long red tunic, and yellow-green mantle, turns slightly toward the left; she holds a yellow scroll in her left hand and her right is raised with palm outward in a gesture of refusal or surprise.

At the right, and separated from the first scene by a column, appears the Visitation. The two figures stand in a three-quarters position with arms around each other. Elizabeth (ELISABET) wears a dark green nimbus, long violet-yellow tunic and dark green mantle; the Virgin (MARIA) has a dark red nimbus and dark red gown underneath a yellow-green mantle.

16. For a discussion of some of the stucco altar-frontals see my article *The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia*, in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 41-81.

17. A piece has been cut from the top of the frame and much of the stucco pattern on the frame has been lost. When the altar-frontal entered the Plandiura collection

there were vertical cracks in the center of the composition, where the panels had warped apart, but these have now been repaired. On the whole the antependium is in unusually good condition and the colors are well preserved.

18. This inscription appears in the center of the bevel of the lower frame and is now scarcely legible.



FIG. 5—*Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Figures from Wooden Altar-Frontal from Castanesa, Huesca (Photo. Serra)*



FIG. 6—*Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Head of St. Peter from Wooden Altar-Frontal from Castanesa, Huesca (Photo. Serra)*



FIG. 7—*Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Head of Wooden Figure from Altar-Frontal from Castanesa, Huesca (Photo. Serra)*



FIG. 8—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Stucco Altar-Frontal with Madonna and Child (Photo. Serra)

The Nativity appears as the first of the scenes in the upper right compartment. The Mother of God (MARIA) lies on a curving dark green mattress and rests her head on her right hand. She wears a brown tunic with long sleeves, a dark red gown, and an orange-yellow blanket is thrown over her feet. The bearded Joseph (IOSEP), portrayed with a red nimbus and green cap, pale violet tunic and orange-yellow mantle, is seated on a dark red throne and leans on a tall green staff held in the right hand. The Christ Child (IH [ESU]S) lies on a red cot or basket that rests on a green base. He is swathed in green swaddling clothes and the heads of the ox and ass appear in the background. From above appears the bust figure of an angel.

The Annunciation to the Shepherds is crowded into this compartment on the right. The two shepherds (PASTORES) stand on a wooded hillside and gaze upward toward the figure of the angel who announces the birth of the Saviour. The angel appears from a green cloud and is shown with a dark red nimbus, violet gown, and green wings. The shepherd on the left, who shades his eyes with his hand, is clad in a short yellow tunic, a red mantle with the hood drawn over his head, yellow hose, and cloth sandals. In his right hand he holds a short crook and a dog in leash. The shepherd on the right wears a short red tunic and also holds a crook. A flock of sheep graze on the hillside and in the foreground two goats leap up to reach foliage.

The Adoration of the Magi is portrayed in the lower left compartment. The three crowned kings approach in single file from the left and each carries a large white bowl. The eldest, who is shown with long beard and moustache, dark red tunic, red hose and sandals, and green mantle, kneels in the presence of the Madonna of the central compartment and lifts the cover of his vessel. The second king is beardless and wears a violet tunic, yellow-green mantle, and dark red hose and sandals. He looks back toward the third figure and with his right hand points toward the miraculous star, which is shown in the band of ornament directly above the first king. The last king, who is portrayed with a short brown beard, as of middle age, is clad in a red tunic, red hose and sandals, and dark green mantle. In his left hand, which is reverently veiled by his mantle, he carries a large white vase, and he raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. There are indications that originally the names of the three figures were inscribed on the bevel of the lower frame, but these are now almost completely obliterated.

Two scenes are represented in the last compartment, on the lower right. In the upper left corner the bearded Herod, seated on a dark red throne with a bolster, presides at the Massacre of the Innocents. He wears a stucco crown, a violet tunic underneath a dark green mantle, and embroidered green sandals. In his left hand he holds a scepter and the right is raised in speech. Directly before him a soldier, clad in a short green tunic and dark red hose, displays a child on the point of his spear; another seizes a child by the foot and is about to decapitate it with a sword. In the foreground a third soldier, wearing a green tunic and red hose, holds a child's head in his left hand and the ground at his feet is strewn with the decapitated bodies of children. Before him a mother opens her gown and rends her breast in anguish. The letters BACL are all that now remain of the original inscription on the bevel of the lower frame.

In the Flight into Egypt Joseph walks ahead and leads the ass. He wears a green cap and a short yellow-green tunic, and a gourd and bundle of clothing are attached to the

staff which he carries on his right shoulder. Mary is seated sidesaddle on the ass and holds the Child, Who is portrayed with crossed nimbus and a dark red mantle.

The wide frame of this altar-frontal was originally embellished on all four sides with raised stucco ornament, but most of this is now missing. Enough remains to show that the pattern consisted of a series of medallions enclosing lions passant, alternating with a geometric design composed of a central lozenge and surrounded by Arabic split leaves and roundels. The foliate ornament in raised stucco, shown on the horizontal band that divides the lateral compartments of the panel, consists of a series of tangent medallions enclosing palmettes.

The stucco design employed in the backgrounds of this panel consists of an all-over pattern of *fleurs-de-lis* enclosed by parallel diagonal lines composed of dots. The series of dotted lines carry out the suggestion of metal work and the *fleur-de-lis* pattern appears to have been a favorite design with Spanish artists, since it appears on all four stucco altar-frontals in Sr. Plandiura's collection. The resemblance of this stucco technique to metal work would be even greater if the panel had not lost the original gilding, but even in its present condition the panel gives a clear idea of the highly decorative quality of the medium of stucco when employed by the Spanish artist.¹⁹

From the point of view of iconography this altar-frontal adds little that is new, although there is no other Madonna panel of this period which shows as many as seven scenes from the Infancy cycle. Scenes from the life of the Virgin are fairly common on the Spanish antependia, and the arrangement of the scenes in this work resembles that found on a thirteenth century frontal from Avia, now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona.²⁰ In the latter panel, however, the Annunciation to the Shepherds is omitted and the Presentation in the Temple is substituted in the lower right compartment for the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt.

The use of a curving mattress in the scene of the Nativity shows the influence of Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine models, but this feature is not uncommon in Catalonia; it is also found on the frontal from Avia and on an earlier Madonna panel at Vich.²¹ The Annunciation to the Shepherds follows the stereotyped Romanesque formula, but a touch of local color is given by the costume of the shepherd who shades his eyes with his hand; the cape with the pointed hood drawn over the head, and the hempen sandals (*alpargate*) are identical with those still worn by Spanish shepherds and peasants.

The arrangement of the Magi in single file and the action of the second king, who points toward the miraculous star and turns to speak to his companion, are common on the thirteenth century Catalan frontals, and the portrayal of the second king as beardless is

19. The close relationship between Spanish metal and stucco work can be demonstrated by the silver or copper repoussé caskets (*cofretillos*, *arquetas amatorias*) which were made in Catalonia during the Gothic period. Many of these are of the fourteenth century and examples are preserved at Vich, Episcopal Museum; Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts; Gerona, cathedral; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Amsterdam, Museum; Hamburg, Museum; and in many churches and private collections in Spain. For a discussion of these see José Gudiol, *Una antigua produc-*

ción Catalana, in *Museum*, IV, pp. 37-44; W. L. Hildburgh, *Some Examples of Catalan Medieval Stamped Sheet-metal-work*, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, II, no. 2, 1922, pp. 118-124; Max Sauerlandt, *Catalonische Minnekästchen*, in *Der Kunstwanderer*, V, 1, pp. 221-224.

20. Folch i Torres, *Catálogo*, no. 21, pp. 70-73.

21. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 3, *Catálogo del museo arqueológico-artístico episcopal de Vich*, Vich, 1893, pp. 68-69; photograph by Thomas, no. 353.



FIG. 9—*Estella (Navarre), S. Miguel: Romanesque Capital on Façade (Photo. Mas)*



FIG. 10—*Huesca, S. Pedro el Viejo: Romanesque Capital*



FIG. 11—*Barcelona, Romulo Bosch Collection: Stucco Altar-Frontal with Madonna and Child (Photo. Serra)*



FIG. 12—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Stucco Altar-Frontal with Scenes from Life of St. Martin, from Chia (Photo. Serra)

found again on a thirteenth century frontal at Vich.²² The arrangement of the figures in the Flight into Egypt on this panel at Vich is also identical with the scene on our frontal, where Joseph walks ahead with a gourd and a bundle of clothes attached to a staff carried over his shoulder. That this was the current thirteenth century formula in Spain is proved by other Spanish monuments, such as a capital on the façade of the church of S. Miguel at Estella (Fig. 9), and a capital in the church of S. Pedro el Viejo in Huesca (Fig. 10).

Further evidence of an attempt on the part of the artist to introduce a certain amount of naturalism into his composition is shown by the three-quarters pose of the Madonna in the central compartment, whereas in works of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries at Vich and Solsona the Madonna is seated in a strictly frontal, hieratic position.²³ The introduction of the evangelistic symbols into the central compartment is also somewhat arbitrary, since these are usually portrayed only with the *Majestas Domini* and the mandorla of the Virgin is more frequently supported by angels. This misunderstanding of original models is a fairly frequent occurrence in Spain and this particular combination occurs again on a painted frontal at Vich.²⁴

From the point of view of style this work is unlike any other Catalan panel of this period. There is a certain superficial resemblance to the Barcelona frontal from Avia, although this Plandiura panel is earlier in date. There is also a certain suggestion of similarity to the stucco Madonna frontal in the collection of Sr. D. Romulo Bosch at Barcelona (Fig. 11).²⁵ The Bosch panel is later in date and only four scenes from the Infancy cycle are shown, but the figures in the side compartments have the same large heads with heavy, square jaws. Here also the Madonna lies on a curving mattress in the Nativity and the shepherds wear cloaks with the pointed hoods drawn on their heads. Moreover, the pattern in gesso relief on the band dividing the lateral compartments consists of tangent medallions enclosing palmettes, as on the Plandiura panel.

Although there is no sure indication by which the Plandiura altar-frontal can be accurately dated, the style of the work would place it in the second quarter or middle of the thirteenth century. It was probably executed not later than the year 1250 and shows the Romanesque style in its full maturity. The central Madonna in the Bosch panel, on the band, shows unmistakable traces of Gothic influence and is much later in date. It is, indeed, unfortunate that the exact provenance of the Plandiura frontal is unknown, since it is rich in color and the drawing is of a high quality and its state of preservation is far better than that of most Catalan antependia.

THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM CHIA

A second stucco altar-frontal in the Plandiura collection, which is also in an unusually good state of preservation, was found at Chia, Ribera del Run, in the diocese of Lerida

22. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 4; *Catálogo*, pp. 75-6; photo. Thomas, no. 354.

23. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 5, photo. Thomas, no. 351; Vich, no. 3; Vich, no. 4; Solsona, Episcopal Museum, Madonna side panel from Sagars (Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia* (IV), in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, fig. 30).

24. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 3.

25. The panel measures 1.045 m. by 1.05 m. The provenance is unknown although it is thought that this frontal came from the diocese of Lerida. Strong evidence in favor of this supposition is the use of the trefoil arch in the central compartment and the lozenge pattern in stucco relief employed in the background; features also found in the St. Vincent stucco altar-frontal from Treserra, now in the Episcopal Museum at Lerida (Cook, *The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia*, in *Art Studies*, II, fig. 22).

(Fig. 12).²⁶ Slender colonnettes divide the panel into three equal divisions, with a central compartment depicting St. Martin and four lateral compartments with scenes from the life of St. Martin.²⁷

In the central compartment St. Martin (S[AN]C[TU]S MARTIN[US]), clad in bishop's vestments, is seated on a high bolstered throne under a trefoil arch. His right hand is raised in benediction and in the left he holds a tall crozier, the head of which terminates in a large volute. The dark red hair ends in curls beneath the ears; the beard has a square cut and the moustaches curl slightly at the ends. Wide-open eyes with large black pupils are shown beneath highly arched eyebrows and a spot of red appears on the slightly sunken cheeks. The small mouth turns downward at the corners. The saint has a large plain nimbus and wears vestments which are unusually rich in color, including a low miter, white alb, orange stole dalmatic, and chasuble. The miter is worn with the points over the forehead, and the circulus and top are embroidered with orange ornament. The dark orange dalmatic is a faithful reproduction of an Hispano-Moresque textile, the all-over pattern consisting of parallel intersecting yellow lines with white rosettes on a blue ground. The bottom of the dalmatic and the sleeves are bordered in orange. The dark blue chasuble, which falls low in the back, has now turned to a dark green and the pallium is embroidered with orange and green lozenges alternating with two small rosettes, in imitation of jewels on a gold ground. A yellow brocade, embroidered in orange and black, is draped over the bolster and reaches to the base of the throne. The feet are encased in long pointed sandals.

The first of the scenes from the life of St. Martin, the Sharing of the Mantle, is shown in the upper left compartment. Seated on a black steed the youthful saint (MARTIN US) turns in the saddle and cuts the robe with a long green sword held in the right hand. The Saviour (I H[ESU]S) stands behind the horse and takes the mantle with both hands. Naked except for a light brown loin cloth Christ is portrayed with a pilgrim's hat and script, and a pilgrim's staff is painted on the bevel of the frame at the left (Fig. 13). He has black hair and red beard and His hat is tied under His chin with an orange cord. St. Martin's costume has lost much of its color, but he also wears a hat with a wide brim similar in shape to that worn by Christ; he has long curling hair, a short tunic with long sleeves, hose, and sandals. The small black horse is equipped with an orange bridle and saddle.

St. Martin is reported to have restored to life at least three dead people, and the scene in the lower left compartment undoubtedly portrays the miracle of the catechumen who died without baptism and the man who had died from hanging. "And there was one renewed in the faith which he had in keeping. And when he went a little out and came again, he found him dead without baptism. And then he went into his cell and brought the corpse thither, and there kneeled by the corpse, and by his orisons he remised him in his life again. And as that same rehearseth oft, that when the sentence was given against

26. The town of Chia, Ribera del Run, lies in upper Aragon, on the frontier of Catalonia, about half way between Campó and Benasque. The town is situated near Castejón de Sos; where there is a posada de S. Martin. El Run is on the Essera river.

27. The panel measures 0.96 m. by 1.62 m. and is in an

unusually good condition. Formerly there were cracks in the central compartment but these have been repaired. Most of the stucco ornament on the lower frame has been lost, but it is well preserved on the sides and at the top. The colors are unusually fresh and bright, especially in the right half of the antependium.

him, he was put in a dark place, and two angels said to the judge: This is he for whom Martin is pledge, and then he commanded that he should be removed unto his body, and so was yielded alive to Martin. And also he re-established the life of another that was to be hanged."²⁸ Although the original color is missing, the drawing is well preserved and the action is perfectly clear. The saint, wearing a nimbus, long tunic, and mantle, is portrayed in the act of restoring life to two people who lie in a four-poster bed. He holds one of the recumbent figures by the arm and makes the sign of the cross; two beardless spectators point with their right hands toward the saint. An unusual feature of this scene is the introduction of the enthroned Virgin and Child. The crowned Virgin wears a nimbus, long tunic, and mantle and is seated on a throne with a footstool. She supports the Child on her left knee and suckles Him while He holds the Book of the Gospels in the left hand and blesses with the right. This small group appears to have no definite relation with the scene at the left; its presence here is undoubtedly due to the cult of the Virgin, which was widespread in Catalonia during the thirteenth century.

The mass of St. Martin is shown on the upper right. "And as he sang mass a great light of fire descended upon his head, and was seen of many that were there, and therefore he is said like and equal to the apostles. And to this miracle addeth Master John Belet that, when he lifted up his hands at the mass, as it is of custom, the sleeves of the alb slid down unto his elbows. For his arms were not great ne fleshly, and the sleeves of his coat came but to his elbows, so that his arms abode all naked. Then were brought to him by miracle sleeves of gold and full of precious stones, of angels which covered his arms convenably."²⁹ On our panel the globe of fire is not shown; the divine power is indicated by the Hand of God which issues from yellow and green clouds at the moment when the saint (MARTINUS) raises the host above the altar. Moreover, St. Martin is not clad in a miserable tunic, but wears the usual vestments of a bishop, with orange miter, alb, stole, richly embroidered dalmatic, and dark green chasuble. Two beardless acolytes or disciples, one of whom holds a candle, assist at the service. They are represented with black hair and tonsure and wear long yellow robes which are embroidered at the neck and sleeves with an orange band. The altar is covered with a rich Hispano-Moresque brocade, similar in color and design to St. Martin's dalmatic. Over this lies a yellow cloth with an orange border and two long maniples. A chalice stands on the altar and a cross and bishop's crozier are placed at the back.

The final colloquy of the saint with the devil is represented in the lower right compartment. "And as he lay towards his brethren, he prayed that they would remove a little his body, and he said: Brethren, let me behold more the heaven than the earth, so that the spirit may address him to our Lord. And this saying he saw the devil that was there, and S. Martin said to him: Wherefore standest thou here, thou cruel beast? Thou shalt find in me nothing sinful ne mortal, the bosom of Abraham shall receive me. And with this word he rendered and gave up unto our Lord his spirit. . . ."³⁰ The saint lies in bed, covered with a richly embroidered red and orange blanket, and extends his right hand in speech toward the devil, who is shown at the foot of the bed. The demon is a strange hybrid of human and animal forms: the legs terminate in oxen hoofs; human arms are

28. Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, as Englished by William Caxton, ed. Dent, London, 1900, VI, p. 145.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

attached to the black, hairy body; and the animal head, with large red eyes and open mouth, is surmounted by two long horns. In his left hand he holds a long green serpent and his right arm is raised in speech. Two ecclesiastics are included in the scene: one of them, a beardless youth with black hair and tonsure, is clad in a yellow tunic; the other wears a monk's robe with the cowl drawn over the head. A censer hangs from the ceiling and directly above St. Martin's head appears a circular object which may possibly represent the "globe of fire" which was seen during the celebration of the mass.

The wide horizontal band which divides the upper and lower registers was originally embellished with a series of palmettes enclosed within interlacing medallions. The color is now missing but the underdrawing indicates that the foliate *motif* may have been somewhat similar to that found on the frame of the Old and New Testament panel from Sagars in the Episcopal Museum at Solsona,³¹ or to the stucco pattern on the Madonna panel in the Plandiura collection (Fig. 8). A rosette was undoubtedly painted in the spandrels above the trefoil arch, but this space is now entirely devoid of color.

The design in the background, a *fleur-de-lis* pattern enclosed by diagonal lines composed of dots, is identical with that found on the preceding panel (Fig. 8). The frame is narrower but is also decorated with a series of medallions enclosing a lion passant in raised gesso, alternating with sunk medallions. An unusual feature is the presence of small escutcheons, painted in the upper medallions on either side of the frame (Fig. 13). These are now so obliterated that identification is impossible, but their use shows that this panel must have been made to the order of a bishop or a member of a noble family.

The signature of the artist, IOH (ANNE) S PINTOR ME FECIT, which appears in white letters on the bevel of the lower frame, is the earliest signature preserved in the history of Catalan panel painting. It shows that the artist took an artistic pride in his profession and that he no longer regarded himself as a mere craftsman.

Iconographically this panel presents several new features in the St. Martin cycle. In the miracle scene the catechumen and the hanged man are portrayed realistically on the death bed, whereas in the earlier St. Martin panel at Vich the catechumen stands erect with eyes closed.³² A distinct innovation, as already noted, is the introduction of the Madonna and Child in this scene. The death of the saint and his final argument with the devil are also portrayed with vivid realism. The scene does not appear elsewhere on the Catalan antependia and is one of the earliest and finest representations of this subject. The Mass of St. Martin is a much more common theme, but this version is one of the earliest in mediaeval Catalan painting.

No cycle of St. Martin would be complete without the Sharing of the Mantle. In the early versions the Spanish artist almost invariably depicted the poor man as a naked or half-clad beggar, as shown by such representative examples as the St. Martin panel at Vich,³³ a relief in the cloister of S. Martin de Canigou (Fig. 14), a relief in the church of S. Martin de la Val d'Onsera at S. Eulalia la Mayor (Fig. 15), and a voussoir on the portal of the church of S. Miguel at Estella (Fig. 16). In the later fourteenth and fifteenth

31. *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, fig. 29.

32. Shown in the lower left compartment (Cook, *The*

Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (I), in *The Art Bulletin* V, 4, fig. 1).

33. *Loc. cit.*



FIG. 13—*Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Detail of St. Martin Altar-Frontal from Chia (Photo. Serra)*



FIG. 14—*St. Martin du Canigou, Monastery: Relief in Cloister*



FIG. 15—*S. Eulalia La Mayor (Huesca), Sanctuary of S. Martín de la Val d'Onsera: Wooden Relief (Photo. Mas)*



FIG. 16—*Estella (Navarre), S. Miguel: Voussoir of Portal (Photo. Mas)*



FIG. 17—*Estella (Navarre), Palace of the Dukes of Granada: Capital on Façade (Photo. Mas)*



FIG. 18—*S. Julian de Banzo (Huesca)*: Manuscript with
St. Martin Sharing Mantle (Photo. Mas)

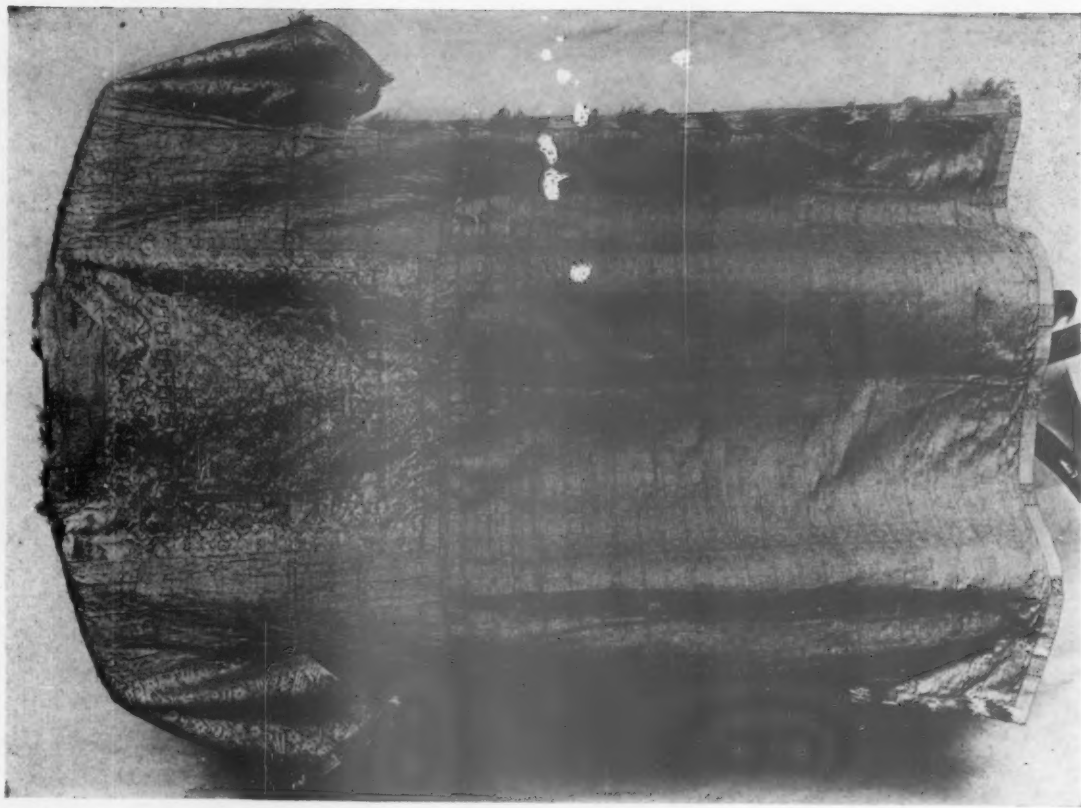


FIG. 19—*Barcelona, Plandiura Collection*: Dalmatic of
St. Valerian from Cathedral of Roda (Photo. Serra)

century versions the beggar is often portrayed in a more realistic manner as a limping or diseased cripple, as on a painted panel in the Valencia Museum.³⁴ The version on our panel, where Christ Himself is depicted as a pilgrim, is an unusually early example of a type which becomes more common in the following centuries, as illustrated by a Gothic manuscript at S. Julian de Banzo (Fig. 18), where the beggar is represented with a crossed nimbus. This early Spanish representation of the Saviour is undoubtedly due to the cult of St. James and the influence of the pilgrimage routes to Compostela.

The small head and highly arched neck of St. Martin's steed would indicate an Arabic breed, and the artist has undoubtedly intended to represent a jennet (*genete*), or light courser, the type of mount widely employed by Moorish and Castilian cavalry during the period of the Reconquest. This type of horse appears on other Spanish monuments at this period; a typical example is on a Gothic capital on the exterior of the palace of the dukes of Granada at Estella, Navarre (Fig. 17),³⁵ where there is the same long neck and small head.

Of the three cavalier saints, St. James, St. George, and St. Martin, the holy bishop of Tours was the most common in Eastern Spain during the early Middle Ages. The name of St. Martin was given to exposed places of Old Catalonia, and the name appears often in eleventh century documents. In the region of the Pyrenees countless churches, chapels, and altars were erected in his honor; noble families also adopted the name; and the sword of St. Martin was one of the most prized possessions of the kings of Aragon.³⁶

A comparison of this panel from Chia with the St. Vincent stucco altar-frontal from Treserra, now in the Episcopal Museum at Lerida,³⁷ reveals a definite community of school, as shown by the composition, technique, and ornament. In both works the saint is enthroned in the central compartment under a trefoil arch supported by the same type of slender colonnettes with identical capitals and bases. The technical processes are also the same; after the figures were first sketched on the primed panel with a sharp instrument they were surrounded by a heavy enclosing outline; diagonal intersecting dotted lines were used to form a diaper pattern on the gesso backgrounds. In both works, moreover, a wide horizontal band divides the upper and lower registers of the lateral compartments, and medallions with lions passant are employed on the frames.

This similarity, however, does not apply to the figure and drapery style. Whereas the artist of the Treserra panel was strongly influenced by Byzantine models,³⁸ the painter Iohannes adhered more closely to the native traditions of Catalonia. The bearded St. Martin in the central compartment, with the hollow cheeks, small mouth, and upturned moustaches, as well as the bullet-shaped heads of the attendants in the lateral compartments, might have been copied from a contemporary Catalan manuscript.

As to the personality of the painter Iohannes nothing is known beyond the signature on the panel. That he was a local artist who was thoroughly familiar with the medium of stucco is shown by the skilful handling of the gesso background and stamped medallions.

34. Reproduced in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 1, fig. 11.

35. This interesting capital is signed and the inscription on the abacus reads: MARTINVS ME FECIT. ROLLAN DE LOGR(OÑO).

36. Francesch Carreras y Candi, *Sant Martí y la sua*

Catalana espasa, in *Bulleti del centre excursionista de Catalunya*, XVIII, no. 156, 1908, pp. 15-22.

37. Illustrated in my article, *The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia*, in *Art Studies*, II, fig. 22.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Although the town of Chia is now in the province of Upper Aragon, it belongs to the diocese of Lerida and we have already noted³⁹ that the use of stucco was peculiar to the province of Lerida, where Moslem traditions were continued by Mudéjar workmen long after the incorporation of this province into the realms of Aragon.

That the artist Iohannes may have been a native of the town of Roda, also in the diocese of Lerida and not far from Chia, is suggested by the Hispano-Moresque dalmatic which St. Martin wears in the central compartment and again in the Celebration of the Mass. The all-over pattern of medallions is almost identical with the design found on the dalmatic of St. Valerian, now in the Plandiura collection (Fig. 19). This Hispano-Moresque dalmatic, which formerly belonged to the cathedral of Roda and was long guarded in the treasure of the cathedral of Lerida, is made from a thirteenth century Moslem fabric from Granada and shows Arabic script and trefoil arches embroidered on a silk background.⁴⁰

That this altar-frontal cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century is indicated by numerous details, such as the miter with the points over the forehead, the pilgrim's hats worn in the Sharing of the Mantle, and the form of the monk's hood in the death scene. Further evidences of Gothic influence are shown by the slender colonnettes with tall Gothic capitals and bases, the fully developed spiral volute of the crozier held by the saint in the central compartment, and the Virgin with the Child at her breast in the lower left compartment. The paleography is of little assistance in dating this work, but perhaps the strongest argument for placing the frontal after the year 1250 is the fact that the enthroned St. Martin is portrayed in the central compartment, whereas in earlier antependia this place of honor is reserved solely for the *Majestas Domini* or the Madonna and Child.

THE SAINT PETER STUCCO ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM BOHÍ

A third stucco antependium (Fig. 20), found in the church of S. Juan, at Bohí,⁴¹ is dedicated to the apostle St. Peter. Slender colonnettes divide the panel into a wide central compartment containing the enthroned St. Peter, and four side compartments with scenes from his life.⁴²

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 ff.

40. This dalmatic belongs to a set of vestments acquired in 1922 by Sr. Plandiura. According to tradition they were worn by St. Valerian, bishop of Saragossa, and they are also associated with the name of St. Vincent. It is possible that the vestments formerly covered relics of these two saints and were an object of devotion. The set consists of a pluvial cape (*terno*), and two dalmatics, both cut from the same piece of cloth, stole, maniples, and a fragment of the chasuble. The silk textile is woven with gold and the dominant colors are orange and green. An inscription on the cape reads: *Versicolor vesti ei nato filo acapita non adfert felicitatem; sed striatur pannas vesti fulcimentum et gratiam pluriman.* It is generally believed that the cape and dalmatics were made from fabrics of Granada, possibly a civil garment. The sleeves of the dalmatic are of Italian silk, different from the tunic. According to a document in the archives of the cathedral of Lerida the cape was repaired in the year 1499, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Moslem textiles were frequently converted into ecclesiastical vestments during the thirteenth century in Catalonia, and this was directly due to the conquest of the

Moorish provinces of Lerida and Valencia, where enormous quantities of silk fabrics fell into the hands of the Christians. For further discussion of this subject see my article, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

41. Bohí is the most important town in the valley of Bohí in the Pyrenees. The church of S. Juan contained important mural decorations which have now been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (*Pintures Murals Catalanes*, fasc. II, pp. 32-34, pl. XV; Folch i Torres, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70, 110-113, figs. 70, 142-49).

42. The panel measures 1.58 m. by 0.90 m. When I first studied this work in 1924, immediately after it had reached Barcelona, most of the original color was missing, especially in the lateral compartments. However, as in the case of so many works in this medium, the underdrawing on the gesso background was almost intact. Some of the original color was preserved in the central compartment. With this as a guide the work was subjected to a complete restoration, and it is now possible to follow the action of the scenes. It is only in the lower right corner that the panel has suffered irreparable damage.



FIG. 20—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Stucco Altar-Frontal from Bohí (Photo. Serra)

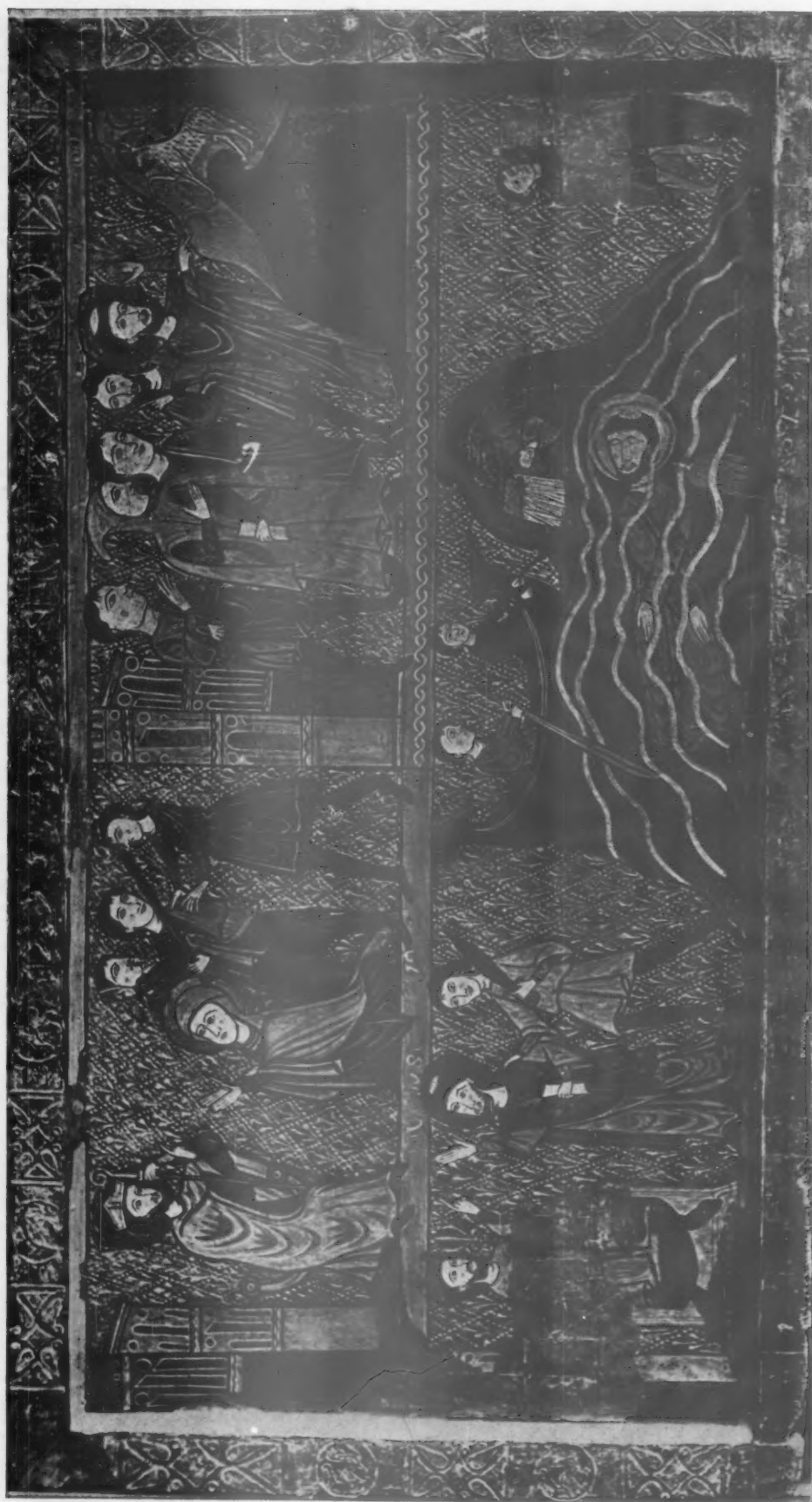


FIG. 21—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Stucco Altar-Frontal from Tahull (Photo. Serra)

The figure of St. Peter in the central compartment shows many resemblances to the enthroned St. Martin in the panel from Chia (Fig. 12). He is seated in a strictly frontal position on the same type of throne, with an orange brocade draped over the green bolster, and his feet resting on a green footstool. He also is portrayed as a bishop with large nimbus and wearing a low orange miter with the points over the forehead, a white alb, orange dalmatic covered with yellow stars, light blue chasuble, red maniple, embroidered sandals, and white gloves. The double keys hang from his right hand raised in benediction, and the crozier in the left is identical in form with that held by St. Martin. Perhaps the most striking resemblance between this and the preceding panel is in the architecture. There is the same type of trefoil arch with a wide span, supported by the same slender colonnettes with identical capitals and bases. In the St. Martin frontal, the architectural members are not distinguished by color, whereas here they are painted orange, and a black rosette is painted in the orange spandrels of the arch. The patterns in the stucco backgrounds are identical.

The four episodes from the life of St. Peter, shown in the lateral compartments, are not arranged in the usual chronological sequence. The story begins at the upper right, where St. Peter refuses the offer of Simon, the enchanter, who "said: I am the Word of God, I am the Holy Ghost, I am Almighty, I am all there is of God. He made serpents of brass to move, and made the images of iron and of stone to laugh, and dogs to sing, and as S. Dinus saith, he would dispute with S. Peter and show, at a day assigned, that he was God. . . . Then said Simon: It is not as thou sayest, but I shall show to thee the power of my dignity, that anon thou shalt adore me; I am first truth, and may flee by the air; I can make new trees and turn stones into bread; endure in the fire without hurting; and all that I will I may do. S. Peter disputed against these, and disclosed all his malefices. Then Simon Magus, seeing that he might not resist Peter, cast all his books into the sea, lest S. Peter should prove him a magician, by his books, and went to Rome where he was had and reputed as a god. And when Peter knew that, he followed and came to Rome."⁴³

"Simon Magus was so much beloved of Nero that he weened that he had been the keeper of his life, of his health, and of all the city. On a day, as Leo the pope saith, as he stood before Nero, suddenly his visage changed, now old and now young, which when Nero saw, he supposed that he had been the son of God. . . . Sometime also, when he was with Nero secretly within his conclave, the devil in his likeness spake without to the people. Then the Romans had him in such worship that they made to him an image, and wrote above, this title: To Simon the holy God."⁴⁴ In the scene on our panel Simon stands before a portico and argues, with a book in his left hand. He is bearded and wears a small circular cap, short tunic, and mantle. St. Peter, shown with nimbus and tonsure, is clad in long robes and raises his right hand in speech. St. Paul, portrayed with a long black beard and nimbus, stands on the right; his presence here shows that the scene takes place in Rome.

The death of the magician Simon is shown in the lower compartment on the right, "And after, at the end of the year, Simon returned and was received again into the amity of Nero. And then, as Leo saith, this Simon Magus assembled the people and showed to them how he had been angered of the Galileans, and therefore he said that he would leave

43. Voragine, *ed. cit.*, IV, p. 15-16.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

the city which he was wont to defend and keep, and set a day in which he would ascend into heaven, for he deigned no more to dwell in the earth. Then on the day he had established, like as he had said, he went up to an high tower, which was on the capitol, and there being crowned with laurel, threw himself out from place to place, and began to fly in the air. Then said S. Paul to S. Peter: It appertaineth to me to pray, and to thee for to command. Then said Nero: This man is very God, and ye be two traitors. Then said S. Peter to St. Paul: Paul, brother, lift up thine head and see how Simon flyeth. Then S. Paul said to S. Peter when he saw him fly so high: Peter, why tarriest thou? perform that thou hast begun, God now calleth us. Then said Peter: I charge and conjure you angels of Sathanas, which bear him in the air, by the name of our Lord Jesu Christ, that ye bear ne sustain him no more, but let him fall to the earth. And anon they let him fall to the ground and brake his neck and head, and he died there forthwith."⁴⁵

Although the lower half of this scene is lost the action is perfectly clear. Simon is shown in the act of falling head foremost at the foot of a group of tall towers. Most of the figure has been destroyed and only the feet, the lower edges of the tunic and the pair of broken wings are now visible. Above Simon the small devils fly away. At the left, the kneeling apostles raise their hands in prayer and gaze heavenward toward the *Dextera Domini* which issues from a cloud.

"And when Nero heard say that Simon was dead, and that he had lost such a man, he was sorrowful, and said to the apostles: Ye have done this in spite of me, and therefore I shall destroy you by right evil example."⁴⁶ In the upper left compartment Peter and Paul are accursed by the emperor, Nero, who is seated on a tall throne, with a long beard and jeweled crown. He is clad in a tunic, mantle, hose, and sandals, and he raises his right hand in speech. The two saints are shown with nimbi and long robes, and St. Peter extends his right hand in speech. A guard clad in a short tunic, and armed with a sword, holds St. Paul by the arm.

The delivery of St. Peter by an angel is portrayed in the lower left compartment: "he was put in prison by Herod, but by the angel of our Lord he was delivered."⁴⁷ The head of the mitred apostle (PETRUS) is shown at the circular window of a fortified tower and he gazes at the bust figure of an angel outside. The tower is guarded by two soldiers armed with shield and sword who are clad in suits of chain mail.

The stucco background of this altar-frontal, as already noted, is identical with that found on the Madonna altar-frontal (Fig. 8) and the panel from Chia (Fig. 12), and consists of an all-over *fleur-de-lis* pattern, enclosed by diagonal, intersecting lines composed of dots. Originally the narrow frame may have been embellished with lions passant enclosed within medallions, as in the St. Martin panel, but all traces are now lost. It is certain that the ornament in the horizontal band which divides the upper and lower registers in the side compartments was not in stucco relief, but was painted, but there is no indication that this was more than a simple rope pattern on an orange background.

In spite of such close resemblances with the St. Martin panel from Chia, as shown by the *fleur-de-lis* ornament in the stucco background and the use of identical architectural

45. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

46. *Loc. cit.*

47. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

motives, the figure and drapery style show clearly that this panel is later in date. The figures in the side compartments are slenderer and taller and the long heads with hollow cheeks are of more fully developed style. The long sweeping robes worn by the two apostles, and the figure of Nero in the left compartment might have been modeled after a French Gothic manuscript, and could hardly have been executed earlier than the late thirteenth century.

THE POPE SAINT CLEMENT STUCCO ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM TAHULL

The last stucco altar-frontal in the Plandiura collection was found in the church of S. Maria at Tahull, in the Ribagorza,⁴⁸ and illustrates scenes from the life of Pope St. Clement (Fig. 21). In composition this differs radically from those panels already studied, since the usual devotional figure of the saint in the central compartment is missing and the scenes from his life are portrayed in two superimposed registers.⁴⁹

The scenes from the life of St. Clement, the successor of St. Peter in the Holy See at Rome, begin at the upper right. Clad in bishop's robes the saint is seated in a curule chair near a high building, and holds a crozier in the left hand. Before him kneels Theodora, the wife of Sisinnius, who supplicates the bishop's aid, either for protection or to restore the sight and hearing of her irate husband. She is represented with a violet nimbus and a red mantle is drawn over her head. The three soldiers, one of whom is armed with a sword, are possibly the guards sent by Theodora's husband to seize the bishop. "And when he had sacred a damoisel with a veil which was a virgin, and niece of Domitian the emperor, and had converted to the faith Theodora, wife of Sisinnius, friend of the emperor, and she had promised to be in purpose of chastity, Sisinnius had doubt of his wife, and entered after her into the church privily for to know what she used to do there; and when S. Clement had said the orison and the people had answered, Amen, Sisinnius was made deaf and blind and he said to his servants: Bring me hence and lead me out, and they led him round about the church and could not come to the doors ne gates. . . . And Theodora went unto S. Clement and told to him what was happened, and then this holy man came to him and found his eyes open, but he saw ne heard nothing. Then S. Clement prayed for him, and anon he received his sight and his hearing, and when he saw Clement standing by his wife; . . . Then Clement said to Sisinnius: Because thou worshippest stones for gods and trees, therefore hast thou deserved to draw stones and trees. And he which supposed him to be bound verily, said: I shall do slay thee. And then Clement departed, and he prayed Theodora that she should not cease to pray till that our Lord had visited her husband."⁵⁰

The Miracle of the fountain, performed by St. Clement when he had been banished with other Christians to an island, is shown at the right. "And when he understood of them they fetched water six miles thence, and bare it upon their shoulders, he said to them: Let us

48. For a discussion of Tahull see n. 9. The mural paintings formerly in S. Maria de Tahull have been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (*Pintures murals Catalanes*, fasc. III, pp. 30-32, pls. XIII, XIV; Folch i Torres, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-33).

49. The panel measures 1.69 m. by 0.94 m. It has suffered much and was in a very poor condition when

brought to Barcelona. An idea of the extent of mutilation can be obtained by the photograph made in 1908 at Tahull by Mas, photo. no. 1335 C. Almost half the panel had been destroyed, but it has now been completely restored. Fortunately, enough of each scene remained to enable the restorer to reconstruct the action of the scenes.

50. Voragine, *ed. cit.*, VI, pp. 264-65.

all pray unto our Lord, that he open to us, his confessors in this place here, the veins of a fountain or of a well, and that he that smote the stone in desert of Sinai and water flowed abundantly, he give to us running water so that we may be enjoyed of his benefits. And when he had made his prayer, he looked here and there, and saw a lamb standing which lifted up his right foot and showed a place to the bishop, and he understanding that it was our Lord Jesu Christ, whom he only saw, went to the place and said: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, smite in this place. And when he saw that no man would smite in the place where the lamb stood, he took a little pickaxe, and smote one stroke lightly in the place under the foot of the lamb, and anon a well or a fountain up and grew into a great flood."⁵¹ The bishop stands before a tall rock or mountain and makes the sign of benediction before a small semicircular fissure in the rock inscribed FONS, above which stands the Lamb of God. The saint is represented with a dark green nimbus and tonsure, orange-red tunic, green mantle, and black sandals. Directly behind him a bearded figure, clad in a short red tunic and brown mantle, raises his left hand in speech and turns toward a group of three beardless figures. One of the figures wears a dark green tunic underneath a red mantle, which is drawn over his head, and holds a book in the left hand. Above this scene are traces of an inscription on the bevel of the frame, but this is now illegible.

The arrest of the bishop is portrayed in the lower register at the left. "And three years after, Trajan the emperor, understanding this which was the year of our Lord one hundred and six, sent thither a duke, and when this duke saw that all they would gladly die for God's love he left the multitude and took only Clement."⁵² The bearded figure of the duke, now much damaged, is shown with crown and scepter and is seated on a high throne before a palace with a red façade. A guard, clad in a short tunic and armed with a sword, holds the bishop by the shoulder. The bishop is represented with nimbus and tonsure, long red tunic, and dark green mantle. In his left hand he holds a book and his right hand is raised in speech. The letters of an inscription, shown directly above the bishop's head, are now illegible.

The martyrdom by drowning is portrayed at the right. "And [the duke] bound an anchor round his neck and threw him into the sea and said: Now they may not worship him for a god. And all that great multitude of the people went to the rivage of the sea and beheld the cruelty of the tyrant. And then Cornelius and Phoebus, disciples of S. Clement, commanded to all the others to pray to our Lord that he would show to them the body of his martyr; and anon the sea departed three miles away far, so that all they might go dry foot thither, and there they found a habitacle in a temple of marble which God had made and ordained, and found the body of S. Clement laid in an ark or a chest, and the anchor thereby, and it was showed to his disciples that they should not take away the body from thence."⁵³ Two sailors, seated in a boat and wearing dark brown and violet tunics, lower the body of the martyr into the sea with a rope. Large fish swim about the corpse, which is weighted down with an anchor attached to the neck. The saint is shown with nimbus and tonsure and clothed in a long tunic; the legs and arms are bound and the eyes are closed.

The remaining section of this scene has been so badly damaged that the action is no longer perfectly clear. A shallow cave is depicted in the background and within the cave a bust

51. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

figure with closed eyes lies on a pillow at the foot of an altar. Since the figure is not portrayed with the usual nimbus and tonsure of St. Clement this undoubtedly represents the child who slept for a year before St. Clement's tomb. The beardless, barefoot youth, clad in a short green tunic and no mantle, shown on the extreme right of the composition, is undoubtedly the same child, and the mutilated figure clothed in a long green tunic is the mother who finds her child unharmed and embraces him.⁵⁴ "Every year, in the time of his passion, the sea departed by seven days during, four miles far, which gave dry way to them that came thither. In one of the solemnities there was a woman went thither with a little child, and when the solemnity of the feast was accomplished, the child slept, and the noise and sound of the water was heard which came and approached fast, and the woman was abashed and forgot her child and fled unto the rivage with great multitude of people, and afterwards she remembered her son and began strongly to cry and weep, and ran hither and thither braying by the rivage for to know if by adventure the body of her son might be cast up on the rivage; and when she saw no succor ne no hope, she returned home, and was all that year in weeping and in heaviness."

"And the year following, when the sea departed and the way open, she ran tofore all the others and came to the place for to know if by adventure she might have any knowledge or find anything of her son, and when she kneeled down tofore the tomb of S. Clement and had made her prayers, she arose and saw her son in the place where she had left him sleeping. Then she supposed he had been dead and went near for to have taken the body as it had been without life, but when she saw him sleeping, she awoke him and took him in her arms tofore all the people all whole and safe, and enquired of him where he had been all that year. And he said that he wist not, but that he had slept there but one night sweetly."⁵⁵

For the stucco background the artist has again employed the *fleur-de-lis* pattern noted in the preceding panels. The frame is also embellished with ornament in stucco relief, consisting of a series of medallions enclosing lions passant and alternating with a geometric pattern of lozenges surrounded by Arabic split leaves and roundels. In general character this design is similar to that employed on the frame of the Madonna frontal (Fig. 8), although it is more degenerated in form.

The iconography of this panel is perhaps its most interesting feature. The life of this early Christian martyr is seldom portrayed in Catalan art, although it appears again on a damaged altar-frontal from Estet, now in the Plandiura collection, where the miracle of the spring and the martyrdom by drowning are again shown.

The figure and drapery style of the Tahull frontal show little in common with the preceding stucco frontals. The work appears to be more provincial in character and by a less skilled artist. Although some of the heads show the influence of earlier models, most of the figures and the costumes betray the impress of the fully developed Gothic style. The bearded tyrant in the lower register at the left is reminiscent of figures in a thirteenth century Madonna frontal at Vich,⁵⁶ and recalls the tyrant Decius in the St. Lawrence fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona.⁵⁷ The figure of St. Clement, on the

54. I am indebted for this interpretation to Miss Doris Miller of New York University.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 268-9.

56. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 7: Catalogue, pp. 71f.

57. Illustrated in my article, *The Earliest Panels of Catalonia (III)*, in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 2, fig. 49.

other hand, shows an affinity with some of the fourteenth century side panels at Vich, with standing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. This mature treatment of the figure and the drapery style, together with the degenerate Romanesque ornament on the frame and the omission of the central compartment, are indicative of a fairly late date and would place this work toward the end of the thirteenth century or early in the fourteenth.

The arrangement, which shows the scenes from the life of the saint in two horizontal registers, without a central compartment, marks a distinct change in composition from the three stucco panels already studied. During the twelfth century the figure of the *Majestas Domini* was invariably portrayed in the central compartment, and the scenes from the life of the saint were shown in the side compartments. Toward the end of the twelfth and during the thirteenth century the cult of the Virgin brought about the substitution in the central compartment of the Madonna, who, portrayed as Queen of Heaven, was seated on a throne with crown and scepter, holding the Child (Fig. 8). From the middle of the thirteenth century the interest in individual saints showed itself by the substitution in the central compartment of the enthroned saint, who is depicted with all the regalia of his office (Figs. 12, 20).

The increasing interest in the story itself finally led to the omission of any devotional figure and to an exclusive emphasis upon the life and martyrdom of the saint, as in this St. Clement panel from Tahull. This change in composition came gradually, and in some instances later artists harked back to earlier models, and Catalan altar-frontals are found in which the *Majestas Domini* is still portrayed in a central compartment as late as the thirteenth century. However, such instances become less common with the lapse of time, and it can be safely said that this change in composition is one of the most noticeable changes from the Romanesque to the Gothic style.

THE NEW PROTAGORAS

A Pedantic Dialogue'

By A. PHILIP McMAHON

Characters: Protagoras, a Friend, Socrates.

PRO. Have you just arrived, or have you been a long time in these islands?²

FR. I have just come, and I have been looking about, but so far I have not seen Socrates.³

PRO. At first it is indeed hard to recognize friendly shades. But we are well met, for I knew Socrates while we still walked on earth. I was famous among the Greeks, yet I was the least envious of men,⁴ and I admired him more than all with whom I was in the habit of conversing. As an older to a younger man, I said to him that I should not be surprised if he, also, were to rank high among the sophists.⁵ I am Protagoras.⁶

FR. Happy I am to meet you. While we are waiting to see whether Socrates may not pass this way, there are some things about which surely you can enlighten me. Or are you unaware of what happens among men today?

PRO. Now I perceive that you are truly a new arrival. For while the shades wander about in this place, they gradually remember⁷ all that they have read, or heard, or said.⁸ But you as a newcomer can doubtless give us interesting reports. Do my doctrines still prevail? Do the younger men continue to gather about my successors?

FR. It is precisely about such matters that I would question you. Plato made the name of sophist so unpopular⁹ that few if any now admit that title.¹⁰ But if you find your own principles among those that are being taught, you can answer both your own questions and mine.

PRO. I agree with you.

FR. With Socrates I would inquire, can any one possess a scientific knowledge of a thing of which he cannot apprehend the truth?¹¹

PRO. I should reply, with Theaetetus, how can he?

FR. But if any one should say that science and perception are the same,¹² what would you say?¹³

PRO. But is it now thought to be the case that science and perception are the same?

FR. Since 1876, I am told, it has been fancied that an inductive science of beauty might be reached through controlled experiments.¹⁴

PRO. So the science of beauty has been attained in that way?¹⁵

FR. A recent writer says the resulting generalizations have been not only dubious but trivial.¹⁶

- PRO.* Does he then accept the suggestion of Parmenides that the beautiful itself, which really exists, and the good itself are unknown to us?¹⁷
- FR.* Of the science of beauty he says that its old rationalistic methodology is no longer able to function in a world pervaded by philosophies of relativism and evolution, and there is none to take its place.¹⁸
- PRO.* That is surprising, for I understood that the present age favors naturalistic explanations.
- FR.* As a matter of fact, the author later says that the rapid success of experimental psychology in adapting scientific method to a study of complex and variable phenomena, once considered hopelessly beyond the reach of science, has encouraged the belief that not even the most subtle phenomena of art and emotional life can remain forever mysterious.¹⁹
- PRO.* What does he therefore conclude with regard to the possibility of a scientific method and a science of beauty?
- FR.* He says that the consensus of present opinion would probably be that scientific observation in aesthetics is impossible.²⁰
- PRO.* What is his book called?
- FR.* *Scientific Method in Aesthetics*.²¹
- PRO.* But in the light of what you have just said, how can the book claim to be scientific?
- FR.* It appears that although scientific observation is impossible, yet if the results of the impossible are applied, aesthetics becomes scientific.
- PRO.* Where is that remarkable supposition to be found?
- FR.* In an introduction to the book, it is said of the scientist that he goes directly to art and the experience of art for his data. Aesthetics, so far as he is able to contribute to it, is to be applied aesthetics.²²
- PRO.* Perhaps this science of beauty is the result of a new logical analysis or even a form of intuitionism?
- FR.* Hardly so by intention, for the book also states that it is to be based on experimentation with art; not on speculation, or history, or even personal emotion.²³
- PRO.* Does the author seem to agree with Parmenides that the science which is among us would be the science of the truth which is?²⁴
- FR.* Lovers of wisdom whom he follows have used similar words²⁵ though I doubt that Socrates and Parmenides meant the same thing.
- PRO.* What leads you to think that?
- FR.* The lovers of wisdom to whom I refer often speak of an instrumental theory of knowledge.²⁶ Yet they say of immortality that it is less the love of life than the fear of death.²⁷ In that case, Socrates was merely foolish not to avoid death,²⁸ or at least abandon the study which led to his death.²⁹
- PRO.* Such a course would have been more prudent. By yielding to the science of the truth which existed in force³⁰ among the Athenians,³¹ Socrates would have admitted the actual and let the unattainable go,³² thus showing that man is at any rate the measure of his own safety.³³

- FR.* But Socrates, while acknowledging that beauty in itself is unattainable,³⁴ accepted probable opinion as a necessary substitute.³⁵ And when contrary opinions seemed equally probable,³⁶ he persisted in his determination to pursue the problem further.³⁷
- PRO.* Does the instrumental school, however, interpret my doctrine³⁸ properly by giving up the pursuit of the abstract in favor of those things which are not only within the measure of man but essential to his welfare?³⁹
- FR.* As they have lost faith in abstract knowledge,⁴⁰ followers of that school cultivate keenness and comprehensiveness of perception all the more.⁴¹
- PRO.* For example?
- FR.* It is said that the only way to develop flexible and sensitive powers of perception is to keep subjecting oneself to a great variety of unfamiliar forms; to make plasticity and open-mindedness themselves habitual.⁴²
- PRO.* In view of this revival of my doctrines, to continue the efforts of Socrates might merit the reprimand of Callicles, the friend of Gorgias.⁴³ He said that it is no disgrace for the young to study philosophy, but when a man has reached an advanced age and still continues to study philosophy, the thing becomes ridiculous.⁴⁴
- FR.* I judge the value of his remark by the fact that it was addressed to Socrates, and was the angry conclusion of a debate in which Callicles had not appeared at his best.
- PRO.* When Socrates and Hippias had been examining into the nature of the good and the beautiful, Hippias also exclaimed that Socrates ought to renounce these petty arguments, that he might not, by busying himself, as he then did, with mere talk and nonsense, look like a fool.⁴⁵ Since speculations such as those of Socrates have been wisely abandoned by those who follow me, what is the aim of applied aesthetics?
- FR.* Science aims at the control of nature, including human nature. Control through applied aesthetics can aim at freeing the courses of intuitive impulse to seek its own paths of adventure and growth, by harmonizing unwanted conflicts, and dissolving the routines of mechanical habit.⁴⁶
- PRO.* That indeed recalls the profession of Gorgias, as reported by Meno. He asserted that a man's virtue consists in his being competent to manage the affairs of his city, and to manage them so as to benefit his friends and harm his enemies, and to take care to avoid suffering harm himself.⁴⁷
- FR.* Is this thought not consistent with your own view that man is the measure of all things?⁴⁸
- PRO.* I should consider it so.⁴⁹
- FR.* Is not the naturalistic explanation of all things likewise congenial to your doctrine?
- PRO.* My followers, Dionysodorus and Euthydemus, had a discussion with Socrates in which that point is established. As they proved, it is not possible to assert things which are false.⁵⁰ Socrates concluded therefore that if it is neither possible to speak falsely, nor to entertain a false opinion, nor to be ignorant, neither is it possible for any one to err, when he does anything, because the doer cannot err in what he does.⁵¹

- FR.* That view is not really inconsistent with the corridor theory⁵² of truth entertained by the instrumental school. At the same time, if it is not possible to assert things which are false, nor to err, then it is not possible to create an ugly thing, nor to judge anything as otherwise than beautiful.⁵³
- PRO.* I fancy that the writer to whom you referred must have something to say not unlike what Dionysodorus and Euthydemus said.
- FR.* He has. He speaks of the revision of value standards. He says⁵⁴ that the result will be no single definition of "beauty" or standard of aesthetic value.⁵⁵ Aesthetics inherits from Platonism an exaggerated respect for the importance of this and similar very broad and "fundamental" words.⁵⁶ It is dissatisfied with any standard which is not couched as a brief absolute definition of beauty or goodness, for all persons at all times.⁵⁷ No such standard can ever be worked in practice, or in theory based on modern science.⁵⁸ Aesthetics must abandon this ancient craving for a monistic solution if it is to function in a world increasingly conscious of the plurality and relativity of things.⁵⁹ Such are his words, and they are not unlike those of your earlier followers.
- PRO.* Such a view seems but a more elaborate expression of my own thought. Indeed, there was something quite similar in those books which the Athenians burned. Instead of remaining in their city, however, I escaped from them, as I did not see why I should anticipate the fate of Socrates. But, since I went under in the storm, I might just as well have remained and made pragmatism a religion as well as a philosophy.⁶⁰
- FR.* You seem to be correct in identifying your principles with those of pragmatism. Perhaps you are also inclined to agree with the judgment of Hippias with respect to beauty.
- PRO.* Do you mean that speech which Socrates attempted to refute by bringing in the statue of Athena made by Phidias? It was not really so foolish as Socrates made out.
- FR.* Yes, I refer to the statement that we all know wherever gold is added, even what before appears ugly will appear beautiful.⁶¹
- PRO.* Is not something similar said by your modern author?
- FR.* Not so far from it, I believe. For example, he talks about the present drift of opinion being voluntaristic⁶² and anti-intellectualistic⁶³ with regard to the study of the processes of reasoning, intelligent learning, and valuation. This trend in psychology, he says, has gone along with the pragmatic doctrine that scientific and philosophic thinking,⁶⁴ including moral and aesthetic valuation, are not only practical in origin but should be more consciously devoted to practical ends,⁶⁵ should give more recognition to the irregular and unintellectual elements in experience, and more effort to tracing the consequences to which certain beliefs lead in action.⁶⁶
- PRO.* If you remember, a philosopher who is little disposed to accept my views appears to agree with Hippias and me.⁶⁷ He said in an early work that cost is practical value expressed in abstract terms, and from the price of anything we can often

infer what relation it has to the desires and efforts of mankind.⁶⁸ There is no reason why cost, or the circumstances which are its basis, should not, like other practical values, heighten the tone of consciousness, and add to the pleasure with which we view an object.

FR. Would a history of prices be a record not only of economic but also of aesthetic value?⁶⁹

PRO. Yes, and that other saying may not be far from right. In addition to the axiom that man is the measure of all things,⁷⁰ we should believe that every man as well as every thing has a price.⁷¹

FR. In any case, a history of the prices paid for works of art would be a far truer history than the usual histories which mingle obscure aesthetics and uncertain archæology?

PRO. I really do think so. But speaking of archæology, the Lacedaemonians, with their practical policies in all things, preferred it to aesthetics. Respecting the genealogies of their heroes and men, and settlements of tribes, and how cities were founded of old, and, in a word, to everything relating to archæology, they listened with the greatest pleasure, as Hippias himself reported.⁷²

FR. Then, for present judgments about art, would not the judgments of dealers and auction rooms serve better than those of artists and pedants?

PRO. They would indeed.

FR. But in attempting to discover what are the best practical judgments of aesthetic values⁷³ in fields other than those called fine arts, would not the department stores and specialty shops seem to be the most reliable?

PRO. They are the best practical judges. They are not theorizing or speculating, poring over books or spending their lives in dull laboratories.⁷⁴ They do well in the struggle for existence by accurately anticipating and fulfilling the actual aesthetic wants of the many.⁷⁵

FR. Now that you have acknowledged yourself the founder of pragmatism and approve of the views expressed in the book I spoke of, as well as the consequences of those views,⁷⁶ how would you sum up our discussion?⁷⁷

PRO. There are several conclusions to be drawn, not one only.⁷⁸ In the first place, because it has survived through the ages, we may find that Platonism somehow not only raised the whole aesthetic problem, but largely determined it.⁷⁹ Platonism furnishes the premises from which it is difficult to avoid drawing those solutions which are found to be so alien to the scientific trends of the day.⁸⁰ Perhaps, after all, it may have a deep justification of truthful intuition, relatively independent of historical change,⁸¹ and this would not be surprising, for of all the systems and suggestions accounting for art, I find that Platonism is the only one which itself possesses aesthetic quality⁸² and arouses a response in artists and art lovers, most of whom are unwitting Platonists.⁸³

FR. That hardly seems like you.

PRO. No, but I must admit that it is a possible and an actual view, although unsympathetic to me and my followers. A second and more probable conclusion, therefore, may be that art is the last stronghold and final refuge of obscurantism. After

having oppressed the world for centuries in all sorts of ways, Platonism has now been driven out as a successful way of thinking about anything whatever, except art.⁸⁴ As it has been found wanting everywhere else, we may anticipate that future, more pragmatic and scientific generations will consign art to its proper place and see that there really is no such thing needed as a theory of art.⁸⁵

FR. That goes even beyond the present attitude of the pragmatists; it is almost too ruthlessly logical.

PRO. For that reason, still a third conclusion is possible. The romantic conception,⁸⁶ which brought a new freedom and liberty to man at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was largely inspired by Plato through Plotinus.⁸⁷ Its spiritual and material benefits were immeasurable.⁸⁸ And not inconsistent with this is the ultimate view of many beside pragmatists,⁸⁹ that life is itself an art.⁹⁰ Thus, instead of a destructive and irrelevant influence, the aesthetic view of the world—using art as a pattern, as a very Platonic idea, indeed—may be practically the best.

FR. Why, that brings us back in a circle to Socrates.⁹¹

PRO. I suspect that he is near us, for we appear to feel his influence.⁹²

FR. How is that?

PRO. Abstract reasons, as you know, and speculation are unfavorably viewed by pragmatists, but there are pragmatists who call themselves philosophers and even aestheticians. It is a difficulty which I do not have the time to discuss at the moment. It may help you, however, with regard to art, if I remind you that Christianity itself⁹³ is deeply dyed with Platonism and Neo-Platonism.⁹⁴ The apostolic era, the patristic centuries,⁹⁵ the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the romantic movement can, as far as art goes, be defined reasonably as reinterpretations or revivals of Platonism.⁹⁶ Try as we may, it is difficult to escape so dominating an influence.⁹⁷

FR. How, indeed, can one do other than yield to Plato when thinking about art? The urge of time and my own inclinations lead me toward him.

PRO. If you will come by this way several hundred years from now, I anticipate that a new arrival will be able to tell you very simply and clearly how to escape the illusions of Plato.⁹⁸ In a completely scientific and pragmatic world, I foresee, no books will be written about aesthetics because it will by then be merely a quaint word marked "obsolete" in the larger dictionaries. Nor will there be any such thing as art, for in a really integrated existence, art and aesthetic value will be indistinguishable from the thoroughly intelligent life.⁹⁹

FR. Thank you for so fully expressing your opinions and anticipations. But whose is that loud resounding voice I hear intoning the hymn of Diotima?

PRO. O, Jupiter, why must that man pursue me even here?

SOC. He who has been instructed in the things of love, and who has learned to see the beautiful in due order and succession, when he comes toward the end will suddenly perceive a nature of wondrous beauty, a nature which is everlasting, not growing and decaying, or waxing and waning; not fair in one point of view and foul in another, or at one time or in one relation or at one place fair, at another time or in

another relation or at another place foul, as if fair to some and foul to others, or in the likeness of a face or hands or some other part of the bodily frame, or in any form of speech or knowledge, or existing in any other being, as for example, in an animal, or in heaven, or in earth, or in any other place; but beauty absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting, which without diminution and without increase, or any change, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauty of all other things. He who from these ascending under the influence of true love, begins to perceive that beauty, is not far from the end. And the true order of going, or being led by another, to the things of love, is to begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only, and from one going on to two, and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is.¹⁰⁰

FOOT NOTES

THE NEW PROTAGORAS

1. The best way to read a pedantic dialogue is to read through the text first, and then the notes. F. C. S. Schiller has noted the similarity of the formulas of Protagoras and pragmatism, but he contends that Plato, not Protagoras, was refuted in the Platonic dialogues. Cf. Schiller, *Studies in Humanism*, London, 1907, p. 33: "His [Protagoras'] famous dictum that 'man is the measure of all things' must be ranked even above the Delphic 'know thyself', as compressing the largest quantum of vital meaning into the most compact form." Schiller, *The Humanism of Protagoras*, in *Mind*, XX, April, 1911 (N. S. 20), p. 183: "It would not do to declare either that the social order or that the individuals' judgment was infallible. If the one were, progress, if the other, education, would become impossible, and in the second of these at least Protagoras was doubtless a fervent believer. At last Protagoras found a way out of the difficulty. He announced that man was the measure of all things. This was to assert man's spiritual autonomy, both against the physiologists and against the theologians, and recognized also, in a thoroughly democratic spirit, the autonomy of every individual citizen." The pertinent chapters in Schiller's *Studies in Humanism* are: II—*From Plato to Protagoras*; XIII—*The Papyri of Philonous*; XIV—*Protagoras the Humanist*; XV—*Gods and Priests*. Cf. also Schiller, *Humanism, Philosophical Essays*, 2nd ed., London, 1912, the following chapters: II—*'Useless' Knowledge*; III—*Truth*; V—*Non-Euclidean Geometry and the Kantian A Priori*.

2. The mediaeval cartographers identified these islands, *Fortunatae Insulae*, or Fortunate Islands, with the Canaries and Madeira. The Isles of the Blest or *ai τῶν μακάρων νῆσοι* are referred to by Pindar (*Olympic Ode*, II) and Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 168). Some have found a similarity between these isles and the Atlantic Island, now sunk

by earthquakes, whose constitution, character, and history are so pleasantly described in the *Critias*, poetic prelude to the *Republic* and the *Laws*. Cf. *Timaeus*, 24 ff. Cf. also A. Delatte, *L'Atlantide de Platon*, in *Musée Belge, Revue de Philologie Classique*, Liège, 1922, XXV, pp. 77-93; L. Fernández Navarro, *Atlantis Geológica y Atlantis Platónica*, in *Revista de las Españas*, Madrid, 1927, II, pp. 301-304; Paul Borchardt, *Platos Insel Atlantis*, in *Petermanns Mitteil. aus Justus Perthes' geographischer Anstalt*, Gotha, 1927, LXXIII, pp. 19-32; *Zur Atlantisfrage*, *ibid.* (discussion by A. Berger, T. Dombart and others), pp. 143-152, 280-293; R. Stübe, *Wo lag Platons Atlantis? Ein Bericht über neue Forschungen*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, 1927, CCXI, pp. 161-164. Dante, *Inferno*, 134, reports of his passage through Limbo: "quivi vid' io Socrate e Platone." The authority for the statement in the dialogue is *Gorgias*, 523 B: "Now in the time of Cronos there was a law concerning mankind, and it holds to this very day among the gods, that every man who has passed a just and holy life departs after his decease to the Isles of the Blest, and dwells in all happiness apart from ill." *Plato*, vol. V (Loeb Classical Library), translation by W. R. M. Lamb, New York, 1925, p. 519.

3. Cf. *Apology*, 41: "But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead abide, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? . . . Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. . . . Above all, I shall then be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in the next; and I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not." (*The Dialogues of Plato, Selections from the Translation of Benjamin Jowett*, edited by William Chase Greene, New York, 1927, p. 28.)

4. *Protagoras*, 361 E. *Plato* (Loeb Classical Library), IV, p. 257.

5. The sophists, or men of wisdom, were professors of higher education who, from about the middle of the fifth century B. C. undertook to prepare young men for citizenship. Regarding truth (*ἀλήθεια*) and wisdom (*σοφία*) as unattainable, they looked upon virtue and excellence (*ἀρετή*) as that which could be taught. As against the earlier physical philosophies, they expressly drew a sceptical conclusion. That of Protagoras, in a work called *Truth*, was: if all things are in flux and sensation is therefore subjective, then "Man is the measure of all things, of what is, that it is, and of what is not, that it is not." (*Theaetetus*, 152 A: πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δὲ μὴ ὄντων, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν.) Cf. Diog. Laërt. *in vita Prot.*, IX, 51. Gorgias, however, in his *Nature*, asserted that nothing is; if anything is, it cannot be known; if anything is and can be known, it cannot be communicated.

6. Although Plato's description of Hippias and Dionysodorus is the reverse of flattering and his attack upon Isocrates is unyielding, he seems rather to admire Protagoras and he almost respects Gorgias. Protagoras (c. 481-411 B. C.), considered the first of the sophists, was an older contemporary of Socrates, highly regarded by Pericles. (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 36). He fled from Athens after being convicted of atheism and while on the way to Sicily lost his life by drowning. Cf. Diog. Laërt. *in vita Prot.*, IX, 8, and the *Theaetetus*.

7. *Meno*, 81 C, D, in *Works of Plato*, translated by George Burges (Bohn's Libraries), London, 1908, III, p. 20: "The soul, then, as being immortal, and born frequently, and having seen both the things here, and those in Hades, and all things, there is nothing it has not learned; so that it is no wonder that it is able to recollect, with regard to virtue and other things, what it formerly knew. For the whole of nature being of one kindred, and the soul having heretofore known all things, there is nothing to prevent a person, who remembers (what men call learning) only one thing, from discovering again all the rest; if he has but courage, and seeking faints not. For to search and to learn is reminiscence all." In the *Introduction of Alcinoüs to the Doctrines of Plato* (*ibid.*, VI, p. 287), the conclusions from the above passage are thus stated: "Moreover if learning is (but) recollection, the soul would be immortal. Now that learning is (but) recollection, we may be led (to believe) in this manner; for learning could not be based otherwise than on the recollection of what has been known of old. For if we have an idea of universals from things taken in parts, how shall we find a way through things that are infinite, as regards their parts? or how from a few (perceive universals)? For we should have been deceived by a falsehood, as say for example, by having decided that, what makes use of respiration, is alone a living being; or how could thoughts have the property of a principle?"

8. In contrast with the cheerful confidence in memory displayed by Socrates, we may note the fear created in St. Augustine through considering the close relation between individual personality and memory, and the danger to the former through the weakness of the latter. This fear and a more intense regret for the passage of time are characteristic of late antiquity. Cf. *The Confessions of*

St. Augustine, bk. X (translation by Edward B. Pusey, *The Harvard Classics*, VII, pp. 180-181): "It is I myself who remember, I the mind. It is not so wonderful, if what I myself am not, be far from me. But what is nearer to me than myself? And lo, the force of mine own memory is not understood by me; though I cannot so much as name myself without it. . . . Great is the power of memory, a fearful thing, O my God, a deep and boundless manifoldness; and this thing is the mind, and this am I myself. What am I then, O my God? What nature am I? A life various and manifold, and exceeding immense. Behold in the plains, and caves, and caverns of my memory, innumerable and innumerable full of innumerable kinds of things, either through images, as all bodies; or by actual presence, as the arts; or by certain notions or impressions, as the affections of the mind, which, even when the mind doth not feel, the memory retaineth, while yet whatsoever is in the memory is also in the mind—over all these do I run, I fly, I dive on this side and on that, as far as I can, and there is no end."

9. The name of sophist was given in Athens without much distinction to those teachers who were not philosophers or technical instructors but pretended to impart a liberal education. The *Sophist* of Plato reviews the development and character of such teaching up to his own day. That dialogue and the *Statesman* discuss the relations of the sophist, statesman, and philosopher. The sophists' loss of belief in physical science disposed them to every scepticism. They took large fees from pupils (cf. *Theaetetus*, 167 D), thus surrendering their independence, and their eagerness to gain victory or at least to create an impression brought them eventual discredit. Plato's dialogues dealing with education all treat the claims of the sophists. Cf. *passim*: *Protagoras*, *Phaedrus*, *Meno*, *Euthydemus*, and *Republic*.

10. The conventional estimate of the sophists is to be found, for example, in T. Mitchell, *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, London, 1820, I, pp. 1-11: "The first person who acquired distinction in this profession of [sophist], sufficient to make his name known to posterity, and to have an influence upon the age in which he lived, was Protagoras of Abdera. Originally a faggot-maker, his mode of tying up bundles excited the attention of Democritus; and the instructions of that philosopher subsequently enabled him to quit a trade, in which he might have been humbly useful, for a profession in which he unfortunately became splendidly mischievous. The human mind never losing altogether the impression of its first employment, the inventor of the porter's knot became also the discoverer of the knots of language; and accordingly, to Protagoras is ascribed the pernicious proclamation (*Arist. Rhet.*, II, 26; *Diog. Laërt. in vita Prot.* IX, 51; *Isocr. in Laude Helenae*) which announced that with him might be acquired, for a proper compensation, that species of knowledge, which was able to confound right and wrong, and make the worse appear the better cause: a doctrine which strikes us with amazement and confusion, but which was propagated with such success, that in the days of Aristophanes and Plato it appears to have excited little surprise in those who professed it, and to have been rather expected than otherwise in such persons as set themselves up for teachers of wisdom."

11. *Theaetetus*, 186 D, in *Works of Plato*, translated by Henry Cary (Bohn's Libraries), London, 1907, I, p. 424.

12. *Theaetetus*, 151 E: "Knowledge is nothing else than perception." οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη ἢ αἰσθησις. Cf. C. P. Parker, *Plato and Pragmatism*, in *Harvard Essays in Classical Subjects*, Boston, 1912, p. 206: "If an essential part of the method of pragmatism is to treat sensations as the great reality, and to find matter more solid than thought, Plato stands revealed as the enemy of the pragmatic movement." Cf. also J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, London, 1905, p. 502: *Dominus Illuminatio Mea*: 'The Platonic Philosophers do wonderfully refine upon Light, and soar very high,' as Berkeley writes in *Siris*, § 210—himself, at last, a professed adherent of the school of Cudworth:—'As understanding perceiveth not, that is, doth not hear, or see, or feel, so sense knoweth not; and although the mind may use both sense and fancy as means whereby to arrive at knowledge, yet sense or soul, so far forth as sensitive, knoweth nothing. For it is rightly observed in the *Theaetetus* of Plato, science consists not in the passive perceptions, but in the reasoning upon them, τῷ περὶ ἐκείνων συλλογισμῷ.'" *Ibid.*, p. 519, *Siris*, § 350: "Whatever the world thinks, he who hath not much meditated upon God, the Human Mind, and the *Summum Bonum*, may possibly make a thriving earthworm, but will most indubitably make a sorry patriot and a sorry statesman.'"

13. Cf. *Theaetetus*, 160 E.

14. Thomas Munro, *Scientific Method in Aesthetics*, New York, 1928, p. 15: "At least as long ago as 1876, when the work of Fechner appeared, there was talk of a science of aesthetics which should proceed by observation and induction, rising to generalizations 'from below,' instead of working downward by deduction from metaphysics. Since then there have been frequent efforts to investigate aesthetic preference by controlled experiments, usually with numerical treatment of the results." In a note the author refers to: Fechner, *Vorschule der Aesthetik*; C. Lalo, *L'esthétique expérimentale contemporaine*; C. W. Valentine, *The Experimental Psychology of Beauty*.

15. C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning, A study of the influence of language upon thought and of the science of symbolism*, New York, 1923, p. 244: "Many intelligent people indeed have given up aesthetic speculation and take no interest in discussions about the nature or object of Art, because they feel that there is little likelihood of arriving at any definite conclusion. Authorities appear to differ so widely in their judgments as to which things are beautiful, and when they do agree there is no means of knowing *what* they are agreeing about."

16. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

17. *Parmenides*, 134 C, translation in text of dialogue above by Burges (cf. note 7 above), p. 415. Cf. H. N. Fowler, *Plato* (Loeb Classical Library), VI, p. 227: "Then the absolute good and the beautiful and all which we conceive to be absolute ideas are unknown to us." Ἀγνωστον ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ὃ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ πάντα ἃ δὴ ὡς ἰδέας αὐτὰς οὐσας ὑπολαμβάνομεν.

18. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

19. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

20. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

21. One of the volumes in a set of five collectively entitled, *An Outline of Aesthetics*, edited with an introduction by Philip N. Youtz, New York, 1928.

22. Introduction by Youtz to Munro, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

23. Introduction, *ibid.*

24. *Parmenides*, 134 B, translation by Burges (cf. note 7 above). Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Ἡ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ἥτι παρ' ἡμῖν ἀν ἀληθείας εἴη, καὶ αὐ ἐκείνη ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστήμη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ὄντων ἐκείνου ἀν ἐπιστήμη συμβαίνοι εἶναι;

25. William James, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1911, p. 20: "Few of us realize how short the career of what we know as 'science' has been. Three hundred and fifty years ago hardly any one believed in the Copernican planetary theory. Optical combinations were not discovered. . . . Five men telling one another in succession the discoveries which their lives had witnessed, could deliver the whole of it into our hands. . . ." William James, *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, New York, 1902, p. 205: "In the casuistic scale, therefore, those ideals must be written highest which prevail at the least cost, or by whose realization the least possible number of other ideals are destroyed." *Ibid.*, p. 208: "All this amounts to saying that, so far as the casuistic question goes, ethical science is just like physical science, and instead of being deducible all at once from abstract principles, must simply bide its time, and be ready to revise its conclusions from day to day. The presumption of course, in both sciences, always is that the vulgarly accepted opinions are true, and the right casuistic order that which public opinion believes in; and surely it would be folly quite as great, in most of us, to strike out independently and aim at originality in ethics as in physics." *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, selected and edited by Joseph Ratner, New York, 1928, pp. 346-7 (from *Logical Conditions of a Scientific Treatment of Morality*): "Such a science [of conduct] can be built up only through references to cases which at the outset need conscious critical direction in judgment. . . . Through clearing up the social situation, through making objective to ourselves our own motives and their consequences, we build up generic propositions: statements of experience as a connection of conditions, that is, in the form of objects. Such statements are used and applied in dealing with further problems. Gradually their use becomes more and more habitual. The 'theory' becomes a part of our psychical apparatus. . . . With this clearing up of the field and organs of moral action, conscious recourse to theory will, as in physical cases, limit itself to problems of unusual perplexity and to constructions of a large degree of novelty."

26. William James, *Pragmatism*, New York, 1909, pp. 58-59: "Any idea upon which we can ride, so to speak; any idea that will carry us prosperously from any one part of our experience to any other part, linking things satisfactorily, working securely, simplifying, saving labor; is true for just so much, true in so far forth, true *instrumentally*. This is the 'instrumental' view of truth taught so successfully at Chicago, the view that truth in our ideas means their power to 'work', promulgated so brilliantly at Oxford. Messrs. Dewey, Schiller and their allies, in reaching this general conception of all truth, have only followed

the example of geologists, biologists and physiologists." Cf. *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, chapter VI, pp. 141 ff.: *The Instrumental Theory of Knowledge*.

27. Cf. Horace M. Kallen, *Value and Existence in Philosophy, Art, and Religion*, in *Creative Intelligence, Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude*, by John Dewey and Others, New York, 1917, pp. 428-429: "To turn first to immortality. Its source and matrix is less the love of life than the fear of death—that fear which Lucretius, dour poet of disillusion, so nobly deplored. . . . Fear which made the gods, made also the immortality of man, the denial of death. . . . We do not knowingly undergo the fear of death. Indeed, it is logically impossible that we should, since to do so would be to acquire an experience of death such that we should be conscious of being unconscious, sensible of being insensible, aware of being unaware. We should be required to be and not be at the same instant, in view of which Lucretius both logically and wisely advises us to remember that when death is, we are not; and when we are, death is not."

28. According to Dupréel, the story of Socrates' death is only a sacred philosophical legend, after all. Cf. Eugène Dupréel, *La Légende Socratique et les Sources de Platon*, Brussels, 1922, p. 425: "L'Apologie de Socrate et toute la fiction de sa fin tragique serait donc une de ces nombreuses transpositions dont sa figure comme sa pensée ont bénéficié." P. 426: "Les deux grandes formes rivales [la dialectique et la rhétorique] de la prose littéraire attique se sont associées pour fonder la légende du Saint de la philosophie; l'une a élaboré sa pensée multiforme et ses fécondes manies, l'autre a trouvé sa mort."

29. Cf. *Apology*, 28, 29. *The Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Greene, p. 15: "Some one will say: Are you not ashamed, Socrates, of a course of life which is likely to bring you to an untimely end? To him I may fairly answer: There you are mistaken: a man who is good for anything ought not to calculate his chances of living or dying; he ought only to consider whether in doing anything he is doing right or wrong—acting the part of a good man or a bad." . . . p. 16: "But I do know that injustice and disobedience to a better, whether God or man, is evil and dishonourable, and I will never fear or avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil." . . . "I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy."

30. The rule of force, the superiority of concrete might to abstract right, was long ago expounded by Callicles, as a representative of Gorgias. (*Gorgias*, 483 D, 484 A): "Callicles . . . But nature herself, I think, evinces, on the contrary, that it is just that the better should have more than the worse, and the more powerful than the weaker. . . . But I think that they do these things according to natural justice, and, by Jupiter, according to the law of nature; not, perhaps, according to that law which we have framed, taking the best and strongest amongst us from their youth, like lions, we tame them by incantations and juggleries, telling them that it is right to preserve equality, and that this is the beautiful and the just." (Translation by Cary (cf. note 11 above), p. 181.)

31. Cf. P. Coffey, *Epistemology or the Theory of Knowledge*, New York, 1917, II, pp. 362-363: "Apparently any doc-

trine that is widely received, and which therefore 'works', at least in the measure in which it is received and 'lived' by mankind,—be it Agnosticism, Atheism, Materialism, Hedonism, or what not,—is true in that same measure, inasmuch as in that measure it is actually assimilated into the current or process of human existence; as the 'corridor' theory explicitly admits. But if that be so, then,—and this is possibly the underlying thought in the minds of pragmatists,—the actual process of human life or existence, as it goes on in time and space, is its own end. But this, too, is an intellectual thesis; and, what is more, it is one the truth or falsity of which obviously cannot be tested by the Pragmatist criterion. So, then, Pragmatism has postulates which escape its net and must be sifted by the reflecting intellect."

32. Cf. George Santayana, *Platonism and the Spiritual Life*, New York, 1927, p. 17: Platonism accordingly would be entirely stultified and eviscerated if it were not suffered to be all that modern criticism, inspired as it is by a subjective and psychological philosophy, most thoroughly dislikes; I mean, supernaturalistic, realistic, and dualistic. This is only another way of saying that, according to the Platonic doctrine, God and the unseen world really exist in themselves, so that they can precede, create, attract, and survive their earthly emanations."

33. Paul Elmer More, *The Religion of Plato*, Princeton, 1921, p. 63: "Rather, we might say that philosophy is not so much a study of death as of deathlessness, and a search for the signs of eternity in the objects of time."

34. Cf. note 17 above.

35. *Meno*, 98 C, translation by Burges (cf. note 7 above), III, p. 45: "Socrates: Correct opinion therefore is a thing not at all inferior to (perfect) knowledge, nor less beneficial with regard to action: nor is the man, who has a correct opinion, (inferior) to the man of (perfect) knowledge." Cf. *Plato*, IV, translated by W. R. M. Lamb (Loeb Classical Library), New York, 1924, p. 363: "So that right opinion will be no whit inferior to knowledge in worth or usefulness as regards our actions, nor will the man who has right opinion be inferior to him who has knowledge." Οὐδὲν ἄρα ὀρθὴ δόξα ἐπιστήμης χεῖρον οὐδὲ ἥττον ὠφελίμη ἐστὶ ἐς τὰς πράξεις, οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔχων ὀρθὴν δόξαν ἢ ὁ ἐπιστήμων.

36. Cf. *Protagoras*, 361 B, C, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), p. 255: "What strange creatures you are, Socrates and Protagoras! You, on the one hand, after having said at first that virtue cannot be taught, are now hot in opposition to yourself, endeavoring to prove that all things are knowledge—justice, temperance, and courage—which is the best way to make virtue appear teachable: for if virtue were anything else than knowledge, as Protagoras tried to make out, obviously it would not be teachable; but if as a matter of fact it turns out to be entirely knowledge, as you urge, Socrates, I shall be surprised if it is not teachable. Protagoras, on the other hand, though at first he claimed that it was teachable, now seems as eager for the opposite, declaring that it has been found to be almost anything but knowledge, which would make it quite unteachable! Now I, Protagoras, observing the extraordinary tangle into which we have managed to get the whole matter, am most anxious to

have it thoroughly cleared up. And I should like to work our way through it until at last we reach what virtue is, and then go back and consider whether it is teachable or not."

37. Cf. *Meno* 86 C, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), p. 323: "Most of the points I have made in support of my argument are not such as I can confidently assert; but that the belief in the duty of inquiring after what we do not know will make us better and braver and less helpless than the notion that there is not even a possibility of discovering what we do not know, nor any duty of inquiring after it—this is a point for which I am determined to do battle, as far as I am able, both in word and deed." Cf. also Santayana, *op. cit.*, p. 21: "Socrates was a plain man, but fearless; he was omnivorous, playful, ironical, but absolutely determined. His one purpose was to be rational, to find and to do what was best." Cf. also Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 184: "Nothing is commoner in Plato than the rejection of one definition after another, and the ending of a talk with an unsatisfactory longing for some rational account of a whole class of phenomena, such an account as shall explain and include them all; and the purpose of the search is practical, to wit, the guidance of life in days to come."

38. *Theaetetus*, 160 C, translation by Cary (cf. note 11 above), p. 392: "Socrates: My perception, therefore, is true for me; for it always belongs to my existence. And I, according to Protagoras, am a judge of things that exist in relation to me, that they do exist, and of things that do not exist, that they do not exist."

39. Cf. Lucius Moody Bristol, *Social Adaptation*, Cambridge, 1915; Arthur J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, New York, 1918.

40. Cf. William James, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1911, pp. 79 ff.: "The insuperability of sensation' would be a short expression of my thesis. To prove it, I must show: 1. That concepts are secondary formations, inadequate, and only ministerial; and 2. That they falsify as well as omit, and make the flux impossible to understand. I. Conception is a secondary process, not indispensable to life. It presupposes perception, which is self-sufficing, as all lower creatures, in whom conscious life goes on by reflex adaptations, show. . . . 2. Conceptual treatment of perceptual reality makes it seem paradoxical and incomprehensible; and when radically and consistently carried out, it leads to the opinion that perceptual experience is not reality at all, but an appearance or illusion." Cf. also William James, *Pragmatism*, p. 170: "My thesis now is this, that our fundamental ways of thinking about things are discoveries of exceedingly remote ancestors, which have been able to preserve themselves throughout the experience of all subsequent time." But cf. Santayana, *op. cit.*, p. 10: "It was never the actual values found in the world that were separated from it, either in Platonism or in Christianity, and conceived to compose an eternal world behind it. The powers that were creative, substantial, and permanent were not values at all, but the *underpinning* which values required if they were to arise; and although this substructure had to be in itself physical or metaphysical, the discovery of it had momentous consequences for morals, in that it enabled the enlightened

believer to distinguish possible attainable goods from the impossible happiness after which the heathen seek."

41. Coffey, *op. cit.*, p. 353, says of Pragmatism: "The truth or knowledge-value of a proposition is not at all any insight it is supposed to give us into things, but simply its relation of utility to human life." Coffey's note on the preceding: "Such a view involves, of course, the abolition of Metaphysics in its traditional sense of a speculative study of the real. Hence the severity of Pragmatist strictures on Metaphysics, and the anxiety of Pragmatists to discourage such research. Here is a typical illustration: 'Metaphysics has hitherto been a piece of amusement for idle minds, a sort of game at chess; and the *ratio essendi* of Pragmatism is to make a clean sweep of the propositions of ontology, nearly all of which are senseless rubbish, where words are defined by words and so on without ever reaching any real concept.' *The Monist*, 1905, p. 171; cf. R. Jeannière, S. J., *Criterologia, vel Critica Cognitionis Certae*, Paris, 1912, p. 273 n."

42. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

43. Coffey, *op. cit.*, II, p. 359: "The destructive criticism by Pragmatism merely shows (1) that such [intellectual] knowledge is imperfect, inadequate, not comprehensive or exhaustive of the content of the real; (2) that all knowledge, even the most speculative, is ultimately in some way 'tendential' or responsive and complementary to some natural need. Cognition is, of course, subservient to life, is a means of providing for human needs. But (a) among these needs is the *appetitus sciendi*, man's natural, inborn desire for knowledge,—and for speculative knowledge of *what things are*, as well as practical knowledge of *what use they are*. And furthermore (b) we can obviously avail of knowledge to serve human needs only in so far as it is knowledge, *i. e.* in so far as it gives us at least some real if partial and inadequate insight into *what things are*."

44. *Gorgias*, 485 B, translation by Cary (cf. note 11 above), pp. 182-183.

45. *Hippias Major*, 304 C, translation by Fowler (cf. note 17 above), p. 421.

46. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

47. *Meno*, 71 E, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), p. 269. This has been the historic aim of rhetoric. Cf. C. S. Baldwin, *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York, 1924; and *Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York, 1928.

48. The *Theaetetus* is really an elaborate investigation and refutation of the doctrine of Protagoras. It is commonly considered that the two most telling arguments urged by Socrates are: (1) If Protagoras admits as true the opinion of the majority, he admits that he is wrong, for they think he is; (2) even if there were no standard but a present subjective one, it could not be admitted that all men's thoughts and opinions are equally valid with regard to the future. The latter argument was accepted by Mill. But Schiller, in *Mind*, April, 1911, p. 189, will not admit that Protagoras was refuted in the *Theaetetus*: "Plato did not attempt a direct answer to what was unanswerable. So he gives us a masterly attempt to conceal the fact that no answer was forthcoming, so masterly indeed that for over 2000 years it has served its purpose

and persuaded mankind that it was an entirely successful answer." Cf. also p. 192 n.: "The real and undisputed feat by which Protagoras earned the right to be called a humanist, is of course the discovery of the *Homo Mensura* itself." E. M. Cope, *Plato's Theaetetus and Mr. Grote's Criticism* (paper read before the Cambridge Philosophical Society, May 21st, 1866), Cambridge, 1866, comments, p. 14: "That is, as Plato interprets it, every feeling or perception of sense is true, as it appears, to each individual man: and as no other standard of truth but this subjective one is admitted, the exclusion or negation of a common, objective, standard of truth is necessarily implied. Now it is this necessary implication or deduction that Plato endeavours to refute. So far as the dictum means no more than this, that the senses are faithful witnesses of what they observe, that the impressions of the senses are true for the moment, while they last, that the experience of the individual at a particular moment so far as the sensible impression concerned is to be relied on, that the impression on the retina or the auditory nerve, like a photograph, faithfully and exactly represents the object which it apprehends, all this is afterwards admitted to be true, *Theaetetus* 179 C." *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16: "Further, there is evidence that Protagoras actually took the narrower view of his own doctrine attributed to him by Plato, in this, that Plato in examining it starts at once with its application to objects of sense, 152 B, and returns to the same at the conclusion of the inquiry, 178 B: and when Protagoras' doctrine is explained in detail with every appearance of care and accuracy, it is a doctrine of sensation, 156, 7: from all which the fair inference would seem to be that this was the way in which its author actually treated it." Aristotle, according to Cope, treated the doctrine of Protagoras in the same manner as Plato—a sort of corollary from the theory that cognition is sensible perception. He cites *Metaph.* Γ. 5, 1009-10, particularly 1009 A 22, and *Metaph.* I, 1, 1053 A 35. An identical understanding of the doctrine is found in Diog. Laërt. *in vita Prot.*, IX, 51; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhon. Hypot.* I, 216 ff.; Simplicius' *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, bk. H, 249 A 28. Such an analysis as that of Protagoras leads modern impressionistic critics to negative conclusions. Cf. Anatole France, *The Adventures of the Soul*, in *A Modern Book of Criticism*, edited by Ludwig Lewisohn, New York, 1919, p. 1.: "There is no such thing as objective criticism any more than there is objective art, and all who flatter themselves that they put aught but themselves into their work are dupes of the most fallacious illusion. The truth is that one never gets out of oneself. That is one of our greatest miseries. What would we not give to see, if but for a minute, the sky and the earth with the many-faceted eye of a fly, or to understand nature with the rude and simple brain of an ape? But just that is forbidden us. We cannot, like Tiresias, be men and remember having been women. We are locked into our persons as into a lasting prison. The best we can do, it seems to me, is gracefully to recognize this terrible situation and to admit that we speak of ourselves every time that we have not the strength to be silent."

49. Coffey, *op. cit.*, II, p. 354: "Schiller enlarged this doctrine into a system called Humanism, applying it to every department of human speculation and action.

When we reflect on the relation between these two functions of man, between what intellect conceives by way of theory or theories on the data of experience, and what it dictates to us to do, or how to live in and through this experience, we find four possible interpretations of this relation: (1) Intellect in its practical dictates is a lower and derivative form of the intellect as speculative (a view ascribed by Schiller to Plato); (2) they are mutually irreducible, but the speculative is the higher (Aristotle); (3) they are mutually irreducible, but the practical holds the primacy (Kant); (4) the speculative is a lower and derivative form of the practical (Humanist Pragmatism). For Humanism, then, the truth of a proposition would be its utility to man: and man would thus be the measure of truth." But, as Coffey continues, (*op. cit.*, II, p. 357, note 2): How is Pragmatism true? Is it true in the ordinary sense as giving insight into what knowledge, belief, etc., really are; or is it true in their own sense, as a theory of what is useful, helpful, and suitable? Pragmatism is placed in a peculiar position, for if (1) Pragmatism is put forward as a true solution, then since truth is proclaimed not to be determinable by intellect, it is placed beyond the pale of rational discussion and intellectual criticism. If (2) the theory is put forward as itself a product of the speculative, intellectual or rational reflection, it is open to rational criticism, and the theory is surrendered.

50. Cf. *Euthydemus*, 286 C, D, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), p. 431: "This argument, though I have heard it from many people on various occasions, never fails to set me wondering—you know the followers of Protagoras made great use of it, as did others even before his time, but to me it always seems to have a wonderful way of upsetting not merely other views but itself also—and I believe I shall learn the truth of it from you far better than from anyone else."

51. *Euthydemus*, 287 A, translation by Burges (cf. note 7 above), pp. 71-2.

52. Cf. William James, *Pragmatism*, p. 54: "Against rationalism as a pretension and a method pragmatism is fully armed and militant. But, at the outset, at least, it stands for no particular results. It has no dogmas, and no doctrines save its method. As the young Italian pragmatist Papini has well said, it lies in the midst of our theories, like a corridor in a hotel. Innumerable chambers open out of it. In one you may find a man writing an atheistic volume; in the next some one on his knees praying for faith and strength; in the third a chemist investigating a body's properties. In a fourth a system of idealistic metaphysics is being excogitated; in a fifth the impossibility of metaphysics is being shown. But they all own the corridor, and all must pass through it if they want a practicable way of getting into or out of their respective rooms."

53. Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Pragmatism versus the Pragmatist*, in *Essays in Critical Realism*, by Drake, Lovejoy, Pratt, Rogers, Santayana, Sellars, and Strong, London, 1920, pp. 78-79: "A philosophical discussion of the distinctions and relations which figure most largely in logical theories depends upon a proper placing of them in their temporal context; and in default of such placing, we are prone to transfer the traits of the subject matter of one phase to that of another, with a confusing outcome."

(Dewey, *Essays in Experimental Logic*, 1916, p. 1) This is a golden saying: and, as I have said, it is a proper consequence of the primary pragmatic insight. To define knowledge in terms of the elements of the situation in which the reflective agent, or would-be agent finds himself is to focus the attention of the logician upon a situation in which time-relations and time-distinctions are of the essence. 'Radical empiricism', however, is a doctrine about knowledge which, when consistent, characteristically ignores time and temporal distinctions. It is a philosophy of the instantaneous. The moving spring of its dialectic is a feeling that knowledge means immediacy, that an existent is strictly 'known' only in so far as it is given, present, actually possessed in a definite bit of concrete experience. If we apply the demand for temporalistic precision to this assumption, we are obliged to construe it as meaning that a thing is known at a given moment of cognition only if it is both existent and immediately experienced *within the time-limits of that moment*. But to demand in this sense that philosophy shall 'admit into its construction only what is directly experienced' is to forbid philosophy to admit into its 'construction' of the knowledge-situation precisely the things that are observably most characteristic of and indispensable to that situation, *qua* functional—and also *qua* social. For the moment of practical deliberation is concerned chiefly with things external to the *direct* experience of that moment. What these things specifically are we have seen in part; they consist of the various sorts of content which must be 'present-as-absent'—such as representations of the future, of a past that truly *was*, of experience not-directly-experienced (i. e., the experiences of others); and they consist, further, of judgments, with respect to these types of content, which must be assumed and can never be directly verified (in the radical empiricist sense of verification) at the moment of their use."

54. Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

55. Cf. *Republic*, 494, in *The Dialogues of Plato*, edited by Greene, p. 370: "Then let me ask you to consider further whether the world will ever be induced to believe in the existence of absolute beauty rather than of the many beautiful, or of the absolute in each kind rather than of the many in each kind? Certainly not. Then the world cannot possibly be a philosopher? Impossible." *Platonis Opera*, ed. Burnet, Oxford, n. d., IV, ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ 494a: Ταῦτα τοίνυν πάντα ἐννοήσας ἐκεῖνο ἀναμνήσθητι, αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ καλὰ, ἢ αὐτὸ τι ἕκαστον καὶ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἕκαστα, ἔσθ' ὅπως πλῆθος ἀνέξεται ἢ ἡγήσεται εἶναι; "Ἡκιστα γ', ἔφη.

φιλόσοφον μὲν ἄρα, ἢν δ' ἐγώ, πλῆθος ἀδύνατον εἶναι. Ἀδύνατον.

A careful examination of Plato's theory of ethics has been made by R. C. Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Ethics, The Moral Criterion and the Highest Good*, New York, 1928. In his *Analysis* the author finds that Plato suggests various answers to the question: Who is the judge in ethical questions? These answers are: (a) everyone; (b) the many; (c) the interlocutor; (d) the good man; (e) the experienced man; (f) the wise man; (g) the philosopher; (h) the legislator. As candidates for the position of highest good, the author finds (p. 343) that Plato puts forward the following: (1) pleasure; (2) wealth; (3) health; (4) power; (5) happiness; (6) the life of the guardian or

ideal statesman; (7) immortality; (8) goodness of character; (9) temperance; (10) justice; (11) genius; (12) religion; (13) science; (14) philosophy; (15) mind; (16) civilization; (17) the community; (18) intelligent self-knowledge on the part of the community; (19) law and order; (20) measure or the mean; (21) the idea of good; (22) the comprehensive or composite life; (23) the excellence or preservation of the whole; (24) God. The suggestiveness of this analysis for the field of aesthetics is obvious, and in combination with Parker's comment on the relation between Plato and Pragmatism, indicates interesting possibilities.

56. Cf. Hans Raeder, *Platons Philosophische Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 420: "Für den modernen Leser ist es nicht gerade das letzte Stadium von Platons Entwicklung, welches das grösste Interesse darbietet. Wir verweilen lieber bei den Meisterwerken seiner Jugend und seines Mannesalters, wo sich der philosophische Tiefsinn mit poetischer Schöpferkraft verbindet. So war es aber im Altertum nicht immer. Sowohl die nächsten Nachfolger Platons in der Akademie als die viel späteren Neuplatoniker fanden in Platons Alterswerken mindestens ebenso viele Anknüpfungen für ihre Spekulationen wie in seinen früheren Schriften."

57. Cf. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189: "Does Plato's error lie in his deep persuasion that the essence of life is peaceful and permanent, that goodness when attained is quiet and restful as well as strong? Pragmatism ought to mean a certain openness of mind; pragmatism ought to use general ideas as helps to life rather than as masters of life; pragmatism ought to be always testing its ideas by the value of them as working instruments of life, that is by the goodness of them; pragmatism ought to be progressive; but pragmatism can hardly deny an instrumental value to ideas which set the soul at peace. If all this is true, Plato begins to look like one of the princes of pragmatism."

58. Cf. *Cratylus*, 385 E, translation by Fowler (cf. note 17 above), pp. 14-15: "SOC. Now, Hermogenes, let us see. Do you think this is true of the real things, that their reality is a separate one for each person, as Protagoras said with his doctrine that man is the measure of all things—that things are to me such as they seem to me, and to you such as they seem to you—or do you think things have some fixed reality of their own?"

HER. It has sometimes happened to me, Socrates, to be so perplexed that I have been carried away even into this doctrine of Protagoras; but I do not at all believe he is right."

Cf. also, Cicero, *Acad. Prior.*, II, 46, 142: *Aliud iudicium Protagorae est, qui putet id cuique verum esse quod cuique videatur.*

59. Plato was no less aware than the Pragmatists of the flux of sensation. It was a commonplace of the movement from which both Protagoras and the Platonists emerged. But Plato's conclusion differed profoundly from that of Protagoras. Cf. Bernard Bosanquet, *A Companion to Plato's Republic*, London, 1925 (fourth impression, second edition), p. 9: "For Plato had been from his youth up familiar with Kratylus and so with Herakleitan opinions, to the effect that all which is 'sensed' is in perpetual flux and there can be no science about it, and this conception

he retained. Socrates, however, though dealing with moral ideas and not at all with the nature of the world, yet in those subjects did search after the universal and pay attention to obtaining definition; and Plato, adopting his methods, yet assumed, owing to the influence above-mentioned, that the definition must be of somewhat else, and not what is 'sensed'. For he held it impossible that a general determination should apply to what are sensed, seeing that these are in perpetual change. Therefore he gave the name of 'forms' (ideai) to being of this kind (i. e. to what could be defined), and held that what was sensed had its name from this being, and as alongside it; for the manifold of what have the same name with the forms (as light objects with lightness, etc.) are what they are (he said) by participation in the forms."

Cf. also Bernard Bosanquet, *Life and Philosophy*, in *Contemporary British Philosophy*, edited by J. H. Muirhead (first series), London, 1924, p. 54: "Plato, in particular, came as a revelation; not as confirming the dualism of 'this' world and 'the other,' but because, against one's hazy expectation, and in opposition to the current and more or less popular legends of his meaning, it was so plain and obvious that his true passion was for the unity of things and, as guides to its nature, for science and goodness. Relativity and appearance, indeed, were not left out; but the amazing point, in contrast with the Plato of every day acceptance, was the way they came in. If his main passion was for the unity of the universe, it was no less a passion for analysing, as relative to the impotence of finite minds, the varying levels of the actual scenes and experiences in which they severally and particularly live. His hunger for science and his passion for goodness obviously meant that 'the other world' was not in its nature remote, but became here and now for you if you could see it and live it; and the two passions coincided in the vision of the universe as that which alone could satisfy the whole intelligence and the total desire. The law of value, as he laid it down for all time, 'that which is filled with the more real, is more really filled,' together with his doctrine of the increasing concreteness and vital stability of the higher experiences, made an end of dualism in principle, though fragments of dualistic formulæ might float in the ocean of his thought undissolved for the moment."

60. Cf. Schiller, *Studies*, p. 37: "The historic Socrates wrote nothing; the *magnum opus* of the historic Protagoras, his book on *Truth*, has been destroyed. It began with too incisive a declaration that its subject was logic, and not theology; and so the Athenians set the hangman to burn it. What few copies escaped him probably perished of neglect during the long reign of Platonic intellectualism. And so the combined bigotries of vulgar piety and dogmatic philosophy have deprived us of what was probably one of the greatest monuments of Greek genius." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 305-306: "Philonous. And did the Athenians give him poison too? Antimorus. No, that they keep for their own citizens. Nor did my master stay to be condemned. But they drove him out, and forced him to flee for refuge to Sicily. The ship was unseaworthy, and he never arrived." But cf. John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, Part I, London, 1928, p. 112: "It is therefore safer to dismiss the story [of the shipwreck] altogether."

61. *Hippias Major*, 289 E, translation by Fowler (cf. note 17 above), p. 367.

62. But cf. Edwin B. Holt, *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics*, New York, 1915, p. 208: "It is my belief that both the Freudians and the pragmatists will find a number of baffling points in their own systems explained, and these systems extended and fortified if they will consider whether cognition for them is not essentially contained within the behavior relation." On pages 138-139, this author cites *Gorgias*, 468, where Socrates says: "We will to do that which conduces to our own good, and if the act is not conducive to our good we do not will it; for we will, as you say, that which is our good, but that which is neither good nor evil, or simply evil, we do not will." His comment is that an interesting and remarkable point of contact between the view outlined in his book and the history of ethics is to be found in the Socratic and Platonic conception of the will.

63. Cf. W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, chapter on *Roman Catholic Modernism*, London, 1921, pp. 156-7: "The crusade against 'intellectualism' serves the same end. M. Le Roy and the other Christian pragmatists have returned to the Nominalism of Duns Scotus. The following words of Frassen, one of Scotus' disciples, might serve as a motto for the whole school: '*Theologia nostra non est scientia. Nullatenus speculativa est, sed simpliciter practica. Theologiae obiectum non est speculabile, sed operabile. Quidquid in Deo est practicum est respectu nostri.*' M. Le Roy also seems to know only these two categories. Whatever is not 'practical'—having an immediate and obvious bearing on conduct—is stigmatised as 'theoretical' or 'speculative.' But the whole field of scientific study lies outside this classification, which pretends to be exhaustive. Science has no 'practical' aim, in the narrow sense of that which may serve as a guide to moral action; nor does it deal with 'theoretical' or 'speculative' ideas, except provisionally, until they can be verified. The aim of science is to determine the laws which prevail in the physical universe; and its motive is that purely disinterested curiosity which is such an embarrassing phenomenon to pragmatists."

64. Cf. Boris B. Bogoroslowsky, *The Technique of Controversy—Principles of Dynamic Logic*, New York, 1928, p. 119: Principle of Polarity: "Every unit of thought in rigorous and efficient thinking must always have its definite and explicitly expressed opposite. An A must never be used separately from its non-A." *Ibid.*, p. 125: Principle of Partial Functioning of Concepts: "A complex concept in actual reasoning at a given moment never functions as a whole, but only in a certain aspect. Which aspect is put into operation is determined by a pair of opposing concepts. In cases where a concept functions as a component of the previous experience, it is one pole of the pair. In cases where a concept functions as a present experience, both poles of the pair are extraneous to it. In efficient thinking these pairs must be explicitly expressed." *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129: Principle of Continuity: "The essence of dynamic reasoning is the establishment of continuity between two opposite poles of a unit of thought which tends to terminate in a realization of their qualitative identity. Efficient thinking must start with an assumption of continuity in potentiality, and work for its actual realization." *Ibid.*, p. 139: Principle of Quantitative Indices: "No statement has any definite meaning without a certain quantitative index. In efficient reason-

ing, the quantitative value of any unit of thought must be explicitly indicated, preferably in terms of objective continuous scales between the two poles of the opposites."

65. Cf. *Meno* 91 C, D, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), pp. 339 and 341: "SOC. What is that Anytus? Of all the people who set up to understand how to do us good, do you mean to single out these as conveying not merely no benefit, such as the rest can give, but actually corruption to anyone placed in their hands? And is it for doing this that they openly claim the payment of fees? For my part I cannot bring myself to believe you; for I know of one man, Protagoras, who amassed more money by his craft than Pheidias—so famous for the noble works he produced—or any ten other sculptors."

66. Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.

67. George Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty*, New York, 1896, pp. 211-212.

68. Cf. Alfred Niceforo, *Les Indices Numériques de la Civilisation et du Progrès*, Paris, 1921.

69. Note, however, Santayana's discussion of realism, *Three Proofs in Realism*, in *Essays in Critical Realism*, pp. 163 ff. (cf. note 53 above): Biological proof, p. 173: "It is evident that all animals have relevant and transitive knowledge of their environment; so that realistic knowledge is but another name for vital sensibility and intelligence." Psychological proof, p. 176: "A living being, enduring the flux of events and living in constantly varying retrospect and expectation, especially a breathless, busy, hopeful, experimenting modern, can hardly bring himself to doubt that the very future he expects and works for may become present in due time; but this belief is the purest and most radical instance of realism. . . . Belief in time is, I think, the deepest belief we have: it is requisite for the acceptance of the witness of memory, and for rational action and hope. It is the soul of introspective psychology. Yet there is another belief which critics of knowledge have been even more loth to question, indefensible though it be on their principles: the belief in other men's minds. While their method ought evidently to establish not so much solipsism as a solipsism of the present datum, yet it never consents to doubt the whole comedy of human intercourse, just as the most uncritical instinct and the most fanciful history represent it to be. How can such a mass of ill-attested and boldly realistic knowledge fail to make the critics of realism uncomfortable in their own house? Is it because the criticism of realism in physics, without this realism in psychology, could never so much as begin? Or do they love to attack dogmatism so much that, if need be, they will become dogmatists in order to do so? Or is it simply that their criticism at bottom was a work of edification or of malice, not of philosophic sincerity, and that they keep this particular social realism without a qualm, because they need it to justify their moral reflections and to lend a false air of adequacy to their egotistical method?" Logical proof, p. 178: "If we once see clearly that the datum is not an existing thing, nor a state of mind, but an ideal essence, a very interesting corollary comes into view. The sort of being that essences have is indefeasible, they cannot lose it or change it, as things do and must if their being is existence. Therefore intuition, or pure acquaintance with data, has an object whose reality is independent of such a

perusal of it. This independence is not physical, because the object here is ideal, and never exists at all. But its logical or aesthetic character, which is all the reality it has, is inalienable: for that reason, perhaps, it was called by Plato τὸ ὄντως ὄν; being which is intrinsic, essential, and contingent on nothing else, least of all, of course, on knowledge." *Ibid.*, p. 183: "Transitivity in knowledge has two stages or leaps; the leap of intuition, from the state of the living organism to the consciousness of some essence; and the leap of faith and of action, from the symbol actually given in sense or in thought to some ulterior existing object. The first leap, which is primary and fundamental to knowledge, alone concerns us here. It reveals some universal term, which borrows nothing whatever from the observer except its presence to him, which is perfectly adventitious to its nature, and not indicated there. Essences, like things, become objects by accident. Consequently knowledge of essence too is transitive, terminating in an object which is self-determined in its logical sphere and essential relations, and may be revealed to many minds at different times, in various contexts, and with more or less completeness." *Ibid.*, p. 184: "You cannot prove realism to a complete sceptic or idealist; but you can show an honest man that he is not a complete sceptic or idealist but a realist at heart. So long as he is alive his sincere philosophy must fulfill the assumptions of life and not destroy them."

70. Cf. Schiller, *Studies*, p. 30: "Why, when it has been laid down that 'man is the measure of all things,' was not the next question, 'How, then does he measure?'. It is idle to suggest that the Greeks lacked instruments. Had they wished to experiment they would have constructed them." Cf. also Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 201: "Any answer to this question would include the statement, 'Man measures phenomena by mathematics.' Plato has twice thrown before us in his dialogues the thought of the importance of the measuring art. Once in the *Protagoras* he dwells on it, inspired perhaps by the famous aphorism of the great Sophist with whom he is dealing. He shows that to find our way safely through the world we need to measure things and find their true relative value. This is a thoroughly pragmatic position. Again in the *Politicus* he explains how important in art work of all kinds, with a view to finding the true proportion of every element, is the measuring art. These hints might well have led to showing the importance of precise measuring instruments, if Plato had cared to dwell more steadily on the world of material things. But at any rate he did more than most men of his time to encourage mathematical study of all kinds."

71. H. Münsterberg, *Eternal Values*, Boston, 1909, p. 81: "The act of affirming the true world belongs together with the act of affirming the beautiful world and the moral world; and we have no right to give any more emphasis to one act than to the other."

72. *Hippias Major*, 285 E, translation by Burges (cf. note 7 above), IV, p. 220: καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἥδιστα ἀκροῦνται.

73. Cf. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 90: "If we adopt a broad definition of 'aesthetic,' as including any 'consummatory' moment in experience, any work done for its own sake, it will take in many interests and activities other than the enjoying of artistic forms."

74. Melvin T. Copeland, *Business Statistics*, Cambridge, 1917, Chap. II, *Statistical Indices of Business Condition*, and Chap. III, *Sales and Advertising Statistics*; P. T. Cherington, *Advertising as a Business Force, A Compilation of Experience Records*, New York, 1919; W. D. Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising*, Boston, 1917; Daniel Starch, *Principles of Advertising*, Chicago and New York, 1923.

75. A survey of their practices would, therefore, give more accurate information than questionnaires or laboratory tests.

76. But Cf. *Theaetetus*, 161 C, E, translation by Lamb (cf. note 35 above), II, p. 77: "SOC. In general I like his doctrine that what appears to each one is to him, but I am amazed by the beginning of his book. I don't see why he does not say in the beginning of his *Truth* that a pig or a dog-faced baboon or some still stranger creature of those that have sensations is the measure of all things. Then he might have begun to speak to us very imposingly and condescendingly, showing that while we are honoring him like a god for his wisdom, he was after all no better in intellect than any other man, or, for that matter, than a tadpole. What alternative is there, Theodorus? For if that opinion is true to each person which he acquires through sensation, and no man can discern another's condition better than himself, and no man has any better right to investigate whether another's opinion is true or false than he himself, but, as we have said several times, each man is to form his own opinions by himself, and these opinions are always right and true, why in the world, my friend, was Protagoras wise, so that he could rightly be though worthy to be the teacher of other men and to be well paid, and why were we ignorant creatures and obliged to go to school to him, if each person is the measure of his own wisdom."

77. Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 2, says: "We find 'Plato's *summum bonum*' declared to be some one or two or three of the following: 1. pleasure, or pleasure organized into a system; 2. happiness, or a life founded upon, and participating in, the harmonious life of the universe; 3. virtue, or the life of the active citizenship in the ideal community, under the guidance of science and philosophy; 4. the co-ordination of all individual purposes into a single system patterned upon the 'idea of good'; 5. the intellectual or rational life; 6. contemplative wisdom, or the intuitive vision of the definitely transcendental 'idea of good'; 7. beatitude, or complete subordination of self to God until one becomes like God or unified with God. These definitions refer to the highest good considered relatively to man. Considered absolutely, without especial reference to humanity, Plato's highest good is declared to be: 8. absolute unity; 9. conformity to law; 10. the idea of good; 11. the self-identity of thought; 12. absolute Mind, or God."

78. Ogden and Richards, *op. cit.*, *Summary*, pp. 387-8, *The Meaning of Beauty*: "[The reply to the question what any word or symbol refers to consists in the substitution of a symbol or symbols which can be better understood. Such substitution is definition.] The application of this procedure in practice may be demonstrated by taking one of the most bewildering subjects of discussion, namely Aesthetics. Beauty has been very often and very differently defined—and as often declared to be indefinable.

If, however, we look for the characteristic defining relations, we find that the definitions hitherto suggested reduce conveniently to sixteen. Each of these then provides a distinct range of referents, and any such range may be studied by those whom it attracts. If in spite of the disconcerting ambiguity thus revealed (and all freely-used terms are liable to similar ambiguity) we elect to continue to employ the term Beauty as a shorthand substitute for the definition we favour, we shall do so only on the grounds of ethics and expediency and at the risk of all the confusions to which such behaviour must give rise. In addition to its symbolic use, 'Beauty' has also its emotive uses. These have often been responsible for the view that Beauty is indefinable, since as an emotive term it allows of no satisfactory verbal substitute. Failure to distinguish between the symbolic and the emotive uses is the source of much confusion in discussion and research."

79. Further material in: Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunst-literatur*, Vienna, 1924; Karl Borinski, *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, Leipzig, 1914; Albert Dresdner, *Die Entstehung der Kunstkritik*, Munich, 1915; Erwin Panofsky, *Idea*, Berlin, 1924; Hans Tietze, *Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1913; Joseph Strzygowski, *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften*, Vienna, 1923; G. J. von Allesch, *Wege zur Kunstbetrachtung*, Dresden, 1921; Hans Cornelius, *Elementargesetze der Bildenden Kunst*, Leipzig, 1921; August Schmarsow, *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1905; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Munich, 1923; C. M. Gayley and F. N. Scott, *An Introduction to the Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism*, New York, 1899.

80. In *With Eyes of the Past*, by Henry Ladd, New York, 1928, a volume which appeared in the same set with Munro's *Scientific Method in Aesthetics*, the Platonic dominance is noted. Although the period covered by this volume is modern English art criticism only, the persistence of Platonism in that field is noted particularly on pages 39, 43, 53, 54, 59, 64, 71, 82, and 90.

81. Cf. Warner Fite, *Moral Philosophy*, New York, 1925, pp. 314-315: "Some time ago I heard unexpectedly—having accepted an invitation on the spur of the moment with no prevision of the program—an orchestral rendering of Bach's 'Passacaglia', a new and glorious addition to my realm of experience. My mind had been full of a perplexing pedagogical and philosophical problem which called for practical solution in a day or two to come, namely, how to explain to a few hundred immature students the meaning of Plato's theory of transcendent and supersensible ideas—how, I mean, to make this conception of transcendence intelligible from the point of view of human experience. As I listened to Bach it became suddenly clear to me that if I could convey that experience they would see what Plato meant, and that without some such experience the theory of ideas could never be for them more than a form of words." Cf. also A. E. Taylor, *Platonism and its Influence*, Boston, 1924, p. 131: "This little book must reach its period here. It would have been pleasant to speak of the direct influence of Plato's natural theology on Cudworth and the rest of a goodly succession of divines of our own speech from the Restoration to the present day, if our space would have allowed. Still pleasanter would it have been to trace the influence of the poet in Plato, as distinct

from the man of science, on the great poetic literature of the later world, through Virgil, Dante, Chaucer and many another, down to singers who are still with us. But this is a topic which we have reluctantly had to exclude almost wholly from our purview. In truth, the story of all our living civilization owes to Plato could only be told adequately in a complete history of the thought and literature of the Western world from his day to ours."

82. Cf. Ogden and Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 244, quoting Hume: "Amidst all this bustle 'tis not reason which gains the prize, but eloquence; and no man need ever despair of gaining proselytes to the most extravagant hypothesis, who has art enough to represent it in any favourable colours. The victory is not gained by the men at arms, who manage the pike and the sword; but by the trumpeters, drummers, and musicians of the army."

83. Cf. Hermann Popp, *Maler-Aesthetik*, Strassburg, 1902; Else Cassirer, *Künstlerbriefe aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1923.

84. J. A. Stewart, *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*, Oxford, 1909, pt. II, *The Doctrine of Ideas as Expressing Aesthetic Experience*, pp. 146-7: "Our thesis, then, will take this form: The beauty which the aesthetic eye perceives in an object is caused by concentration conditioned by a fairly prolonged, but always intermittent, rêverie. Where such fairly prolonged intermittent rêverie does not occur, *aesthetic beauty* is not perceived. In Plato's language, the artist is always looking away from, and we, reproducing the artist's experience as we contemplate his work, are always looking away from the actual picture to the 'ideal' pattern, and then again back from the 'pattern' to the picture. (Rep. VI. 501 B *ἔπειτα οἷμαι ἀπεργαζόμενοι πικρὰ ἢ ἐκατέρωσ' ἀποβλέπειν*) Continuous rêverie, mere contemplation of the 'ideal' pattern, without recurrent reference, on the part of the artist, to his model and canvas, on the part of the spectator, to the finished picture, would be ordinary dreaming, or ecstatic trance, not aesthetic experience; while, on the other hand, mere 'looking at' model and picture, without recurrent rêverie, would be sensation, not aesthetic experience. It is essential to aesthetic experience, or perception of beauty, in an object of sense, that the object should be regarded as individual, not type, as end not means, and that, as individual and end, it should be lovingly dwelt upon. No *object of sense* can be regarded thus as an end, and lovingly dwelt upon, except as *seen through its dream-image*; and this 'being seen through' requires the quick alternation, or practical simultaneity, of the sense-presentation and its dream-image."

85. Cf., however, Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57: "Now this aesthetic experience has a prerogative bearing on the meaning with which we recognize 'another world.' It gives us a present world, a world which is even one with the world we live in, but yet is twice-born, is at once its own truest self and the profoundest revelation that itself can convey. Words like these, indeed, must even weaken the experience they indicate. We all know it in fact, whether or no we care to describe it in general language. We know that it takes us into a new world, which is the old at its best. In this aspect the aesthetic experience has a profound speculative interest, and after coming under the influence, first of Ruskin, and then, and most especially,

of William Morris, I was led to trace its operation on the passage from Kant's antitheses to the concrete and objective ideas by which, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the beginnings of nineteenth-century philosophy took form. In beauty we have the meeting-point of Nature and Freedom, Kant has said in effect. In beauty man is free without ceasing to be sensuous; or again, Poetry and art have two conditions: they must arise above the actual and remain within the sensuous. These are sayings of Schiller; and it was the unity thus recognized of the universal with the particular, of freedom with necessity, of the spiritual with the natural, which in Hegel's judgment, passed into the principle of knowledge and existence in Schelling's philosophy, which was the first fully to recognize the absolute stand-point, and recognized it in this synthesis. Here the whole apparatus of traditional dualism became in principle once and forever obsolete. This world and the other, the *a priori* and the *a posteriori*, the natural and the supernatural, with all their family, taken as antithetical realms of being and experience, were for the future idle tales."

86. Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-1: "It was the Idea for Contemplation, not the Idea for Discourse, which really 'caught on.' For the Alexandrian Neoplatonists, and for all practicing Platonists, their successors, down to our own day, the Doctrine of Ideas is that set forth mythically in the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, and *Timaeus*: the logical side of the Doctrine never seems to have interested people. Notably, for the two modern philosophers, Leibniz and Schopenhauer, who have made the finest and most original use of the Doctrine of Ideas—the one in Theology, the other in Aesthetics—and have best interpreted the secret of its perennial attractiveness, it is the Idea as object of Contemplation, not the Idea as instrument of Discourse, that matters."

87. Cf. Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life*, Boston and New York, 1923, p. 329: "It is Plotinus whom we may fairly regard as the founder of Aesthetics in the philosophic sense, and it was as formulated by Plotinus, though this we may sometimes fail to recognize, that the Greek attitude in these matters, however sometimes modified, has come down to us." Cf. also Bosanquet, *Companion*, pp. 400-1: "As against the view that the representative artist is essentially a reproducer of commonplace reality (Rep. 598 A), Plato's 'second reproduction from truth,' the product that the workman makes, or (we may expand) that the vulgar eye sees in nature, Aristotle observes that 'poetry is more serious and scientific than history' (which includes, no doubt, 'natural history'). It is Plotinus, however, a neo-Platonist of the third century A. D., who finally enunciates the modern position by declaring that the arts do not simply imitate the visible, but go back to the laws or harmonies from which nature comes. This complete reversal of Plato's real or assumed attitude is even more trenchantly expressed by Schiller, when he says that man is not civilized till he has learnt to prefer the semblance to the reality. Plato's own doctrine of symbolism, which made the whole world a graduated embodiment of law and reality, pointed forward to such conclusions as these, which he even applied to beauty as such, and, in his educational theory and analysis of pleasure, to non-representative art. His view was, in part at least, a

reductio ad absurdum of current criticism, and a criticism of the copyist tendency, which at all times makes itself felt in art." Cf. as well: Thomas Whitaker, *The Neo-Platonists. A Study in the History of Hellenism*, Cambridge, 1918; Karl Horst, *Vorstudien zu einer Neuuntersuchung von Plotins Ästhetik*, Marburg, 1905; Henri Guyot, *L'Infinité Divine, depuis Philon le Juif jusqu'à Plotin*, Paris, 1906; P. F. Reiss, *Plotin und die deutsche Romantik*, in *Euphorion*, Leipzig, 1912, XIX, pp. 591-612; Karl Paul Hasse, *Von Plotin zu Goethe: Die Entwicklung des neuplatonischen Einheitsgedankens zur Weltanschauung der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1909; Ernst Cassirer, *Goethe und Platon*, in *Philologischer Verein zu Berlin, Jahresberichte*, Berlin, 1922, XLVIII, pp. 1-22; Elisabeth Rotten, *Goethes Urphänomen und die platonische Idee*, Giessen, 1913.

88. Cf. Paul Natorp, *Platos Ideenlehre, Eine Einführung in den Idealismus*, Leipzig, 1903.

89. Cf. *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, ed. Ratner, pp. 489 ff. Cf. also N. P. Gilman and E. P. Jackson, *Conduct as a Fine Art*, Boston, 1896—two essays submitted in competition for a prize, with the aim of showing that ethics can be taught in the public schools without a religious bias. The chapter beginning at page 218 is entitled, *What has algebra to do with virtue?*

90. Cf. Katherine Gilbert, *Studies in Recent Aesthetic*, Chapel Hill, 1927, p. 28: "Intelligence refines and organizes any instinctive process whatever. The level of the mental process depends on the degree in which self-consciousness prefigures desirable results, adapts means to ends, and annihilates the sharp distinction between means, taken as not desirable in themselves, and end, taken as pure quietus. But intelligence working in this way is not to be distinguished from art, so the Darwinians tell us. All operations are art, and all perceptions beautiful, when the psychophysical organism is perfectly adapted to its environment, and feels itself to be so."

91. Cf. Paul Elmer Moore, *Platonism*, Princeton, 1917, p. 2: "These leading doctrines, if we may give such a name to the impulses that carried him (Socrates) towards philosophy, were three: an intellectual scepticism, a spiritual affirmation, and a tenacious belief in the identity of virtue and knowledge."

92. Cf. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "General standards of value are, and always must be, used by every one, as a means of bringing to bear the past experience of himself and others. In so far as relativistic theory seems to ignore their necessity, and to disparage all use of them, it loses touch with facts and urges the impossible. It surrenders the field not only to blind impulse but to absolutism itself. The believers in absolutism have been active in working out principles which, though often excessively restrictive, and based on false premises, have had much accumulated wisdom in them, and have performed a useful service in coördinating creative and critical effort. Unless relativism can contribute some positive aid in the use of standards, people will go on employing the old methods, *faute de mieux*, and rushing when expedient to the other extreme of admitting no standards at all." Cf. also Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205: "And so where have we arrived in our inquiry? We were grieved to find that Plato had checked and killed the growth of early Greek pragmatism; and we determined to find the secret of his error. We thought we

should find it in his view of the general concept as a fixed and final reality; but we soon saw that he used his concepts instrumentally like a good pragmatist. We thought the deception might be found in his transcendental endeavour to fly higher than thought; but we soon saw that pragmatists would dive out of thought into the stream of life, and we perceived that mysticism was not contrary to pragmatism. We thought it unpragmatic to talk of testing ideas by the presence of the idea of goodness in them; but immediately this appeared to be simply a queer way of declaring the essentially pragmatic doctrine that the test of the truth of an idea is its value. We thought that Plato's endeavour to escape from the turbid stream of life was an unpragmatic endeavour to avoid the living fiery creative reality; but we hesitated to commit pragmatism to saying that the reality of life could not be a heavenly peace. We thought that Plato's distrust of motion must be the centre of his error; but we have heard him say himself that he does not believe in an immovable world, that motion has in it the essence of being. We thought that the real trouble must lie in Plato's dogmatism; but we have found him modest and provisional in his philosophy, and the animating spirit of the open-minded New Academy. We thought that the difficulty lay in his unscientific attitude; but we found that he gave to science classification, and did all in his power to urge men to the study of mathematics, without which modern science could never have done its work."

93. D. A. Ackermann, *Das Christliche im Plato und in der platonischen Philosophie*, Hamburg, 1835, p. 320: "Eine so christliche Weltansicht hätte Plato in seiner Philosophie nicht entwickeln und niederlegen können, wenn sie nicht in seinem Innersten gelebt und gewaltet hätte." *Ibid.*, p. 322: "Gewiss ist, Glaube und Liebe sind nicht minder die Grundkräfte des platonischen Seelenlebens wie des christlichen." Cf. also Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Das Christliche des Platonismus oder Sokrates und Christus*, Tübingen, 1837.

94. Cf. R. H. Perry, *General Theory of Value*, New York, 1926, p. 687: "The highest good is not sheer satisfaction of maximum intensity, but, as Plato taught, an order of satisfaction, whose form is prescribed by reason. (*Philebus*, 62, and *passim*.) The highest happiness is not that which is most comfortable and easy of attainment, but, as Christianity has taught, that tragic happiness which is at once the privilege and the penalty of love." Cf. also W. R. Inge, *The Permanent Influence of Neo-Platonism upon Christianity*, in *American Journal of Theology*, IV, pp. 328-344, Chicago, 1900; Ricardus Gottwald, *De Gregorio Nazianzeno Platonico*, Vratislaviae, 1906; Thomas H. Billings, *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus*, Chicago, 1919, p. 1: Philo as a Christian Father.

95. Cf. James Adam, *The Vitality of Platonism*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 2-3: "Some of the early apologists for Christianity, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, show that they recognized and acknowledged the connection between Platonism and the Christian faith when they speak of Greek philosophy as a preparation for Christianity, and assert, as Clement does, that Plato wrote by the inspiration of God—*ἐκπνεύσας Θεοῦ* (*Coh. ad Gent.* 180 A, Migne) Cf. also *The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo*. A new translation edited by

the Rev. Marcus Dods. *The City of God*, Vol. I. Edinburgh, 1871: Book Eighth. Chapters: "4. Concerning Plato, the chief among the disciples of Socrates, and his threefold division of philosophy; 5. That it is especially with the Platonists that we must carry on our disputations on matters of theology, their opinions being preferable to those of all other philosophers; 7. How much the Platonists are to be held as excelling other philosophers in logic, i. e. rational philosophy; 8. That the Platonists hold the first rank in moral philosophy; 9. Concerning that philosophy which has come nearest to the Christian faith; 11. How Plato has been able to approach so nearly to Christian knowledge." Cf. also Hermann Leder, *Augustins Erkenntnistheorie in ihren Beziehungen zur antiken Skepsis, zu Plotin und zu Descartes*, Marburg, 1901; p. 35: II. Teil, *Augustins Platonismus*; Anders Wikman, *Beiträge zur Ästhetik Augustins*, Weida i. Th. 1909; Karl Eachweiler, *Die Ästhetischen Elemente in der Religions-philosophie des Hl. Augustin*, Euskirchen, 1909.

96. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 49, says: "If there is any definite controlling tendency in the history of art, it has not yet been found." But cf. W. R. Inge, *The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought*, in *Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge*, 1925-6, London, 1926.

97. Baron Friedrich von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, New York, 1909, II, pp. 282-3: "With Plato and Plotinus, Clement of Alexandria and St. Augustine, St. Bernard, Cardinal Nicolas of Coes and Leibniz in the past; with Cardinal Newman, Professors Maurice Blondel and Henri Bergson, Siegwart, Eucken, Troeltsch and Tiele, Igino Petrone and Edward Caird, in the present; with the explicit assent of practically all the great Mystics of all ages and countries, and the implicit instinct, and at least partial, practical admission, of all sane and developed human souls; we will then have to postulate here, not merely an intellectual reasoning upon finite data, which would somehow result in so operative a sense of the Infinite; nor even simply a mental category of Infinity which, evoked in man by and together with the apprehension of things finite, would, somehow, have so massive, so explosive an effect against our finding satisfaction in the other categories, categories which, after all, would not be more subjective, than itself: but the ontological presence of, and the operative penetration by the Infinite Spirit, within the human spirit."

98. The corridor theory, as in William James, *The Will to Believe*, New York, 1902, and *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1903, provides a potential apology for superstition. Cf. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 68: "Some illusions and fantasies are vital to the aesthetic imagination, and in regarding them all with this hygienic apathy, the psychoanalyst tends to disparage something very precious to art."

99. Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 36: "Dancing and building are the two primary and essential arts. The art of dancing stands at the source of all the arts that express themselves first in the human person. The art of building, or architecture, is the beginning of all the arts that lie outside the person; and in the end they unite." *Ibid.*, p. 68: "Herbert Spencer pointed out, in his early essay on 'The Genesis of Science,' that science arose out of art, and that even yet the distinction is 'purely conventional,' for 'it is impossible to say when art ends and science begins.' Spencer was here using 'art' in the fundamental sense according to which all practice is of the nature of art." *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2: "It has become a commonplace among the unthinking, or those who think badly, to assume an opposition between mysticism and science. If 'science' is, as we have some reason to believe, an art, if 'mysticism' also is an art, the opposition can scarcely be radical since they must both spring from the same root in natural human activity. If, indeed, by 'science' we mean the organization of an intellectual relationship to the world we live in adequate to give us some degree of power over that world, and if by 'mysticism' we mean the joyful organization of an emotional relationship to the world conceived as a whole, the opposition which we usually assume to exist between them is of comparatively modern origin." *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7: "For, after all, there is the small body of individuals ahead, alertly eager to find the road, with a sensitive flair for all the possibilities the future may hold. When the compact majority, blind and automatic and unconscious, follows after, to tramp along the road these pioneers have discovered, it may seem but a dull road. But before they reached it that road was interesting, even passionately interesting. The reason is that, for those who, in any age, are thus situated, life is not merely a discipline. It is, or it may become, really an art. That living is or may be an art, and the moralist the critic of that art, is a very ancient belief. It was especially widespread among the Greeks. . . . The 'good' was the 'beautiful'; the sphere of ethics for the Greeks was not distinguished from the sphere of aesthetics." *Ibid.*, p. 252: "It is interesting to note that St. Augustine, who stood on the threshold between the old Roman and the new Christian worlds was able to write: 'The art of living well and rightly, is the definition that the ancients gave of "virtue".' For the Latins believed that art was derived from the Greek word for virtue, *ἀρετή* (St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Book IV, chapter XXI)." *Ibid.*, p. 284: "'Art', as Paulhan declares, 'is often more moral than morality itself.' Or, as Jules de Gaultier holds, 'Art is in a certain sense the only morality which life admits.'"

100. *Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Greene, pp. 230-1, with a few minor omissions.

THE DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE AUTOMATA MINIATURES

By RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL

IT was about 1910 that a series of very important Oriental miniature paintings appeared on the market. These miniatures, of broadly effective archaic style, obviously representing mechanical devices, became known as the "automata miniatures."¹

They figured prominently in the exhibition of Islamic art at Munich in 1910 and a little later in the exhibition of miniatures at Paris in 1912. The date of their execution became the subject of a rather heated controversy. Some writers attributed the paintings to the end of the twelfth century A. D.; while Blochet, Schulz, and Creswell assigned them to the middle of the fourteenth century, regarding them as of Egyptian provenance. More recently Coomaraswamy has succeeded in proving that the "automata miniatures" come from a copy of a treatise of al-Jazari on ingenious mechanical contrivances; he thought the treatise possibly dated from the thirteenth century.² A later manuscript of this treatise at Oxford, dated 1496 A. D., but supposed to be copied from a manuscript of 1341, has been translated by Wiedemann and Hauser.³

In the discussion of the "automata miniatures" and of the work of al-Jazari a manuscript in the library of Hagia Sophia has been repeatedly mentioned as one of the most important manuscripts of the treatise and the possible source of the "automata miniatures." Carra de Vaux apparently saw this manuscript before 1891. Since his time, however, no one has taken the trouble of examining it with a view to settling, in the simplest and most obvious fashion, the controversy over the date and provenance of the "automata miniatures."

In the summer of 1928 I was able to see and photograph the Hagia Sophia manuscript, and to establish, first, that the "automata miniatures" have been detached from it, and, secondly, that it is dated 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) and is by far the most important of the

1. "Automata miniatures" have, at different dates formed part of the collections of Dr. F. R. Martin, Victor de Goloubew, Mutiaux, Raymond Koechlin, Arthur Sambon, Leonce Rosenberg, Tony Smet, Henri Vever—all of Paris; Bernard Berenson, Florence; Harvey S. Wetzell, Boston; the Gardner Museum, Boston; Professor Paul J. Sachs, Cambridge, Mass.; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; M. Stoclet, Brussels. One is now in private ownership in New York.

2. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Treatise of al-Jazari on Automata*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1924 (*Communications to the Trustees*, VI). In this book are reproduced the "automata miniatures" in and about Boston. It offers a summary of our knowledge of the book of al-Jazari and an almost complete bibliography, including

that of the chronological controversy. To this bibliography is to be added an article by K. A. C. Creswell, published in the *Yearbook of Oriental Art and Culture*, London, Bunn, 1925, pp. 33-40, which contains again a summary of the literature, and a mention by A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane de XIIe au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 20f.

3. To the list of the writings of Wiedemann and Hauser given by Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 20, may be added E. Wiedemann, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Mechanik*, in *Sitzungsberichte der physikalisch-medizinischen Societaet von Erlangen*. The book of al-Jazari is briefly summarized by Coomaraswamy, p. 5, and by Wiedemann and Hauser, *Der Islam*, VIII, 55-58. I think it unnecessary to do more here than to refer to these readily accessible summaries.

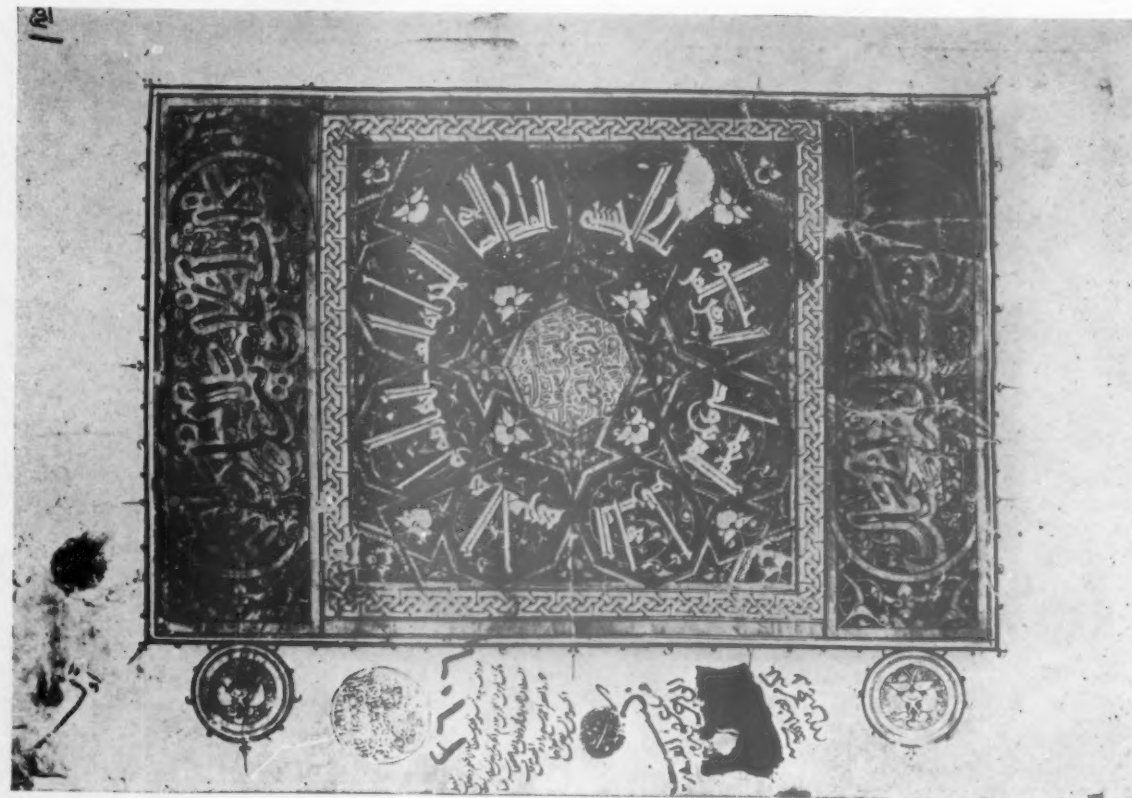


FIG. 4—Title Page

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia: Miniatures in al-Jazari Manuscript



FIG. 5—Detail of Folio 69 Recto

al-Jazari manuscripts that have yet come to light. I offer herewith a short description of the manuscript and a summary statement of the facts it reveals.⁴

In the printed catalogue of the Hagia Sophia library the manuscript figures as number 3606. It is bound in brown leather—hardly the original binding—with a later covering of cheap marble paper. It now consists of 246 leaves of thick yellowish paper. The pagination is recent and was made subsequent to the removal of the numerous missing leaves. The size of the pages varies slightly. My measurements of height ran from 39.8 to 40.2 centimeters, of width from 27.5 to 28 centimeters. This tallies with the measurements of the sheets in the Boston museum—39.2 by 26.8 centimeters—which Dr. Coomaraswamy kindly measured for me; he stated in a letter that the Boston leaves seem to be slightly trimmed. As the manuscript has been sewn at least twice (red twisted and white cotton thread are traceable), the sewing stitches will be unlikely to prove helpful in determining the original order of the automata pages. Since the manuscript has not only been rebound but badly pasted also, the arrangement of the quires presents difficulties too, which may be left to some future editor of al-Jazari. The text runs fifteen lines to a page of not very skilful Neshki script. The dispersed automata pages have likewise fifteen lines each and are written by the same hand as the manuscript.

The title page (Fig. 4) is richly illuminated and recalls the decorated pages of Mameluk Korans. It is laid out with an upper and lower band and an almost square centerpiece. Each of the bands contains a large cartouche with Neshki writing in silver surrounded by gold. This gold following the outline of the letters is relieved against a ground of reddish gold (produced by passing translucent red over gold). On the reddish gold ground there is spiral tracery with attached leaves and palmettes, which is drawn in black. The ends of the bands beyond the cartouches show golden arabesques on a deep blue ground. The two cartouches contain the title of the book: *kitāb al-ġāmi' bain al-'ilm wa'l-'amal al-nāfi' fī šinā'at al-ḥijal* (book that combines theory and practice and is profitable to the craft of ingenious contrivances).

The middle rectangle of the title page is decorated with rich geometric interlacing about a central octagon. This octagon contains the name of the author, which is transcribed in the catalogue of the Hagia Sophia manuscripts as Abu'l Azīz (sic!) Isma'īl b. el-razzāz al-ġazari. The reading of these names offers difficulties, particularly of the last one, which might as well be read as al-Ḥazīrī.

Around the central octagon is a series of polygonal motives with floral decoration in gold on blue and in black tracery on a reddish golden ground. Outside these is a circle of eight not quite regular octagons, each filled with Kufic writing in white, on a blue ground decorated with arabesque spirals. This writing, *lil-khizānat al-'ālijat al-mawlawījat al-'amīrījat al-nāširījat Nāšir al-Dīn, walad Muḥammad, al-mu'izz al-marḥūm falak* (?)

4. For the readings of the important passages I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. Paul Wittek, of Constantinople; he gave me my readings for all the passages quoted except that for the Kufic text of the title page, for which I am obliged to Professor Martin Sprengling of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I am also deeply indebted to the Turkish authorities who facilitated my study of the manuscript, particularly to His Excellency

Nedjati Bey, the late Minister of Public Instruction, whose great educational work may serve as his permanent monument. I owe acknowledgements also to my friend Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy of the Boston museum and to Mr. R. R. Tatlock of the *Burlington Magazine* for kind advice. Finally I wish to thank the kind librarian and assistant librarian of the Hagia Sophia library, who spared no pains to help me in my work.

al-ḥusnā, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, according to Professor Martin Sprengling of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who has kindly read it for me, refers to the Ortoqid ruler of Amida-Dijarbekir, who reigned 597-619 A. H. It is the Nasir al-Din mentioned in the text of the manuscript on folio 2, recto and verso. This, along with the corroborative evidence on folio 246 recto, discussed below, shows that the copyist took over the inscription which was on the title page of the manuscript he copied, and this page in its turn reproduced the inscription of the original manuscript.

At the bottom of folio 2 recto and the top of the following verso are important historical data (Fig. 1). The author relates that he was requested to write his book by the ruler of Dijarbekir, el-Malik el-Ṣāliḥ Nāṣir al-Dīn Abu'l Feth Maḥmud b. Muḥammad b. Qara Arslān b. Daud b. Sukmān b. Ortoq, who ruled 597-619 A. H. (1200/1-1222/3 A. D.). He says further that he was formerly in the service of the father and the brother of this king, that his service began in 572 or 573 (according to the reading chosen), and that he was for twenty-five years in their service. The father of Nasir al-Din reigned 570-581 A. H.⁵ (1174/5-1185/6 A. D.), his older brother 581-597 A. H. (1185/6-1200/1 A. D.).

Wiedemann and Hauser as well as Coomaraswamy state that the author entered the service of the Ortoqids in 577 A. H. (1181 A. D.). This date, however, does not tally with that given in the Hagia Sophia manuscript (Fig. 1). The first ciphers are 5 and 7; the reading of the last cipher is uncertain (2 or 3) but certainly not 7. The scholars just mentioned also state that the treatise of al-Jazari was written in 1206 A. D. This date seems to have been obtained by adding 25 to 1181. The date 1206 is open to question because of the uncertain reading of the date in the oldest manuscript of al-Jazari. Moreover, al-Jazari says that for twenty-five years he was in the service of the father and brother of the reigning sultan, but does not say that these years include any service to Nasir al-Din such as writing the book, nor does he say that it was written at the end of twenty-five years of service. The fixing of the date of the book as 1206 A. D. seems therefore premature and subject to further evidence, possibly from the studies of some future editor of al-Jazari. At present all that can be said with certainty is that the book was written after 597 A. H. (1200/1 A. D.), the date of the beginning of the reign of the sultan who ordered it.

At the end of the book further information is given. Folio 246 recto has the usual formulas for the end of the book, then an appended statement that the book is "the copy of a copy of the original manuscript" (Fig. 2). Folio 246 verso (Fig. 3) offers in its upper part a transcription of the conventional signs used throughout the book. Below are four notices, three to the left and one to the right. The top one at the left is unimportant. The middle one says that the manuscript was finished in the month of Safar, 755 A. H. (Feb. 25-March 25, 1354 A. D.). The bottom one adds that it was written by the hand of Muḥammad ben Aḥmad al . . . The reading of the end of the name is not clear. The notice at the right says, "compared and found correct by comparison with the book from which it was copied."

The Hagia Sophia manuscript is incomplete. In many cases the *custodes* at the bottom of the pages do not correspond with the beginnings of the following pages. Occasionally a

5. The date 570 is according to Halil Bey's Turkish edition of Stanley Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 238; but de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, Hannover,

1927, p. 228, gives 562 as the beginning of the reign of Nasir al-Din.

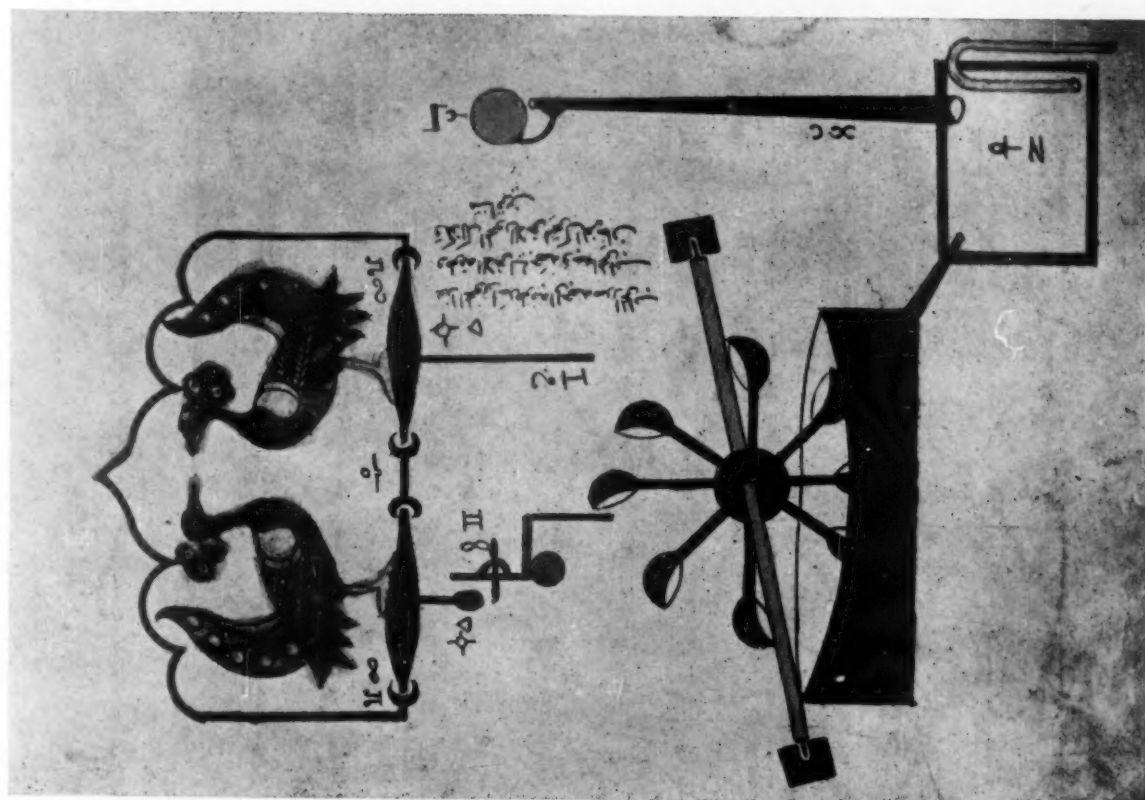


FIG. 6—Detail of Folio 98 Recto

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia:



FIG. 7—Detail of Folio 149 Recto

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia: Miniatures in al-Jazari Manuscript

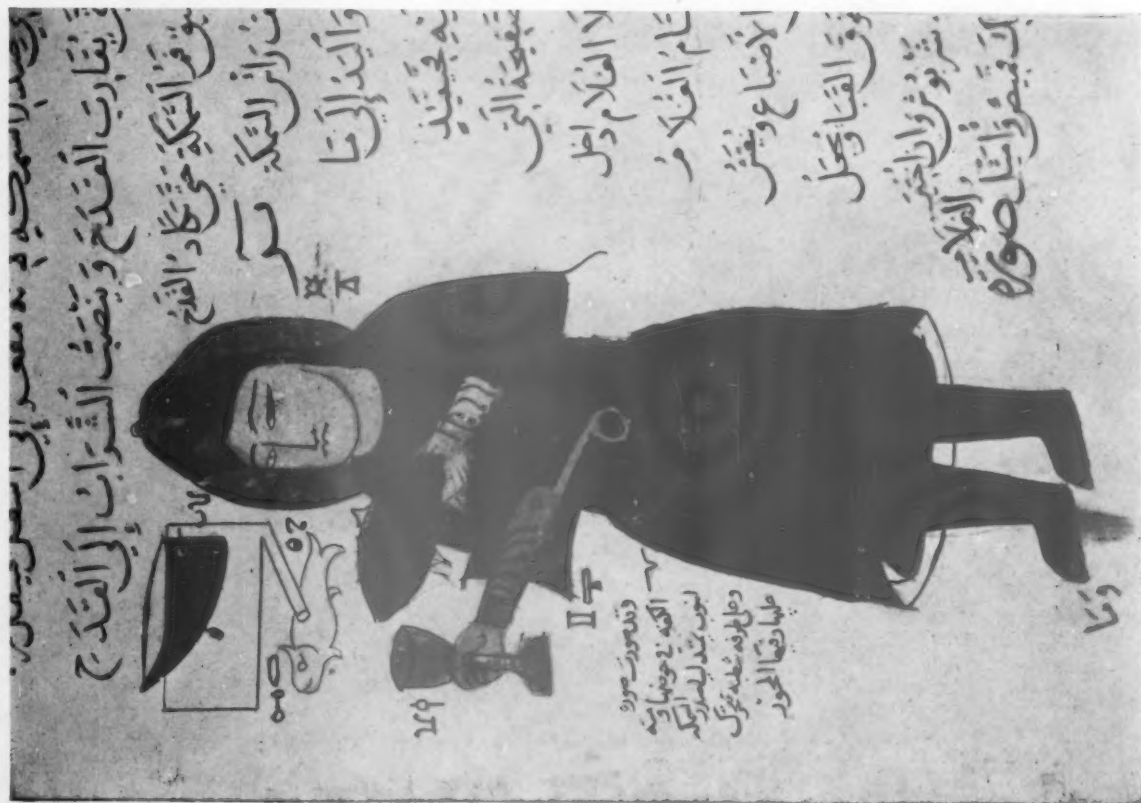


FIG. 8—Detail of Folio 155 Verso

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia: Miniatures in al-Jazari Manuscript



FIG. 9—Detail of Folio 175 Verso

page shows the imprint of the colors of a miniature which must formerly have been opposite but has now vanished.

Careful examination of the remaining miniatures reveals that the more important ones are numbered in clumsy writing in red pigment. As the most attractive miniatures have been selected for removal, the numbered series is now very incomplete. Folio 243 verso has a painting numbered 49. After folio 245 at least one sheet is missing for the *custos* does not tally. This suggests that there were fifty numbered paintings, one for each of the fifty chapters of the book. Many of the "automata miniatures" owned in the West bear numbers similar to, but not conflicting with, those of the manuscript.⁶

The identity of the size of the pages, the identity of the writing, the continuity of the series, of numbered miniatures, and the identity of the style of the miniatures are good enough arguments to show that the loose "automata miniatures" belong to the Hagia Sophia manuscript. I shall add, however, four specific instances of miniatures which can be definitely proved to have come from the manuscript.

A sheet is missing between folios 29 and 30. This sheet must be the miniature of a clock representing the zodiac, now in a private collection in New York. Folio 29 verso has as *custos* the word which begins the text on the "back" of the New York miniature, which if inserted into the manuscript's present pagination would be folio 29a, with the painting on the verso. To the right of the middle of folio 30 recto in the manuscript is a spot of blue color which comes precisely from the blue background of the zodiac that, when moistened, gave a little of its color to the opposite page.

Another sheet is missing between folios 159 and 160. This can be identified as a sheet in the Boston museum reproduced as plate IV in Coomaraswamy's recent book on the al-Jazari miniatures, already cited. The *custos* on the back of the sheet in Boston is the first word of folio 160 recto in the manuscript, where the sentence is continued. The Boston leaf would therefore fit into the manuscript as folio 159a, and its wormholes agree with those of its former neighbors, folios 159 and 160.

The sheet missing from the manuscript between folios 161 and 162 is also reproduced by Coomaraswamy, plate VIII; its verso has as *custos* the word with which folio 162 resumes the sentence.

The sheet removed from the manuscript between folios 182 and 183 figures as Coomaraswamy's plate III; the *custos* on the back of the sheet is the word with which folio 183 begins. Besides this, the conspicuous wormholes toward the inner margin agree with those of folios 182 and 183 of the manuscript. Finally, the imprint of a considerable number of the features of the miniature painting can be observed on folio 182 verso.

The "automata miniatures," then, are dated with certainty in 755 A. H., and they come from a manuscript copied from another manuscript going back in its turn to the original

6. The miniatures published by Coomaraswamy (*op. cit.*) bear the numbers 1, 5, 19, 20, 26, 29, 42, 45. *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, pl. III is number 46. In Martin, II, pls. 2, 3, and 4 are numbers 18, 23, and 6 respectively. In Schulz, II, pls. 1, 4 left and right are numbers 2, 7, and 3 respectively. Not only do none of these numbers overlap with the numbering of miniatures still in the manuscript,

but in every case that I have been able to assign a loose miniature to a definite place in the manuscript the number of the miniature fits into the sequence of the numbers of the manuscript. The following numbers have not as yet been traced: 4, 13, 14, 27, 30, 40, 43, 50. All the other numbers are accounted for either in the manuscript or on known "automata miniatures."

manuscript of al-Jazari. This original manuscript antedated by about a century and a half the copy of a copy in the Hagia Sophia library.

In the article referred to above Creswell attributes the manuscript of the "automata miniatures" to Egypt and dates it between 752 and 755 A. H. He bases these conclusions on the fact that two of the miniatures contain on architectural motives an inscription in praise of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-dunya wad-Dīn. According to Blochet and Creswell this person must be either Sultan Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (752-755 A. H.) or Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Haggi (783-784 A. H.). Creswell decides in favor of the former and thus arrives at his date for the miniatures. This decision is corroborated by the date in the Hagia Sophia manuscript, and though no additional proof of the Egyptian origin is forthcoming this does not seem to be open to doubt.

The style of all the miniatures in question is somewhat rigid and monumental, without the subtlety of line and delicacy of detail that we admire in the miniatures of the Dioscorides of 1222, for instance, or in those of the Schefer Hariri. As illustrations for a technical treatise, the original al-Jazari miniatures may not have had the refined character of the miniatures of the other two books; but it is also likely that something has been lost in the process of copying and recopying. Nevertheless the "automata miniatures" have a peculiar greatness in their broad decorative conception, and they maintain their place among the most valuable remains of early Islamic miniature painting. The scant list of illuminated manuscripts representing the style of so early a period in Islamic art will be appreciably enriched by the addition of no. 3606 of the Hagia Sophia library. Despite the wholesale removal of its miniatures it still contains much of value as the accompanying illustrations (Figs. 5-11) suggest. I hope to bring out an album containing all the more important miniatures which are or were in this beautiful manuscript.

The miniatures are of great value as a reflection of Islamic civilization at the end of the twelfth century. The figures represented in them include servants, dancers, courtiers, and princes—though the dream of having a genuine portrait of Saladin has not been realized. The two pictures of the *naubat*, the royal music at the palace gate,⁷ are first-rate cultural documents, as are the various scenes of feasting and carousing. The description by al-Jazari of the palace door at Amida⁸ is of highest interest for the history of Islamic metal work. Only an edition of al-Jazari, based on the Hagia Sophia manuscript, such as I hope Wiedemann and Hauser may decide to undertake, will bring out adequately the many points of real importance connected with this unique series of miniatures.

7. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. I; P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturenmalerei*, pl. I.

8. Cf. *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, pl. III; *Der Islam*, XI, 214-232. Sarre calls attention to the similarity of the knocker designed by al-Jazari and a knocker in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Diez and Glück, *Die Kunst des Islam*,

p. 440). The cover design and tailpiece of this magazine reproduce the same knocker as it appears in the Hagia Sophia manuscript. Cf. Sarre, *Keramik und andere Klein-funde der islamischen Zeit von Baalbek, Sonderabdruck a. d. III. B. d. Ergebnisse d. Ausgrabungen . . . von Baalbek*, Berlin and Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1925, pp. 28-29.

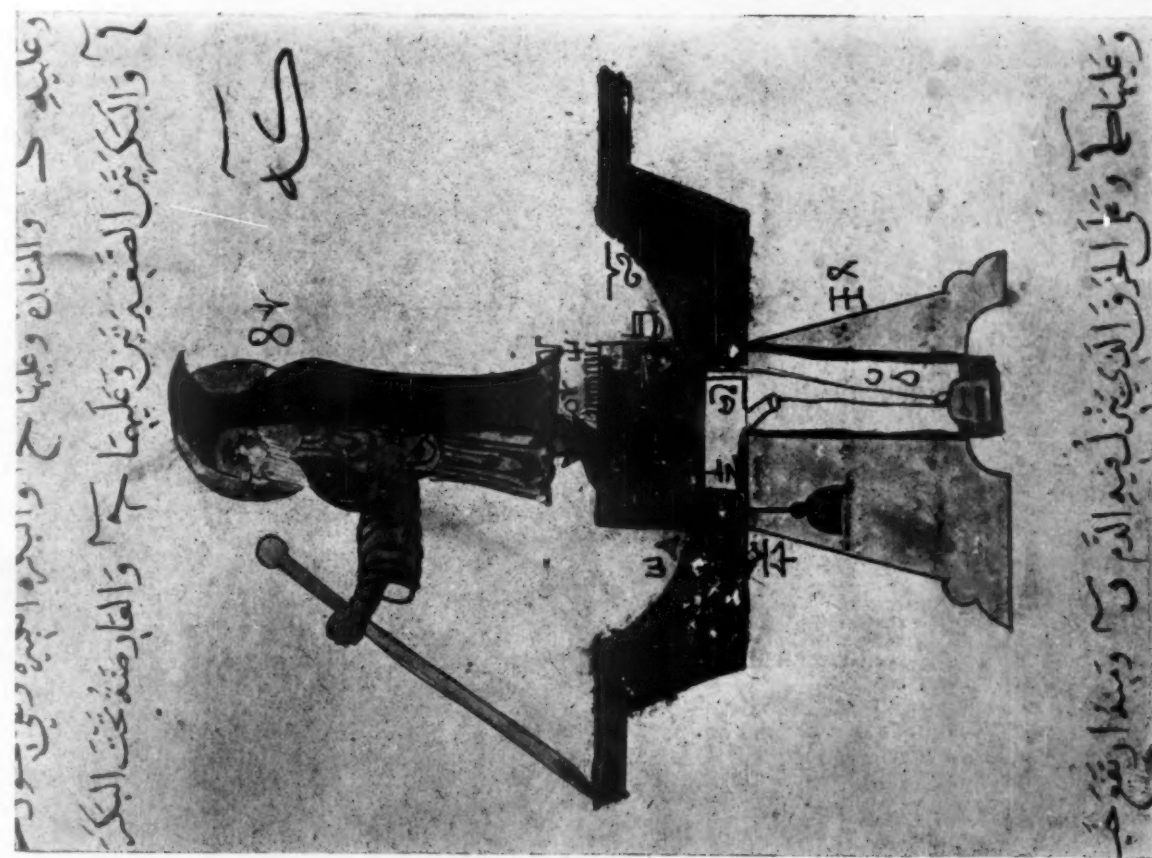


FIG. 1C—Detail of Folio 178 Verso

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia

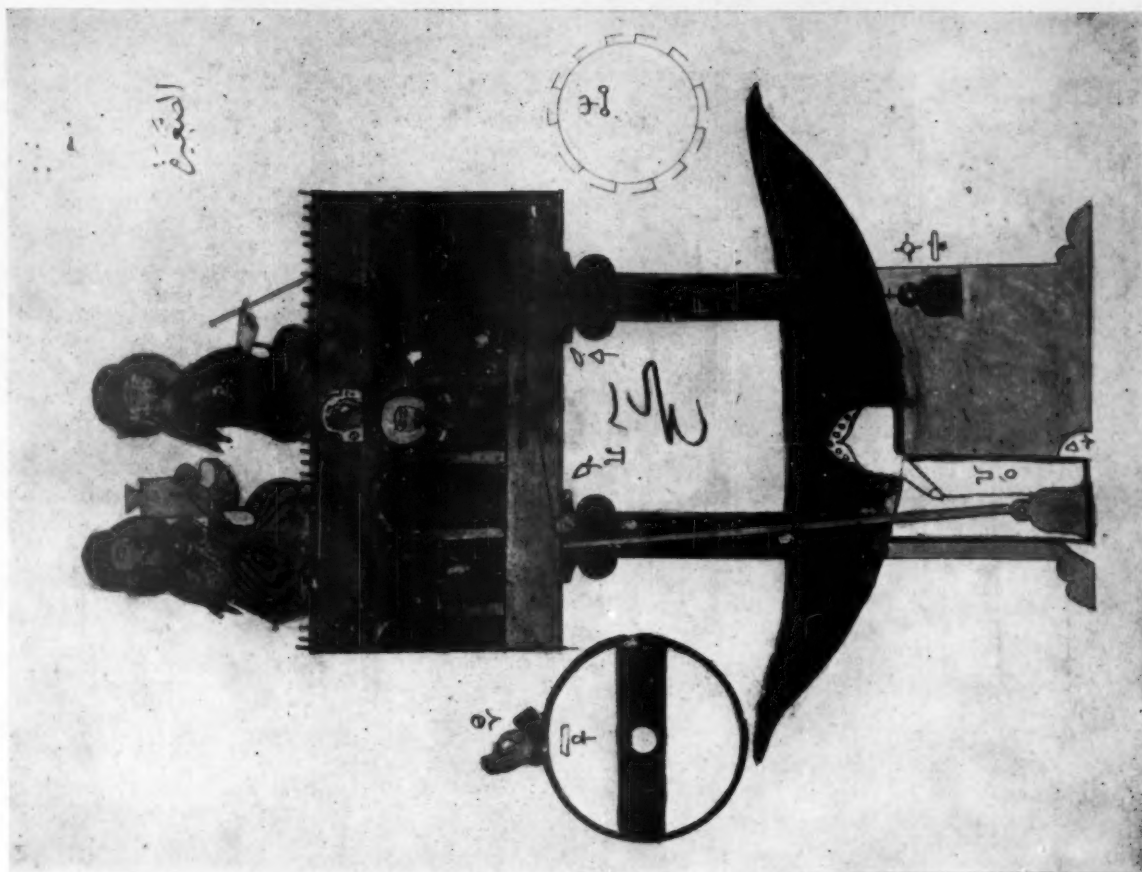


FIG. 1I—Detail of Folio 190 Recto

Constantinople, Hagia Sophia



FIG. 1—Arcetri, S. Leonardo: *Tree of Jesse*
Detail of Pulpit. XII Century



FIG. 2—Thaton, Burma: *Lotus Birth of*
Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu, from Navel
*of Nārāyaṇa (After Temple)*¹⁰



FIG. 3—Amarāvati: *Lotus Rhizome Rising*
from "Full Vessel" Supported by Yakṣa.
C. 200 A. D. (Photo. Golubew)

THE TREE OF JESSE AND INDIAN PARALLELS OR SOURCES

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY



FIG. 4¹

The Tree of Jesse appears in Christian iconography possibly towards the close of the eleventh century; in any case it is found frequently in the twelfth century and in later Gothic art.² Certain prototypes can be recognized even as early as the ninth century. At first the stem appears in Jesse's hand, then it rises from a point immediately behind the center of his reclining body, finally it rises from his navel. The ultimate flower of the tree is always Jesus, but the formula so develops that the Virgin becomes the most conspicuous figure (as in Fig. 1); moreover, as the branches multiply the whole becomes a veritable genealogical tree of the kings of Judea. The essential elements of the developed type are the representation of a kind of tree of life rooted in the navel of the recumbent Jesse and having for its ultimate flower a manifestation of the deity.

Porter³ has suggested that the conception is a fundamentally Oriental one, though the Bazaklik example cited by him is hardly pertinent. In the present preliminary note I do not propose to assert an Indian origin of the *motif*; I merely wish to point out that the whole group of ideas involved appears much earlier in India than anywhere else, that it leads there to the evolution of iconographic types which present startling parallels to those of the Jesse series, and that a derivation of the Western from the Indian forms is by no means impossible.

A type in some ways related to that of the Tree of Jesse occurs in illustrations of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in connection with the story of Astyages.⁴ The Persian king is said to have had a dream in which he saw a vine growing out of the body of his only daughter. This vine was interpreted as a prophecy of the birth of King Cyrus, but in the *Speculum* the daughter becomes a type of the Virgin Mary. In the illustrations the vine sometimes rises from her navel, sometimes from between her breasts; in some case it consists of leafy branches, not like a grapevine. Sir Thomas Arnold⁵ has inferred a lost early Persian type underlying not only the *Speculum* illustrations but also certain Persian illuminations that represent female figures surrounded by foliage.

A very obvious Indian parallel to the Tree of Jesse is the well-known Indian composition representing the birth of Brahmā, who is designated as "lotus-born," "navel-born," etc. and is shown seated on a lotus flower the stem of which rises from the navel of the recumbent Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is here the supreme deity, represented as reclining (*śayana-mūrti*) on the cosmic waters during the interval between two cycles of manifestation; Brahmā is the demiurge, the immediate creator of the new universe about to be brought

1. Sāñcī: Lotus Rhizome Springing from a Yakṣa's Navel, C. 100 B. C.

2. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, pp. 173 ff.; A. K. Porter, *Spain or Toulouse? and Other Questions*, in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, pp. 15 f.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1909, I, p. 186; M. R. James, *MS. Lat. 9584* (Bibliothèque Nationale), Oxford, 1926.

5. *Symbolism and Islam*, in *Burlington Magazine*, October, 1928.

into being. The oldest representations of this theme that I am able to cite are those of the reliefs in Caves II and IV at Bādāmī, dating from the end of the sixth century;⁶ at Deogarh, at least a century earlier, practically the same composition is found except that the stem of the lotus is not connected with Nārāyaṇa's navel.⁷ Examples dating from the eighth century are known at Elūrā⁸ (Fig. 6) and Sirpur,⁹ and the subject is not rare in still later mediaeval art, and it even recurs not infrequently in Rajput paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The formula passed also to Farther India, occurring both in Burma and Cambodia. Some of the Burmese examples from Thaton (Fig. 2) are remarkable in representing not merely a single deity as born from lotus and navel but the trinity of deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, seated on separate lotuses, all branches of one stem rooted in Nārāyaṇa's navel.¹⁰

Although there does not seem to exist any representation of the birth of Brahmā in sculpture dating before the sixth century A. D., the event is explicitly described in the *Mahābhārata* (iii, 272, 44, and xii, 207, 13). The former of the passages cited reads as follows: "As soon as that Eternal Being [Nārāyaṇa] concentrated thought upon a New Creation of the Universe a lotus flower immediately came into existence from His navel and the four-faced Brahmā came forth from that navel-lotus." As the extreme limits for the *Mahābhārata* are from 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. the text certainly takes us back beyond the earliest reliefs.

Nārāyaṇa is the supreme deity of the later Vedic period and effectively identical with Brahmā.¹¹ Bearing this in mind we can recognize the tradition already in the *Ṛg Veda* (x, 82, 5): "Prior to the sky, prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that germ which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same germ in which all the gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the Unborn stood that in which all beings stood."¹² Further, in the *Atharva Veda* (x, 7, 38) we have a description of Brahmā as "a great Yakṣa¹³ in the midst of the creation, lying upon the sea in penance;¹⁴ therein are set whatever gods there are, like the branches of a tree round about a trunk."

The conception of a tree of life rooted in Brahmā recurs also in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (vi, 1): "This eternal fig tree! That [root] indeed is the Pure. That is Brahmā." It recurs again in a somewhat different way in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (xv, 1-3). We have thus been able to trace from let us say about a millennium B. C. onwards the essential elements common to the formulæ of the Indian Birth of Brahmā and the Christian Tree of Jesse.

That our tree of life, in which all beings are set, should be rooted in a navel, whether of Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, or Jesse, is significant, because it is precisely in India that importance has been attached to the navel as a center of vegetative energy. "The navel of immortality," "the navel of Varuṇa," and similar phrases constantly recur in Vedic literature,

6. R. D. Banerji, *Bas-reliefs of Badami*, in *Mem. A. S. I.*, XXV, pls. xi and xxii, a.

7. J. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments of India*, pl. 250.

8. In the Daśāvatāra Cave.

9. *Progress Rep.*, A. S. I., *Western Circle*, 1903-1904, p. 21.

10. Sir R. Temple, *Notes on Antiquities from Ramannadesa*, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1894.

11. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, 1913, p. 31. Later, when Brahma has lost his importance as supreme deity, Viṣṇu, taking his place, is identified with

Nārāyaṇa and inherits the traditions connected with both the others.

12. Repeated in the *Yajur Veda* (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, iv, 6, 2).

13. Every Indian deity may upon occasion be designated as a Yakṣa; see my *Yakṣas*, Washington, 1928, where, however, the Vedic passages, in which the earliest references are found, are omitted (see A. Hillebrandt, *Vedisch Yakṣa*, in *Aus Indiens Kultur*, Festgabe Garbe, 1927).

14. It is by the energy achieved in austerity (*tapas*) that Brahma is said to have created the world.

and in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (v, 7, 1, 9), where the sacrificer hangs a golden sun disk around his neck so that it rests upon his navel, we find the following: "Why over the navel? [Because] beneath the navel is the seed, the power of procreation, and the gold plate represents vital energy and vigor."

Now the two Vedic passages cited above are especially suggestive inasmuch as they bring together two ideas, the tree rooted in a navel, and that the navel of a Yakṣa, which are later very conspicuous in the iconography of the water cosmology. In this iconography vegetation, the type of life, is represented by a lotus rhizome bearing leaves and flowers, sometimes with enframed animals or even human figures, and rising from the waters (see, for example, Fig. 3, where the uppermost enclosure contains an aniconic representation of the Buddha), the watery source being represented either by a "full vessel" (Grail motif), or by the open jaws of a *makara* (crocodile, water symbol), or by a dwarf Yakṣa, from whose mouth or navel (Fig. 4) the stem of the lotus rises. Yakṣas, of course, are vegetation spirits, guardians of procreative energies; the sap in trees is identical with the essence in the waters, with the water of life (*amṛta*); and these facts, taken in connection with the texts already cited, reveal very clearly the nature of the group of cosmic theories which ultimately finds expression in the formula for the Birth of Brahmā. Another motif closely connected with this formula is that of the tree or creeper the fruits of which are divine girls; trees of this kind grow in the Yakṣa Kubera's grove called Caitraratha (*Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 91, 43 f.), and later a creeper of this kind (*nārī-latā*, "woman-vine") becomes a familiar form in decorative art. The Arabic Waqwaq tree may represent another phase of the same tradition.

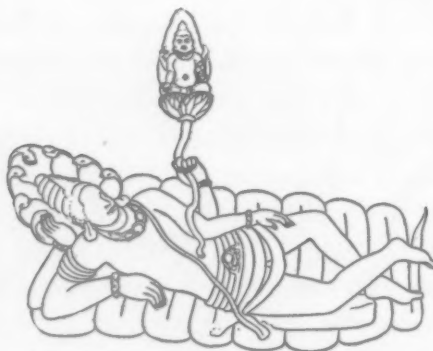
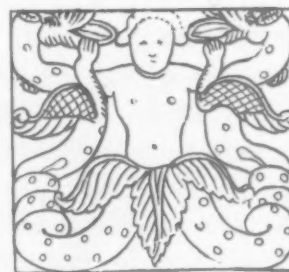
Enough has now been said to show that the conception of a cosmic or world tree, bearing deities or other beings in or as its branches, and rising from the navel of some being who represents the ultimate source of life, is characteristically Indian and of far greater antiquity than can be attributed to any kind of Jesse Tree. It is not necessary to assume that the idea of a Tree of Jesse represents in its entirety a borrowing from Indian or other Oriental sources; but when the fully developed formula, as in the Arcetri example (Fig. 1), approaches so closely the mediaeval Indian form as found in the Birth of Brahmā, when the tree actually resembles a lotus and rises from the navel of a recumbent figure, one is at least inclined to suppose that Indian types may have influenced the development.

It may well be that Mâle's pronouncement, "*Née en Orient, l'iconographie chrétienne nous est arrivée toute faite*," has a significance of farther reach than he intended. However this may be, it is clear already from the researches of Strzygowski and others that the study of Christian iconography and of the history of Western design can never be complete until the Indian parallels have been duly considered. These seem to be of importance at two periods, first, in the development of Coptic art, and, secondly, in that of Romanesque and Gothic. By way of example I will allude to the "*sirène poisson*" which appears in Romanesque, for instance, at Modena. Both male and female forms are recognizable, the motif being thus that of a kind of merman or mermaid with bifurcate fish tails, one of which is held in each hand. Porter¹⁵ supposes that the type has been developed by a misunderstanding of the Ahnās earth goddess holding a garland of fruits. Unfortunately for this theory, which is based only on the circumstantial evidence of visual similarities not amounting to identity, the two-tailed merman or mermaid occurs already in Etruscan art

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

of the third century B. C.,¹⁶ and in Indian art both about 100 B. C. at Sārnāth¹⁷ (Fig. 5) and about 100 A. D. at Mathurā¹⁸ (Fig. 6). In the Mathurā example the fish tails end in dragon heads, and this too is a feature that reappears in later Western art.

It is evident that the assumption of a misunderstanding of another type is here unnecessary; it is even more likely that the Ahnās earth goddess has been affected by the "*sirène poisson*" than *vice versa*. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the *motif* has been borrowed in India from Etruscan sources; early Indian art preserves forms that must have been long current there before the earliest examples in stone are found. In all probability the Indian form represents merely the Indian phase of a common "Early Asiatic" type, antedating all extant examples wherever met with. A parallel case is that of the familiar two-headed eagle, common in Indian art in the mediaeval period, common also in Western Asiatic (especially Hittite) art, and certainly of Oriental origin in European art. Another parallel is afforded by a widely distributed type of design in the "animal style" in which a single head is made to serve appropriately as part of the anatomy of two or more animals. Still another instance is the *motif* of a figure holding in both hands a piece of drapery which blows out behind or over the figure: C. H. Morgan,¹⁹ illustrating numerous European and one Chinese example, does not give one from India, though the type is there extremely common, and the Chinese example is certainly of Indian derivation. In all these cases students have been too freely inclined to assume on insufficient evidence a borrowing in one direction or another. It is, however, particularly important to bear in mind that the first occurrence of a given *motif*, that is, first to our knowledge, does not necessarily correspond to first invention, nor does it even of necessity indicate the country of first invention. The probable environment of first invention must be considered always in the light of cultural conditions as a whole, and, wherever in any way possible, literary evidence should be adduced in support of a real significance and not merely an accidental use of a *motif*.²⁰ In any case, for students of Christian mediaeval art the Indian forms provide analogies and parallels which cannot be neglected if all the problems are to be seen in proper perspective.

FIG. 5²¹FIG. 6²²FIG. 7²³

16. L. D. Eldridge, *A Third Century Etruscan Tomb*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXII, 1918, p. 253.

17. D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue, Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, pl. vi, center.

18. J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue, Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, pl. xxv, below.

19. In *Art Studies*, 1928.

20. An admirable example of rigorous method has recently been furnished by W. Norman Brown in his *Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water*, Chicago, 1928.

21. Sārnāth: Fish-tailed Merman, C. 100 B. C.

22. Elūrā: Birth of Brahmā, VIII Century.

23. Mathurā: Dragon-tailed Merman, C. 100 A. D.

REVIEWS

SPANISCHE KUNST VON GRECO BIS GOYA. By Hugo Kehrer. 364 pp. 250 figs. Munich, Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1926.

This book on Spanish art is divided into two parts. The first part, of 281 pages, is the conventional historical discussion of foreign influences in Spain and early Renaissance artists, and of six outstanding figures that one usually identifies with Spanish art—El Greco, Velasquez, Ribera, Zurbaran, Murillo, and Goya. The second portion of the book discusses the Spanish soul and the Spanish form will, especially as compared with the Italian. There follows an appendix of thirty-seven photographs of architecture and sculpture.

The book cannot be said to contribute anything to the history of Spanish art. It certainly does, however, increase our understanding thereof by its clear portrayal of the characteristics of Spanish art in the second part.

In the discussion of the Renaissance in Spain the poor compositional quality of the paintings is noted, but the author fails to point out that this was in part due to the Spanish *horror vacui*, contenting himself with saying that it was an embryo Baroque feeling transmuting classical precepts.

In discussing El Greco's antecedents, mention is made of Michelangelo's Dying Slave in the Academy at Florence. It is maintained that this piece of sculpture is of "the pure style, frontally worked." If by "frontally worked" is meant carved in the pure Renaissance style as contrasted with the Baroque, the author has quite obviously made an error.

The method pursued in the purely historical part of the book is excellently conceived but poorly carried out. The author attempts a picture by picture analysis instead of the usual general stylistic description followed by references to the art works. It is to be regretted, however, that in many instances the actual photographs are not reproduced, though the comment is long and detailed.

In the discussion of Velasquez, Kehrer is at variance with most Spanish art historians. He places the two Villa Medici sketches in the first Italian journey, i. e., between 1629 and 1631. Describing them as prefiguring the nineteenth century, he goes on to say (p. 118): "It is to be regretted that Velasquez did not further follow the new roads, upon which he had just entered. A great effort satisfied him, and after both these undertakings, which he had naturally set himself, were so brilliantly completed, we see him turning back upon the path from which he had come."

This statement is a rationalization of the misplacement of these out-of-door sketches, and betrays a lack of understanding of Velasquez's real accomplishment. The style which Velasquez inaugurated with the second Italian journey is, as everyone knows, doubly impressionistic.

It is the "Monet" as well as the "Manet" Impressionism. It is a synthesis of the two, to speak anachronically. The trouble is that many people fail to realize that the impressionism of Velasquez is that of light and air, as well as form, simply because the subjects portrayed are not plein-air. The scenes handled are usually indoors with light coming in from windows in not too great an intensity, and hence the plein-air quality might appear to be lacking.

Giving Velasquez credit, as we thus must, for the plein-air eye, there is no reason to believe that the Villa Medici sketches are of the first Italian journey. There is nothing atmospherically impressionistic in The Forge of Vulcan, or in Jacob and Joseph pictures which come directly before the first Italian journey, nor in the works of the decorative period which follows, when the landscapes are flat and subordinate. A comparison of any of the equestrian portraits with the two Villa Medici sketches will show this.

The answer to the whole question lies in the fact that the Spanish temperament is not suited to pure landscape. This type of subject does not appear in Spanish art until the time of Sorolla and modern artistic education. That Velasquez was not interested in landscape does not exclude him from having technical plein-air methods at his disposal. The landscapes themselves were painted not in Spain, but in Italy, where perhaps the sensitive Spanish temperament may turn to different ideas.

Kehrer dates Jacob and Joseph as the last picture before the Italian journey, whereas Mayer places it before The Forge of Vulcan.

A new dating—"just after Los Borrachos"—is suggested for the Crucifixion in the Prado. It is held to be contemporary with Christ at the Column (London, National Gallery). A comparison of the two pictures must show at once how false this position is. Examining first the Christs in the pictures, it becomes evident that the one portrayed in the latter picture is far more plastically and crudely modeled. The individual muscles are much more emphasized and the shadows are heavy and matter-of-fact. Each shadow seems to have its individual place. The expression on the face of the Christ is comparatively superficial, every effort being made to impress the observer with the agony. It lacks restraint. The modeling of the Christ in the Crucifixion is quite different. The various planes are merely suggested, the lights and shadows mingle and flow. There is not the same delineation of features. The one strong shadow lies under the loin cloth. The expression of the half-seen head is more reserved, quieter, hence more really pathetic.

Though it may be perhaps unreasonable to compare two such dissimilar compositions, one cannot help noting that the Christ at the Column is amateurish, almost haphazardly put together, whereas the Crucifixion is a skillful piece of work. In the latter, the head of the Christ is not only bowed forward, but is considerably below the line of

the hands. It forces attention, however, because it cuts the horizontal of the lower edge of the cross beam. The small basis given to the feet, the toes projecting over the edge, and the rather large nail heads combine with the inverse triangle as a whole to give the impression of death and weakness. Were it not for the firmness of the legs below the knees, Christ might appear slipping from the cross.

The author later on falls into the error of calling Pablo de Valladolid "Pablillos." He dates the picture much later than Mayer, who says it was painted before the first Italian journey, but that the head was gone over later. The very strong cast shadow and artificial way in which the legs are silhouetted tend to favor Mayer's conclusion.

In the discussion of Murillo nothing is said of his painting *sargas* for ships. The statement is merely made (p. 225) that his beginnings were more of the handicraft sort. It is, however, important to know that the artist busied himself with coarse canvas which would flap in the wind rather than with porcelain or woodwork demanding linear design. This fact helps us to understand that Murillo was a colorist rather than a draftsman.

Murillo's "sweetness" is discussed and dismissed in one sentence with the statement that sweetness was a general characteristic of the late seventeenth century. No adverse criticism is made by the author. He does not seem to realize that contentment with Murillo means an inability to understand what art really is. Kehr fails to point out that sentimentality involves not the self-expression of the artist but the feelings of the observer, with the consequence that Murillo has been much overrated.

The second part of the book is divided into *The Spanish Soul*, *The Spanish Feeling for Form*, and *Spanish Rhythm*. The Spanish "soul" is differentiated from the Italian, the latter in the seventeenth century being always more prosaic and matter-of-fact. El Greco is not used as the Spanish standard, rather the realist painters and sculptors such as Ribolta and Fernández. Spanish realism is classified as simple, illusionistic, and spiritual. The typical Spanish mediums are discussed, the characteristics of the Spaniard as a man, and Spanish Catholicism as different from the Italian.

The Spanish feeling for form shows a lack of relationship between the figure in sculpture and the niche. Contour itself does not exist, but is merely pseudo-contour. The relationship between the body of the person and the drapery is almost impossible to define.

Spanish rhythm is called a "hobble" rhythm, slowly moving, stagnant often, with wide gaps. There is no organic continuity of movement.

The book closes with a very true discussion of the lack of any real classicism—as we know it in Italy—in Spain. From the Romanesque period to modern times the pictorial (*malerisch*) style predominates.

Jerrold Holmes

GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY. By William Sherwood Fox. 2nd edition. Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1928.

Among the many books collecting and interpreting Greek and Roman myths this one will remain one of the most agreeable to read and one of the most useful to consult.

After suggesting the various methodologies with which modern writers treat of the classic gods and heroes, the author here adopts the "comparative method"—which we soon see implies not a connection of Greek myth with Asiatic or Aztec parallels, but a gathering together of the many diverging ideas on the same theme within the confines of the Greek world. This limitation of his field saves us from the confusion so common in long and minute accounts of comparative religion, and, at the same time, corrects a bad tendency among Greek mythographers toward the generalization of a god's character for the sake of a possibly lucid panorama of his activities or a satisfactory explanation of his significance, for we are led to see that in different times in the same locality, or at the same time in even neighboring localities, a single hero or deity may assume many differing characteristics.

The myths themselves are related with a grace of style that is a relief in academic writing; the illustrations, taken from wall paintings, reliefs, statuary, or vases, serve both to enliven the text and to suggest how very largely the arts and crafts of antiquity relied upon current legends or mythical song for the decorative *motifs*. If there is a weakness in the book, it lies in the resolution of the myths, for not only is the explanation attached to the separate tales very summary but it is given without any considerable derivation or proof. The reader is led to feel that Mr. Fox, after reading such meaningful critics as Farnell or Miss Harrison, has chosen to append in his own case the explanation that is simplest, by which, of course, we mean not the easiest for the consummation of a theory but the most likely thought of a trusting and not too philosophical goatherd of Arcadia or of a lonely shepherd of Thessaly. It follows that scholars will discover here few new interpretations of old ideas; but it also follows that this book is one of the least dangerous for the reader unspecialized in primitive religions. And among the initiated and those who come with newer reverence alike the book will be enjoyed for its well told tales, related by a believing bard and expanded with a seasonable amount of historical and religious suggestion.

H. Theodric Westbrook

ART IN THE LIFE OF MANKIND. By Allen W. Seaby. 2 vols. 105 and 114 pp. 16 and 16 pls. 62 and 105 figs. 8 vo. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928.

Seaby's books on *Art in the Life of Mankind* are an excellent way of approach to art and its various manifestations through history. They reveal, on the part of the author, both idealistic feeling and scientific qualities of objectivity, clearness, and precision. His documentation seems solid and widespread, and his appreciation flows from a taste naturally sure and refined. His method is purely empirical: he does not attempt the elaboration of any philosophy of art. This limitation is a guarantee of objectivity, and the reader follows him with a feeling of intellectual freedom and safety. Carefully selected and suggestive illustrations supplement the text and add to its concrete vividness.

Seaby insists on the necessity of giving to art the place it deserves in life, and he deplores the actual general decadence of taste. According to him, it is due mainly to

the substitution of mechanical mass production for the patient, minute handwork of ancient times. Quantity and cheapness are the aims toward which modern fabrication is striving and the result is a perversion of our natural feeling for beauty. As a remedy Seaby suggests a careful and sympathetic study of the past together with the teaching of art history and methods in educational institutions.

Seaby includes under the general heading of art all that is "created by man." According to him there is no essential difference between so-called utilitarian art and aesthetic art. Any object, whatever its purpose may be, can have beauty if certain conditions are realized. Beauty, for the author, consists in form, that is, internal harmony of proportions, balance of lines, colors, adaptation of part to whole. Beauty is not naturalistic truth, but rather a stylization of some essential element discovered by the artist and expressed by him with skill and imaginative power.

After these preliminary definitions he passes to a study of art in ancient times, revealing its humble birth among the cave dwellers, who, in spite of the fight they were waging for life, showed an eye for the shape of things and that inward vision which we call imagination. They left numerous documents of their fine sense of design as well as of their manual skill. He leads us further on to the art of Egypt, in which decisive steps were made toward the knowledge of composition and decoration, especially in the Old Kingdom, which was the most creative period in the evolution of Egyptian art. Aegean art acquired the mastery of colors, and the Cretan artists were the first to develop true fresco technique and to paint pictures as distinguished from diagrams and bird's-eye views.

Though Seaby does not work out any system of aesthetics, his definition ranges him among a certain family of thinkers of whom Plato might be considered the ancestor. Beauty is form, that is, internal harmony and proportion. But if harmony and proportion are the conditions without which beauty does not exist, they are not sufficient by themselves to create beauty; that a third element is required was long ago pointed out by Thomas Aquinas, who called the third element *claritas*. This is a quality in itself, apprehended by the senses and by intelligence; it is the spiritual shrine of form, the splendor of form, without which all things are ugly. So a thing may have proportion and harmony; but if it lacks clarity it cannot be called beautiful.

Marguerite Wencelius

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON. Edited by Edmund Blunden. (*The World's Classics*) 424 pp. 12 mo. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, n. d. \$0.80.

The new edition of the *Autobiography of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, "historical painter," as he would have designated himself, is based on the earlier (1853) compilation of the work by Tom Taylor, editor of *The Chronicle*.

Haydon was perhaps one of the greatest misfits the world has ever known. One need only glance through the pages of the *Autobiography* to find that he should have

been a writer. There are such passages as his description of the entrance of George IV at his coronation dinner: "A whisper of mystery turns all eyes to the throne. Suddenly two or three rise, others fall back, some talk, direct, hurry, stand still, or disappear. Then three or four of high rank appear from behind the throne, an interval is left, the crowds scarce breathe, something rustles, and a being buried in satin, feathers, and diamonds, rolls gracefully into his seat. The room rises with a sort of feathered silken thunder." The real tragedy, I believe, of Haydon's life, was not his poverty, suffering, and unfortunate death, but that when he could write such things as these he insisted upon painting his inane pictures. Nevertheless, he sincerely believed it his mission to revive the "Grand Style" in painting, to bring back, "the Art," and to this end he devoted his life.

Haydon was called "the Mad Painter." I am reminded by this cognomen, of England's other "Mad Painter," William Blake. Blake and Haydon were contemporaries: Blake was twenty-nine at the time of Haydon's birth, and Haydon was forty-one when Blake died. It seems improbable that the two ever met, but they were similar in many characteristics. Both were deeply religious, but the religion of Blake was a simple, personal, inner experience; while that of Haydon was like a majestic organ march. Both painted and both wrote. During his lifetime Blake was little known; Haydon kept himself before the public by his numerous controversies and attacks on official art. After his death the art productions of Haydon were judged worthless, and were for the most part consigned to cellars and store-rooms. On the other hand, the smallest scrap of a sketch from the hand of Blake is zealously treasured. But Haydon left at least two evidences of greatness. One of these is his *Autobiography*, the other his service to the art of the world in his indefatigable endeavors to insure the safety of the Elgin Marbles. At a time when these masterpieces were condemned by the artists, critics, and rulers of England, Haydon appreciated their greatness, and was sincere in his championship of their cause. In a large measure he was responsible for their eventual protection by the government.

Since no trace of Haydon could be found in the works of Blake, nor, on the other hand, of Blake in Haydon's *Autobiography*, I searched for news of them in the records of that oddity of English life in the nineteenth century, (Henry) Crabb Robinson. Here I found no trace of acquaintance between Blake and Haydon; but there are interesting references to impressions which Haydon made on Robinson. Crabb Robinson recorded his meetings with Haydon, just as he did his impressions of other celebrities and unusual people. Of the painter he wrote, "There is a warmth and vigour about Haydon, indicating youthful confidence, often the counterpart of talents and genius which he is said to possess. His conversation certainly is interesting." At an earlier time, upon first meeting Haydon, he wrote, "he had an animated countenance, but did not say much."

It is from Crabb Robinson, too, that we learn that Haydon was a friend of the American historical painter Washington Allston. Allston shared Haydon's opinion of historical painters, "than which," said Haydon, "there is no higher class." Haydon's best painting, Christ Entering

Jerusalem, is now in the Cincinnati Museum. This painting, which Huxley says bears a certain very distant resemblance to a picture, was begun just before Haydon left for Paris in May, 1814. In 1820 it was exhibited privately in London by Haydon. Mrs. Siddons saw it, so did Sir Walter Scott, and both were loud in their praise of Haydon's work. Haydon felt that his time of recognition had come, that the people of England would now hail him as the saviour of art, but his triumph did not last. The members of the Royal Academy were his enemies, and their position in art matters was unquestioned. At every opportunity Haydon published attacks on the Academy and its members and its policies. In this he was supported by John and Leigh Hunt. Indeed it was the Hunts who frequently financed him, for Haydon was continually in debt. In 1810 he recorded in his diary, "And here began debt and obligation, out of which I never have been, and never shall be extricated as long as I live." And he never was. He owed all his friends, his landlord, his frame maker, and any person susceptible to his plea for financial assistance.

Yet many of the truly great of the nineteenth century were his friends and admirers. Sir David Wilkie, Opie, and Hazlitt were his fellow students. Keats, Lamb, Wordsworth, Hunt, Miss Mitford, and Mrs. Browning were his friends and all wrote sonnets in his honor. Canova was his guest, in England, and first saw the Elgin Marbles under his enthusiastic guidance.

Haydon believed in the study of anatomy. He early adopted the principles of John Bell's book on the bones, joints, and muscles. He believed in dissection as a means of acquiring knowledge for his drawing. He applied what he learned in this manner to the simplification of structure which he found in the antique. In 1815 Landseer brought his sons to Haydon to be taught. A small school was formed, and the first duty of the pupils was to study from the Elgin Marbles. A set of the full-size drawings by these students from the marbles was purchased by Göthe for his home at Weimar, where they are still preserved.

Haydon's was a life of failures; yet time after time he gathered fresh courage and hope. At last his spirit was broken, and he took his own life on June 22, 1846. He was in his sixtieth year of struggle with life, and he felt that his wife and children would be happier released from the burden of his ambition. Thus passed Haydon, who hated the Academy, portrait painting, and small pictures, who longed to soar in the broad sweeps of immense historical paintings, and who achieved a greatness which he knew not of, by his pen and not by his brush.

Robert Hunter Paterson

ARMORIAL PORCELAINS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig, K. B. E., F. S. A., with a foreword by Sir Henry Farnham Burke, K. C. V. O., C. B., F. S. A., Garter King of Arms. 136 pp. 107 pls. inc. 3 in color. London, The Century House, 1925. £3-3-0.

In writing this book Sir Algernon has made the first attempt to present to the general reader the fascinating subject of armorial porcelains. Not only is this an interesting class of porcelains in respect to its manufacture

and decoration but also because of the connections with heraldry and genealogy. In addition, the author has given us the latest pronouncement from The Century House, where the largest collection of armorial porcelains has been gathered, on the controversy as to whether these porcelains were products of Lowestoft or were of Chinese manufacture, and also on the question of decoration. He seems to have refuted former contrary arguments successfully and would persuade his readers that all eighteenth century armorial porcelains are of Chinese manufacture and decoration with the exception of those made late in the century at Worcester. He bases his arguments on the letters of Pere d'Entrecolles, the work of R. L. Hobson on the Chadwick plate, the errors in the copying and coloring of arms, and the late date of the discovery of hard paste at Lowestoft, 1777.

He has conveniently divided the eighteenth century into the customary Chinese periods, which he lists as Khang-he (1700-1723), Yung-tching (1723-1736), Kien-Lung (1736-1796), and Kea-King (1795-1810), and has pointed out that armorial decoration has clearly marked periods to be seen equally on book-plates, silver, furniture, and porcelain. The careful student of these periods can date quite accurately almost any piece of armorial porcelain which he encounters, so great is the change from period to period and so consistent is the evolution.

The largest part of the book is taken up by a list of known services, over nine hundred in number, most of which have lately been on the English market. This list thoroughly incorporates all former catalogues. Not only are we given the approximate date of the service, but also the date and place of sale of individual pieces. This list is invaluable to the serious student of the subject and to the collector. Twenty services interesting from the personality of their original owners or for their special decoration are described in fuller detail. The book also gives some interesting information on services done for the Livery Companies and Lord Mayors of London, as well as a list of a large number of Worcester services.

The illustrations are particularly delightful, and we regret that so few are in color, for these few seem to have some peculiar quality, unusual in color prints of china, strongly suggestive of porcelain.

This publication replaces the unsatisfactory catalogues in which it was formerly necessary to rummage. Only one who has been on the lookout for authentic armorial porcelains realizes the immense labor of bringing together, as Sir Algernon has done, the largest collection in the world, which he invites interested students and collectors to visit.

Irene Keifer Forman

ÉCRITURE ET ENLUMINURE DES MANUSCRITS DU IX^E ET XII^E SIÈCLE. By Dom Paul Blanchon-Lasserre. *Fascicules I, II, III*, 8 pls. each. 4 to. Sablé-sur-Sarthe, Abbaye St.-Pierre de Solesmes, 1926-28.

In 1926, Dom Paul Blanchon-Lasserre began this publication with an 83-page, illustrated volume (reviewed in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, p. 210) dealing both historically and practically with the art of writing and illuminating manuscripts. He has since carried on the work (and will

continue to do so) by publishing fascicules of plates, three of which have appeared to date.

Each fascicule is accompanied by a sheet of text containing brief, but apt, comment upon each plate. The plates themselves reproduce the illuminations in their exact size whenever this is possible within the limits of the adopted form. The author has made no attempt to manufacture facsimile copies of the manuscripts in their present condition. It is, on the other hand, his intention to present characteristic pages and characteristic *motifs* in their original splendor of coloring. Such an enterprise is quite in keeping with Dom Paul's predilection for the executive side of manuscript illumination—a preference indicated by the emphasis he gave it in the parent volume of the series. If carried out less skillfully and with less reverence for the original, such an attempt might readily prove unfortunate. In this case, however, the result merits only the highest praise, both to the author and to his printer, M. E. Gevaert, for the plates are worth while in their own right, entirely aside from their value as illustrations of Carolingian illumination and its sources.

The entire publication is distinguished by a certain succinctness. This quality is not oppressive, but is rather only one of the virtues to be remarked in the singularly charming literary style of the text, and is to be noted as well in the arrangement of those plates on which are printed a great many selected *motifs*.

John Sewall

LA VIE ET LES MOEURS EN RUSSIE. By G. K. Loukouski. 41 pp.; 107 pls. Paris, Leroux, 1928.

From his position as a Russian nobleman driven from his country, Loukouski has been able to give us a very satisfactory review of Russia before the revolution. Through his long residence at Paris he has had to learn the point of view from which the Western world observes Russia, for the country in which he grew up and of which he writes was essentially Oriental. His epoch is that of the two hundred and fifty years preceding the revolution, his *milieu* the St. Petersburg that used to be.

In a very vivid way Loukouski reviews the culture of Russia from the age of Peter the Great through that of Catherine and Elizabeth down to that of the last Nicholas, and with surprising briefness and clearness he presents a historical survey of the temperament of the Russian people. He lets us view them from several angles, general civilization, successive transformations, court versus provincial life, architecture, and "*l'habitation*;" each aspect is treated chronologically. The resultant gain of insight into the Russian nature as revealed in the past helps us to understand and sympathize more readily with the revolutionists and the Soviet government now in its twelfth year. With the present interest in all things Russian, Loukouski has chosen an opportune moment to write. He is one of those unusually clever and pleasing journalistic writers who seem to take the reader into the very presence of their characters.

The appended plates, which outweigh the reading matter two to one, are well-chosen reproductions of prints, lithographs, and paintings, but they would bring out the points they illustrate more emphatically if direct references had

been made to them in the text. The book is very French and modern in its determination to spare the jaded reader. To save him the necessity of looking back and forth he is allowed to read the text without being interrupted by citations of the illustrations. Perhaps it is more Slavic than French that the reader is spared even the effort of continued concentration on the text, for Loukouski starts all over again with each chapter and reviews each time the successive historical periods in the new connection.

Irene Keifer Forman

CARICATURES OF THE "WINTER KING OF BOHEMIA." FROM THE SUTHERLAND COLLECTION IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM. With an introduction, notes, and translations by E. A. Beller. 65 pp. 24 pls. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1928. \$16.

Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who was elected King of Bohemia by the Protestants in August, 1619, shortly after the beginning of the Thirty Years War, becomes, by virtue of five and one-half pages of explanatory text and twenty-four plates of caricatures arranged by Mr. Beller, a pitiful but vivid protagonist in a tragedy, with these plates, taken for the most part from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library and a few from the British Museum, as stage settings. The brief introduction gives us sufficient historical background and explanation to enable us to enjoy the humor and the pathos of the plates, which have little artistic merit.

Preceding each of these beautifully reproduced caricatures is a short description of its significance and a translation of the sometimes lengthy verses written in defense of the Winter King or, as is more often the case, against him. Mr. Beller explains that the verses are as important as the caricatures in this form of satire—the combination of picture and explanatory text—which was much used during the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. The Thirty Years War, in the seventeenth century, proved a fertile field for political caricature. The fact that over two hundred caricatures for or against Frederick V appeared between 1618 and 1621 leads us to conclude that they were important weapons in a paid propaganda.

These caricatures differ in two ways from modern ones, in the constant use of allegory in which the characters are represented as animals, and in the humor which depends not, as with us, on exaggeration of personal characteristics, but altogether on action. Mr. Beller gives us not only the historical incidents but also shows, in a delightful manner, the conflicting political attitudes during Frederick V's brief gesture of kingship.

Mildred Williamson

L'ART ROMAN DE BOURGOGNE, ETUDES D'HISTOIRE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE. By Charles Oursel. Preface by A. Kingsley Porter. 219 pp.; 36 pls. Dijon, L. Venot; Boston, Marshall Jones Company. 1928.

Monsieur Oursel has collected in this fine volume three essays previously published in *Art Studies*, IV, V, and in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1923, I, as well as two new studies of the Lombard style in Burgundy and the characteristics

of the Romanesque architecture of this region. These works show a most detailed knowledge of the monuments of the author's country; he is familiar not only with the forms of the buildings but also with the numerous documents that concern them, and he introduces in the solution of problems of diffusion of types many interesting facts concerning the family relationships of powerful individuals of this period and the interplay of ecclesiastical and monastic factions. Although the discussion is primarily of chronology and the elements of construction, the author seeks to convey to us his great admiration for the Romanesque art of Burgundy and observes the perfection of its designs without the common apologies for presumed barbarisms or technical insufficiencies or the lack of a noble naturalism. His antiquarian piety does not preclude an interest in more general archaeological problems, but in his remarks on architectural aesthetics and on the causes of the forms discussed, their historic origin and development, their relations to non-Burgundian works, he is a less safe guide. The scrupulous independence with which he attacks certain received notions on the dating of Burgundian churches yields here to an uncritical reliance upon authority favorable to his own ideas of the conservative "classicism" (and also originality) of his native architecture.

In the first chapter Oursel questions the pervasiveness of the Lombard style in Burgundy, limiting its influence to secondary features like decoration and the forms of towers. He would not be entirely justified even if his definition of the Lombard style as constituted by three "fundamental" elements, the alternate system of supports, the exterior galleries of the chevet, and the cubic capital, were correct. For other forms of construction which preceded and accompanied these in Lombardy are not considered; and that whole early Romanesque art common to Lombardy, Catalonia, and the Rhone basin is dismissed with a brief word. He conjectures that the nave of St.-Benigne at Dijon was vaulted, and that the nave piers were not alternately large and small in section as is commonly supposed, but that the heavier piers of square plan, mentioned in the chronicle of St.-Benigne, supported the main nave arcades, while the lighter piers stood between the side aisles, as in Como and Ripoll. In the same chapter Oursel revises the chronology of the church of St.-Philibert at Tournus. For him, the chevet was built by the abbot Stephen (c. 979); the whole narthex and the rest of the church, likewise by this abbot and his immediate successors. (Puig, *Le premier art roman*, 1928, p. 112, dates the narthex 1028-1056.) The fire of 1007-1008 accounts for the reconstruction of the nave, consecrated in 1019, and the inferior patching of the upper parts of the chevet. The central nave vaults were built under the abbot Peter I (1066-1107) above an earlier system of doubleaux and diaphragms. The common notion that the transverse barrel vaults copy Persian models or their derivatives is rejected, and the ingenious suggestion is made that it was to retain the preëxisting high windows that the vaults were sprung from the doubleaux rather than the upper nave walls.

Oursel attacks also the willful dating of the churches of Cluny, Paray-le-Monial, Vézelay, and Autun by French archaeologists who have rejected the testimony of docu-

ments to suit a preconception of the development of Romanesque architecture. From his revised chronology of 1088 to 1109 for the Cluny abbey church, a contemporary period for Paray-le-Monial, 1096 to about 1110 for the nave of Vézelay and 1120 to about 1135 for its narthex, and 1120 to 1132 for the cathedral of Autun, the powers of Romanesque builders appear to have attained an earlier maturity than has been supposed, and the height of Romanesque architecture in Burgundy is fixed in a period considerably earlier than the beginning of Gothic. The sculptures of these buildings are also implied in these dates. The revision of architectural chronology must include another view of the history of Romanesque sculpture—a view already sustained by Professor Porter.

The main thesis of the author—the predominant rôle of Cluny in the development of Burgundian architecture and sculpture, is presented in chapters 2, 3, and 5. This idea, which has all the marks of plausibility, has often been stated and as often contested. Viollet-le-Duc, in his intense admiration for Cluny, thought Cluny indeed the very founder of modern civilization, and considered it only just that it be credited with a school of building. It was observed, however, that unlike the Cistercian houses throughout Europe, the priories of Cluny even in Burgundy showed much diversity of structure, and that architectural forms similar to those of the destroyed abbey church of Cluny appeared above non-Cluniac foundations. Hence the Cluny building type was considered Burgundian rather than Cluniac, or if the name "Cluniac" was to be used it was because of the splendor and prestige of the Cluny example of the type rather than because of its Cluny origin. It is in this sense that a recent Utrecht University dissertation (Labouchere, *Compositie en Dispositie der Fransche Kerklorens inde 11de en 12de Eeuw. Een Bijdrage tot de Wordingsgeschiedenis der Gotiek*, Utrecht, 1927) speaks of a Cluny and a Tours tower type.

But Oursel, while rejecting Viollet-le-Duc's fantastic extension of the influence of a Cluniac school to its non-Burgundian priories, has reaffirmed the older theory of Cluny as the originator as well as diffuser of its architectural type. The abbey church of Cluny "defined . . . a style at that time entirely original and peculiar to this moment . . . Cluny gave the initial formula . . . and was not a follower or a corollary but really the innovating principle" (p. 97). To dispose of the common objections that the Cluniac abbey of Vézelay had another architecture and that the cathedral of Autun was as Cluniac in its building as it was independent in its government, he has culled in the histories of non-Cluniac churches with "Cluniac" buildings records of local family relations with abbots of Cluny, and likewise in the Cluniac priories without "Cluniac" forms he observes anti-Cluny factions, and some relation, ecclesiastical or family, to St.-Martin in Autun, a monastery inimical to Cluny. He goes even further. Troubled by the occasional departures from the Cluniac architectural canons within Burgundy, he seeks to explain them in terms of these group antagonisms. The barrel and groined vaults become the symbols of their respective users. Had Cluny used a groined instead of barrel vault in the nave, Vézelay would surely have employed the barrel!

Oursel's conception of a Cluniac school departs from the usual meaning of architectural schools as purely geographical delimitations of types rather than a statement of origin or influence. The name implies an art of the priories of Cluny—yet of the five Burgundian churches which resemble the great abbey church only one (Paray-le-Monial) belonged to Cluny. The name would be justified if it could be shown that the church at Cluny was the exclusive source of the forms of these five churches and that the constructing energies radiated from Cluny alone. In the case of Paray-le-Monial the resemblance to Cluny is so striking that there can be no doubt that the same architects were employed. But at Autun, Beaune, Saulieu, and Semur-en-Brionnais, various divergences from the Cluny forms point to other sources as well and to independent builders. The imitation of the Cluny church does not constitute a Cluniac school, especially since the antecedent architecture is unknown, and of the few examples of the type only one is a Cluniac priory. Thus, while the author detects numerous ecclesiastical relations between Burgundian churches and Cluny and indicates architectural parallels, he does not show that these relations were crucial for construction. He offers no positive evidence that the Cluny type is a spontaneous and original creation of Cluny itself and that all later forms are explicable only as copies of the first surviving example. He states (p. 64) that the church of Cluny was the "*terme d'une evolution*." This evolution might have been traced if the thesis proposed by the author was to win credibility. Rivoira, in his prejudiced dogmatic analytic method, wrote of the alleged original characteristics of the Cluny church, "we cannot find a single one." (*Origine*, 1907, II, p. 180.) But even a critic so favorable to notions of Cluniac originality as Professor Porter has spoken recently of the "Cluniac monks who fetched to France architecture from Spain and painting from Italy and who were so evidently under the strong spell of English art." (*Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 1928, I, p. 8.) Oursel observes that the architect of the Cluny church was Hezelon, formerly a canon of Liège, but he does not follow up this interesting observation, although the resemblance of the tower grouping and the double transepts of Cluny to those of German Romanesque churches and Carolingian buildings of northeastern France (St.-Riquier) is well known.

Choisy, who believed in the existence of a Cluniac school, saw its great originality less in the elements of classic construction than in the raising of the nave vault above a clerestory wall, an innovation of the greatest importance for Gothic architecture, and, according to Choisy, unknown before the building of the Cluny abbey church. Yet the church of St.-Étienne at Nevers, begun almost a generation before that of Cluny, shows precisely this feature, and several others common in later Burgundian architecture. The Nevers church departs from the usual system of the pilgrimage type, to which it is attributed, in this very detail of the clerestory. If the latter is a copy of Burgundian architecture, as Choisy conjectured, then the currency of this *motif* in Burgundy before the construction of the Cluny abbey church must be inferred. And if, on the other hand, it entered Burgundy from Nevers or elsewhere the theory of a unique Cluny source

is also weakened. Other Auvergnat features present in Nevers are later reproduced in Cluny, Paray, and other Burgundian churches (dome on squinches, columnar buttresses, billet string courses around the windows, roll modillions, ambulatory with radial chapels, apse arcade on columns or cylindrical piers, polychromed masonry, barrel-vaulted transepts). It is quite probable that these elements were already well known in Burgundy in the eleventh century and that the later Romanesque examples were following already long implanted traditions.

This elevation of the vault above the clerestory appears also in those groin-vaulted buildings attributed by Oursel to a school of St.-Martin of Autun. In our ignorance of the architecture of the latter it is unjustified to explain a type of construction by a purely political relation of churches, a relation of which the significance for building is not at all established. The use of similar groined vaulting in the naves of the Crusaders' churches in Palestine, and in the aisles of the supposedly Cluniac churches should lead us further to question such a solution.

The application of this political division of types to the ornament of Burgundian churches involves several contradictions. Oursel neglects the important fact that the capitals of Paray-le-Monial, a church patronized by Hugo of Cluny and built by his architects, are unlike those of Cluny despite the intimate relations of the two buildings. In Anzy-le-Duc, of which the architecture is for the author a reflection of the anti-Cluniac forces of St.-Martin of Autun, many carvings are thoroughly in the spirit of the Cluny atelier. This is also so apparent in Vézelay, the outstanding exponent of anti-Cluniac architecture, that the author halts to explain the obvious anomaly. The abbots who constructed Vézelay, he says, were all Cluniacs, but in the design of their building had to concede to the independent spirit of their community. For the carved ornament, however, they had to rely on Cluny, which alone could furnish expert sculptors.

If an economic or artistic necessity determined the character of the sculpture, we cannot so readily accept an explanation of the architectural forms which omits these very factors of materials, taste, local traditions, and the architects. Actually, the distinctions between the two types of buildings, the barrel-vaulted Cluniac with clerestory, and the groined-vaulted structures of the opposed faction of St.-Martin are hardly so clear and homogeneous as is supposed. Vézelay, for example, employs the triple division of vertical shafts of the nave by horizontal moldings, common to Cluny, Paray, and Autun, and adds to this a decoration very close to that of Cluny. The egg-moldings of the Paray arches appear in Avallon and Vézelay, both groined-vaulted buildings. If the false triforium is absent from Vézelay it appears in Gourdon, another non-Cluniac groined-vaulted church.

The ecclesiastical relations invoked by Oursel may explain the intrusive appearance of a form far from its place of origin, but not its genesis. A hypothetical explanation of the choice of a groined vault above the nave in terms of climate and materials such as is given by Puig in his recent work is preferable to the political explanation suggested by Oursel, although also subject to doubt.

The fourth chapter, *The Characters and Acquisitions of the Romanesque School of Burgundy*, in an excellent account

of the various building-types and forms of the region, illustrates the diversity of mediaeval architecture and confounds the narrow modern classifications. Oursel supposes, despite the apparent disorder in the geographical distribution of types, that there is an underlying localization and grouping that corresponds to ancient ethnic, cultural, political, or geographical divisions. The unexpected appearance of some foreign detail may be attributed to the influence of individuals or family relations, as in his theories of the Cluniac and St.-Martin schools; whereas the common characters of all the schools derive from the profound impression of a persistent Roman background.

While he does not deny the presence of Oriental elements in Romanesque architecture, he thinks that Roman and Gallo-Roman civilization were of greater importance for mediaeval building. He suggests Roman influence on the architecture of the Near East, including that of Asia Minor, Egypt, and even Mesopotamia. In his inventory of classic elements in the Romanesque architecture of his region, he fails to distinguish between the Greek, the Roman, the Hellenistic, the Early Christian, and the Roman provincial, so that a Burgundian form traceable to any of these sources is regarded as an illustration of an indigenous classic tradition. Thus the use of the barrel and groined vaults by the Romans constitutes evidence of the native origin of the Romanesque practice, although no classic examples in Burgundy are cited, and the Early Christian basilicas of Italy are not vaulted. The triple division of the interior elevation of Romanesque churches (nave arcade, triforium, and clerestory) is specified as of Latin basilical origin, and the superposition of columnar shafts and pilasters in Burgundian buildings is saluted for its exceptional classic purity. The author refers here to the "orders," as if there were a literal copying of a Roman elevation. The citation of the crossing tower as a Roman element is incorrect since only one early example is known in Italy, at Spoleto, in a building of particularly Eastern character. Nor does the fact that it appears in Merovingian Gaul mean that its use in the Romanesque period is a survival of classic art. For it is unclassic in construction and design; and the two common theories of its origin imply the one an Eastern source, the other a local origin in wood construction.

The author does not distinguish between the technique of vaulting and the particular place of the vault in the building type. Hence, the unquestionable persistence of Roman methods of stone cutting and vaulting is identified with a Roman origin of the vaulting systems. He quotes Puig on the resemblance of Catalonian Romanesque vaults to the earlier Roman, but he does not state the same author's conviction as to the Near Eastern origin of the vaulted-church type. An especially flagrant abuse of Roman parallels is the reference to the Roman domed edicule of St.-Martin at Beurey (Beaugay, Cote d'Or) in Burgundy as proof of the indigenous source of the domes on pendentives of Aquitaine. Since de Lasteyrie and Bréhier have also concluded so much from this object, it deserves a more adequate description. There is a cast of it in the Musée de la Société Eduenne in Autun (no. 133), and a drawing in de Lasteyrie's *L'architecture religieuse à l'époque romane* (fig. 268). The fountain was

covered by a very shallow saucer dome on pendentives of the same curvature as the dome. The whole is *monolithic*, and the span of the pendentive arch is less than three feet. The dome rises only about six inches from its base. The work is purely decorative, rather than a typical classic construction, and is carved with palmettes, acanthus, rosettes, and imbricated leaves such as appear on Gallo-Roman stelae. It is a confusion of architectural type and technique to interpret the Romanesque domes which are associated with a special plan and scale in terms of this decorative piece. The dome and pendentives here if the terms may be applied except by metaphor, are sculptured, not constructed. By a similar method the Lombard bands and arcuation might be considered local German inventions when they appear in the Rhineland, or Spanish in the Pyrenees, since the Roman stelae of these regions sometimes show this *motif* as a frame for a group of figures (Esperandieu, *Recueil des bas-reliefs gallo-romains*, VI, no. 4516, VIII, no. 5924, p. 33, IX, no. 6918).

Oursel does not inquire into the causes of the classicism of some Romanesque buildings in Burgundy. The remarkably meticulous imitation of the Corinthian capital at Cluny and Vézelay, the copying of the Porte d'Arroux in the cathedral of Autun, the frequent use of fluted pilasters and moldings of Roman profile and ornament, are for him simply illustrations of the powerful Roman traditions of the country. But it may be questioned whether the employment of these Roman details was traditional, a continuous practice transmitted from century to century, since the eleventh century buildings and small churches show very few such details. Did not the architects in the late eleventh century and in the twelfth modify a native style, itself unlike Roman art, by imposing on it visible Roman forms of the region? In this sense the copying of Roman art was not traditional but intrusive and eclectic. It was a brief episode between an earlier Romanesque and a Gothic style, both unclassic. The figure carvings which accompany the Romanesque Corinthian capitals in Burgundy are quite innocent of such retrospective imitation. The whole subject of the Gallo-Roman contributions to Romanesque art and the character of the so-called proto-Renaissance of the twelfth century still lacks an adequate investigation. It is interesting for Oursel's thesis of Cluniac leadership and native classicism that in the twelfth century catalogue of the Cluny library a manuscript of Vitruvius is listed, in a collection unusually rich in Roman authors. (Delisle, *Inventaire des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluni*, 1884, *Appendix*, pp. 337 ff., no. 30).

This problem of Romanesque classicism in Burgundy has been the subject of recent studies by von Luecken (*Die Anfänge der burgundischen Schule*, Basel, 1922) and Kautsch (*Werdende Gotik und Antike in der burgundischen Bau-Kunst des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Vorträge*, 1924, 1925, of the Bibliothek Warburg, 1927, pp. 331 ff.), which are not mentioned by Oursel. Both authors have accepted the late chronology of Cluny which Oursel is at pains to correct. Von Luecken supposed that the Romanesque builders who had achieved a great virtuosity readily adopted *motifs* from the Roman remains of the region which accorded so well with their own interest in architectural richness. But Kautsch, while admitting the

novelty of the classic *motifs* in a Romanesque setting, interprets them as the result of a tendency parallel to an incipient Gothic of the later eleventh century, expressed in the great height or narrowness of naves and in the emphasis on the skeletal structure of the building rather than on the walls. The opposed classic tendency favored ampler spacing, horizontal lines, and the accenting of broad flat surfaces. The Gothic tendency he calls irrational and unworldly, the classic he explains as the expression of a new worldliness or extroversion in Romanesque man. Kautsch's essay is valuable as a description of style, but as an explanation of it, depends on too arbitrary a selection of evidence and too fantastic a psychology to be worth discussion. In one instance he has cited as typical of the classic feeling of the later mediaeval Frenchman of the south the cathedral of Toulouse of which the rib-vaulted nave, despite the pointed arches and buttresses, is of equal height and breadth. He has been deceived, however, by his illustration, fig. 7, a cross-section not of the Gothic cathedral of Toulouse that has quite other proportions and construction, but of the remnant of the earlier cathedral, that stands off axis before the present one. This earlier building was begun in the Romanesque period, and so much remanent that its present proportions, involving a Romanesque plan and elevation (with round-arched windows and capitals like those of St.-Sernin) and an early Gothic vault, can hardly be considered evidence of Kautsch's otherwise conventional observation. The proportions of the church of the Jacobins in Toulouse and of the purely Gothic portion of the cathedral suffice, however, to refute him.

The last chapter in Oursel's book discusses Burgundian sculpture and the rôle and place of Cluny in the renaissance of Romanesque art in France. It is a reprint, with a few changes, of the author's article in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1923, I. He successfully refutes the late chronology of Burgundian sculpture defended by Monsieur Deschamps and agrees in many points with the conclusions of Professor Porter. He hesitates, however, to accept the 1088-1095 date assigned by the latter to the Cluny ambulatory capitals, since the three additional caps preserved seem to him more archaic and really of this period. Rejecting the common dating of the ambulatory group in the second quarter of the twelfth century, he considers a time shortly after 1095 most probable. Thus the capitals of Cluny are the prototypes of the Burgundian style seen at Vézelay, Anzy-le-Duc, Saulieu, and Autun rather than the culminating work of this series. The Vézelay nave caps are placed in the period 1104 to 1120, while the tympana of both Autun and Vézelay are attributed to the same date of about 1132. His supposition that the destroyed tympanum of Cluny was finished before 1130 is readily verifiable by the style of the fragments excavated by Professor Conant. But in remarking of this sculpture now, no longer visible and known by poor engravings, that "nowhere, if an image of Christ in majesty already existed (for example at Charlieu), had the subject been treated with such amplitude or with so complete an understanding of its ordonnance," he shows more piety than artistic judgment.

This same devotion to Cluny is apparent in his discussion of its rôle in the development of Romanesque

sculpture. Oursel does not list specific evidences of Cluny's part in the production of sculpture outside Burgundy but affirms as self-evident that "Cluny established or helped establish an entire system of dogmatic instruction by the sculptured image," and "if Cluny, in giving an energetic impulse to Christianity and to the Benedictine order, contributed powerfully to the elaboration of a veritable method of apologetics in images, a doctrinal instruction in stone, as everything permits us to conjecture, by the genius of its great abbots, it is simply logical (and the dates confirm it) to attribute to the great Burgundian abbey, the chief of the order, the primacy in the diffusion of this program" (p. 199). The systems of Romanesque decoration are, however, of much more ancient origin; there is hardly a common theme of twelfth century tympanum sculpture which is not also a commonplace of earlier art, whether in wall painting, illumination, stucco, or metal work. And it is surely incorrect to say that if Cluny produced the finest works and contributed to a program Cluny therefore diffused it. For the represented "doctrines" derive from the practices of the early church and the Carolingian period. The method itself is much older than Cluny. The subjects of the Cluny ambulatory caps are, on the other hand, the rarest of *motifs* in Romanesque sculpture, and their peculiar typological symbolism and grouping are apparent in Carolingian art and in German miniatures of the tenth and eleventh centuries (cf. Porter in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1, Sept., 1924, p. 16). The Burgundian tympana themselves show too great a variety of themes to be explicable as products of a simple Cluniac iconographic instruction. Oursel is more plausible when he remarks in a footnote (p. 201) that "at this period, the centers of art and culture were multiple, they exercised upon each other a reciprocal action that favored the perpetual movement imposed not only upon some influential figures but on the whole anonymous throng by politics, family alliances, wars and crusades, pilgrimages, and the government of the church and the monasteries."

This is especially apparent in the case of Cluniac art, which drew upon the most varied sources. In explanation of the style of Romanesque sculpture in Burgundy Oursel stresses the contacts of Cluny with Benedictine Italian art. The Cluniac chapel of Berzé-la-Bille is decorated by wall paintings of the late eleventh century of marked Italo-Byzantine character. In the paintings of Italy both Oursel and Terret have observed the elongated figures and animated draperies of Burgundian sculpture. "It is there too that may be found the origin of the tradition and the methods borrowed by the sculptors of our great works of monumental decoration and spread by Cluny throughout twelfth century France. The chain of artistic connections is thus easily established." He cites also the artistic relations with Germany manifest in the copying and illumination of a Bible at Cluny by Albert, a monk of Trier. Hezelon's Liège origin reminds him of the wonderful precocity of the Liège font. On the latter he quotes Laurent's opinion that "a great part of its beauty is manifestly due to the knowledge of ancient monuments."

These relations of Cluniac art with Germany and Italy deserve more investigation; in the works of Terret and Oursel they are still the subject of simple generalities. Porter has called attention to the resemblance of the Cluny

caps to the earlier sculptures of Werden. The pre-Romanesque architecture of Cluny that is not at all discussed by Oursel has been a matter of much speculation in Germany because of the appearance of elements described in the Cluniac "customs" of Farfa in several German buildings of the eleventh century. (v. Mettler, *Zeitschrift fuer Gesch. d. Arch.*, 1910, 1911, 1913). I have remarked in the last volume of *The Art Bulletin* the Germanic character of the initial ornament of some Cluny manuscripts. This does not, however, contradict the presence of Italian elements in the style of figure painting. The appearance of the rare theme of the Virgo Lactans in sculptures at Paray-le-Monial (tympanum from Anzy-le-Duc) and Liège, in a Metz ivory in Paris, and in a Cîteaux manuscript at Dijon (*v. Art Bull.* VII, 1, Sept., 1924, fig. 30) is especially interesting in the light of the relations of Cluny with Liège and the Rhineland.

The derivation of the Burgundian style of sculpture from Italian painting and its subsequent diffusion throughout France are far less obvious than Oursel supposes. The same elongation, movement, and multiplication of fine folds, appear not only in English and North French manuscripts, as Professor Morey has shown, but are as common in German manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. (v. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, I, pls. 81 ff.). Hence these elements as such are not true criteria of contact. The whole explanation of the sources of Romanesque style in Spain, France, and Italy, based upon the isolation of these features and their comparison with manuscript illumination of a given school, without attention to their actual universality, must be reexamined in the light of more specific resemblances of both style and iconography.

To establish more firmly the independence of Cluniac art and his theory of the Cluny source of the common Romanesque manner, Oursel examines the title of the sculptures of Toulouse and Moissac to the leading rôle granted to them by other French students. He is quite correct to insist on the error of this older view, but to prove his point he commits other errors and presents as distorted a view of Languedoc sculpture. He limits the earliest works of Languedoc to the year 1100, the date of the Moissac cloister; but of the reliefs of the cloister he accepts only those of the piers as of this period. The capitals he attributes to a later time on the faith of Rupin's most superficial study. He calls the caps uniform in style, and decidedly different from the piers, whereas at least three styles are observable in the caps. Of these, only one, that of the caps of the south gallery, is sufficiently different from the pier reliefs to justify even a consideration of a later date. My own study of the capitals leads me to accept the inscribed date of 1100 as the *terminus ante quem* of the whole cloister, and in this Professors Porter and Hamann concur. The paleographical evidence presented by Rupin is incomplete because he failed to observe an uncial T among the pier inscriptions and overlooked square C's on the caps. He did not indicate the distribution of the archaic and "advanced" forms, but lumped all the cap inscriptions together as if they were uniformly more advanced than those of the piers, whereas in fact some of the caps show a paleography decidedly more primitive than any of the piers, while the most refined script appears

on caps with very archaic figure style. The other arguments of Rupin drawn from the materials and the construction are irrelevant. It is impossible to discuss them in a review. Oursel also discredits the early dating of the Moissac tympanum, c. 1115, because Aymeric, a late fourteenth century abbot of Moissac, who attributed the portal to this date, gave poor reasons for what might well have been a traditional fact. Oursel does not sustain this inference of a later date except by the notion of an "aesthetic hiatus" implicit in the earlier traditional dating!

But even if the Moissac works were as late as he supposes, it is an abuse of evidence to presume that the history of art is simply a matter of a few works that have survived or of those that are well known. Oursel does not inquire what evidences there are of the creation of sculpture in Languedoc before 1100 nor to what extent the character of the works of 1100 points to an earlier practice. Numerous remains of eleventh century sculpture survive in southwest France. Even in Toulouse, of which he says the sculptures have no rigorously certain dates but only chronological approximations, there are many capitals of the last quarter of the eleventh century. The south transept portal of St.-Sernin was completed before 1093, as we will show elsewhere, and some part of the building was already constructed in 1083, since it is recorded that in this year there was a fight in the church between the count of Toulouse and the canons. But these are not the only sculptures in the southwest before 1100. A fragment of the celebrated tomb of St.-Front at Périgueux, sculptured by Guinamundus in 1077, still survives and shows that the works of 1100 were not without their local predecessors. The relations of Moissac with Périgueux were not only architectural (the Romanesque church of Moissac was of the domed type of Aquitaine), for there was a chapel of St.-Front at Moissac and the abbey owned a priory at Cénac (near Périgueux) which still retains its sculptured capitals of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The later Moissac abbot, Aymeric, upon visiting Cénac was struck by sculptures of animals in this priory which he attributed to the time of Anquetil (1085-1115) and found very similar to the carvings of the Moissac trumeau. Sculptured caps in a tiny priory of Moissac, at Pommevic, a few miles from the former, dated 1052, indicate that the now destroyed Moissac building of 1063 surely had sculptured decoration. Historiated caps of c. 1060 are preserved in the church of St.-Sever, and other churches of this region confirm the existence of figure sculpture in southwest France before 1100. It is interesting to note that Isarn, abbot of St.-Victor of Marseilles, whose beautiful tomb of c. 1048 has been reproduced by Porter, was a native of the Toulouse country. But sculpture even earlier than the middle of the eleventh century survives at Toulouse. A relief from the church of Mancieux near Toulouse, now in the Musée des Augustins of the city, shows two Christ-bearing angels, of a style and ornament more like Carolingian art than Romanesque.

Oursel believes that the style of the tympanum of Moissac cannot be local because it departs from the manner of Toulouse. But Moissac belonged to the diocese of Cahors rather than Toulouse, and its architecture and manuscript painting point northward to Aquitaine rather than to the Toulousain region. Besides, the sculpture of

Toulouse shows a great variety; there were several ateliers in Toulouse about the year 1100. A similar reasoning would have to dispose of Cluny art as indigenous since the Cluny caps depart not only from the style of the works at Paray and Charlieu but from the Cluniac manuscript-paintings and frescoes. In qualification of his earlier statement that the peculiarly animated manner in French sculpture came from Italy via Cluny he admits that the Moissac and Cluny works may have had a common source. Because he has followed Rupin in dating the Moissac cloister caps a generation later than the piers and in treating them as if of one uniform style, he has overlooked the presence of conventions of drapery and linear devices similar to the tympanum in a group of caps in the south gallery of the Moissac cloister. But these are not the only evidences of the existence of the "high Romanesque" manner as early as 1100. The relief miscalled the Signs of the Zodiac (in the museum at Toulouse), which is earlier than 1103, since imitated at Santiago in that year, also shows an approach to the manner of the Moissac tympanum. And numerous parallels to the latter may be found in the wall paintings and miniatures of Aquitaine of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The mid-eleventh century date of the St.-Sever Beatus is also a guarantee of the local Aquitaine origin of the Moissac tympanum style. The very presence of this manner in Silos, where it is intrusive and foreign, as early as 1075 confirms this inference. The departure from some preceding works in Moissac and Toulouse is no evidence of dependence on foreign models since the full range of the local art is only imperfectly known and the boundaries of the region have been incorrectly defined. As one indication of a possible copying of Cluniac art in Moissac, Oursel observes that the rare theme of the

Hebrews in the furnace in the Moissac cloister is not of Beatus origin, as Mâle had conjectured, since it appears also in a Citeaux manuscript dated 1109. He says that if it existed at Citeaux in 1109 it perhaps also existed in a Bible at Cluny. But neither Oursel nor Mâle has undertaken to compare the iconography of the theme in its three occurrences at Moissac, Citeaux (i. e., Cluny!), and in the Beatus manuscripts. In one Citeaux manuscript (Dijon 641) the Hebrews' busts rather than their entire figures are rendered, in a furnace, beneath an angel, while in the Bible of Stephen Harding (finished in 1109) Christ appears in the furnace protecting the three Hebrews. In the latter scene the King and his court attend the miracle.

The Moissac iconography is quite different and refers back to the Early Christian art of southern France. In Moissac the Hebrews wear Persian dress and stand orant between the flames, an angel at their side. This very type is preserved in an Early Christian relief in the Musée des Augustins at Toulouse. It once existed also in as early a carving at Agen, near Moissac.

Another Early Christian example in Cadiz is carved on a slab of white marble that seems of foreign import to Professor Porter. The theme was also represented in the sixth century mosaics of La Daurade in Toulouse. In the Beatus manuscripts the Hebrews stand orant, but their costume is not Persian as in Moissac. A furnace absent from the latter encloses them. Hence neither Mâle nor Oursel is justified in his iconographic remarks about the probable sources of this theme at Moissac.

Meyer Schapiro





LIST OF BOOKS
FOR A
COLLEGE ART LIBRARY

Compiled by
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FOR THE
Committee on Books for the College Art Library
ARTHUR POPE, *Chairman*



FOREWORD

TO those familiar with the earlier book list published by the College Art Association, the following compilation needs little introduction. Again it is primarily a list for undergraduate work, a nucleus around which to build further with the aid of bibliographies found in general manuals, special monographs, and the book sections of current periodicals.

The factors of price, availability, and language have been taken into account in making the selection. The list has been checked with the Catalogue of Books in Print in the United States, January 1, 1928. Since that date some prices will have inevitably changed and some books gone out of print (o. p.). No attempt has been made to identify as out of print books published outside of the United States, nor to list their prices. The year 1928 has been accepted as the closing date of the list. Museum handbooks and sales catalogues have not, as a rule, been included and the general reference works have been taken for granted.

The arrangement of the list is principally chronological to accord with the usual college courses. For convenience, books on prominent artists are grouped under their names. These appear also in the index which is otherwise by authors and which represents, it is hoped, an improvement over the earlier list. Since future lists are contemplated, suggestions for further improvement will be gratefully received.

For aid and advice, acknowledgements are due to the staff of the Fogg Museum; to Professor F. J. Roos, of Ohio University, who helped in checking numerous printed bibliographies and in the preliminary classification; and to Professor Arthur Pope who, as Chairman of the Committee on Books for the College Art Library, has offered every help and encouragement.

E. L. L.



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COLLEGE ART LIBRARY

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Histories, Handbooks, Etc.

- ADELINE, J. *Adeline's art dictionary, containing a complete index of all terms used in art, architecture, heraldry, and archaeology.* N. Y., Appleton, 1910. \$3.50.
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 Art bulletin
 Art digest
 Art in America
 Art news
 Art studies
 L'arte
 Arts
 Arts and decoration
 Artwork

 Belvedere
 Boletín de la sociedad española des excursiones
 Bolletino d'arte
 British museum quarterly
 Bulletin monumental
 Burlington magazine
 Byzantinische zeitschrift

 Cicerone
 Colour
 Connoisseur

 Dedalo
 Deutsche kunst und dekoration

 Eastern art

 Gazette des beaux-arts

International studio
 Ipek

 Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen instituts
 Jahrbuch der preussischen kunstsammlungen
 Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen sammlungen
 Jahrbuch für kunstwissenschaft
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 Journal of Hellenic studies

 Kokka
 Kunst und künstler

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 Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen instituts
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 Münchener jahrbuch der bildenden kunst
 Mouseion

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REVIEWS

ART AND THE REFORMATION. By G. G. Coulton. 622 pp.; 26 pls.; 89 figs. 8 vo. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. \$7.50.

In this study, G. G. Coulton sets himself the task of tracing "very briefly the rise and decay of Mediaeval Art" and of proving "first, that its origin was less definitely religious than is commonly supposed; secondly, that its decay was gradual—a logical and natural consequence of its evolution—and lastly, that its deathblow came not so much from the Reformation as from that general transforming of the western intellect which we call the Renaissance." "Art" he limits to Romanesque and Gothic art as developed in architecture and sculpture, and "religion" to the Christian religion of western Europe as determined by ecclesiastical pronouncement and popular interpretation between 1000 and 1600.

Less than a tenth of the book is given to the rise of mediaeval art and the monastic architecture which spread over Europe during the two hundred and fifty years which followed the founding of Cluny, that dynamic order of reform whose influence stimulated activity in every field of ecclesiastical interest. The author treats briefly and rather spottily this long period of accumulation, appropriation, systematization, tentative endeavor, during which monastic wealth and direction, but not, he insists, monastic craftsmanship, dotted Europe with Romanesque abbey churches; enough evidence of the infrequency of monk craftsmen is presented from contemporary sources to make the reader wary of accepting, without such complete proof as has not yet been offered, a statement like the following taken from Professor C. H. Moore's *Gothic Architecture*: "The monastic buildings were not only planned, and the works on them directed, by the monks but they were also largely, if not entirely, constructed with their own hands." Then the author discusses the non-monastic, frequently non-ecclesiastical, forces behind the crowning achievement of the thirteenth century, the French Gothic cathedrals, toward the rearing of which civic ambition, commercial wealth, royal munificence, guildsmen's generosity, and lay craftsmanship joined with episcopal pride and compulsion.

The main body of the volume, as the title would lead us to expect, deals with the decay of Gothic art. The argument, reduced to its lowest terms, runs as follows: 1—Gothic art is not fundamentally inspired by mediaeval religion, but is the vehicle of expression of people living in northern environments, where the barbaric elements of culture persisted with less marked intermixture of classical influences than was observable further south; as the traveler from the Ile-de-France moves toward Rome, the fountainhead of mediaeval Christianity, the fewer Gothic monuments does he find. 2—The decline of Gothic was not due to the prevalence of lay workers, for in the purest period of the great style and even in the days of "monastic Romanesque" the number of lay workers far exceeded that of monk artists. Scattered through the volume is abundant

and absorbingly interesting material from contemporary sources which describes the work, wages, numbers, interests of lay craftsmen. 3—The decay of Gothic art is evident in the fourteenth century, even earlier than protests of Wyclif and the Lollards. It can be seen in non-structural decoration, in overelaboration of detail, in imitative work such as the filigree stone arches of Bristol cathedral which simulate open wooden roof-work, in the repetitive "veneer of fretwork paneling" of the Perpendicular "draping" of Gloucester cathedral, in shopwork done as early as 1330-1340 in English cathedrals, and, according to Viollet-le-Duc, in St.-Denis. Coulton's multiplication of evidence plays havoc with the easy, lazy *post hoc* argument. 4—The decline of Gothic is caused by and accompanies the gradual, but revolutionary, change in mental attitude and content of both ecclesiastics and laymen during the Renaissance, and is marked by non-religious, rather than merely non-Catholic interests. As for the elements in Gothic art so eloquently mourned by the great French mediaevalist, Mâle, their deathblow came from the fatally important new interest in historical research. The Italian humanist, Lorenzo Valla, and the German Cardinal Nicholas de Cues, a century before Luther, began the work which "put an end to that long tradition of legends and poetry and dreams" perpetuated in Gothic manuscripts, painting, and sculpture. The Council of Trent acknowledged the impossibility of separating theology from history and discarded what its scholars would not retain. This, says Mâle, was the result of iconoclastic Protestantism; this, says Coulton, was because the Renaissance "had begun to show that a good half of this art reposed upon legends which would not bear examination." A cloud of witnesses surround and support this testimony—witnesses as varied as Chaucer, the Franciscan William of Melton, his early fifteenth century contemporary St. Antonino of Florence, St. Charles Borromeo, the Spanish humanist Ludovicus Vives, Melchior Cano, who won fame at the Council of Trent, and Molanus. 5—The new secular interests of the Renaissance found greater stimulation in classical than in Christian sources, and the return to older models intensified in Italy the never lost dependence on the antique; beyond Italy the new interpretation of the antique spread until it became the dominant form of expression. This change was supported by popes as well as by princes, and was theologically, as well as artistically, a "solvent of Roman Catholic tradition." 6—Since the Renaissance, and even to-day, in anticlerical France and in Protestant England, buildings in the Gothic style have been preserved and erected with more understanding and appreciation than in the most Catholic countries of Spain and Italy. Here we have a return to the earlier argument that the forces of the physical environment play their part in the development of style, and that the religious spirit of the Middle Ages expressed itself fervently in various architectural forms, none of which can be claimed as the Christian style.

In the course of his arguments, the author collects such a treasure-trove from the documents covering a thousand years of Christian thought and expression that his study is of great interest to the student of general history as well as to the student of the history of art. Sometimes one loses track of the main arguments while reading chapters on *The Mason's Mark*, *The Hand Grip*, *Architectural Finance*, and other topics of social and economic interest running all the way from wages, fines, industrial accidents, to episcopal promoting and the destruction of ancient Rome by mediaeval and Renaissance builders. This somewhat undisciplined, repetitive presentation of riches makes it difficult at times, even with *Table of Contents* and *Index*, to find concrete information scattered through the pages; for instance, the chapter entitled *From Prentice to Master* might with equal propriety have been called *Wages and the High Cost of Living*, or *Misfits in the Angel Choir*, or *An Age of Acquiescence*, or *John Petty's Will*, or *The Patron and the Painter*, for the material relating to the chapter title fills but three of the twenty-three pages. So interesting is the material presented that one wishes for more space to call attention to *The People's Mind* and *The Poor Man's Bible*, chapters which explain the formative influence of popular interpretation and superstition acting upon mediaeval art, and the impossibility of regarding church sculpture as the poor man's Bible because of the extraordinary paucity of Bible subjects used. Attention should be given also to the tracking down of the sources for Montalembert's widely accepted generalizations about the artistic creativeness of monks, and a discovery of the astounding fragility of the foundations upon which the dogmatic theory was reared; through the lines one senses the joy of the hunt and the delight of killing the bird which sings off the key of Coulton's theme and of saving the *rara avis* of his own theory with one and the same stone. One should at least note the wealth of contemporary sources quoted to explain the destructive forces of the rebuilding passion of the late mediaeval and the Renaissance periods, before which mediaeval monuments of beauty and distinction disappeared from all parts of Europe.

Through this multiplication of contemporary evidence Coulton attains the second purpose in writing this volume—to provide a source book of material inaccessible to the average student. This double objective, to explain the decay of Gothic art, and to provide a source book, leads the author into repetition and other defects of arrangement already referred to. These defects mar the final chapter, also. The summing up is disappointing; it is interesting, it is pleasing, it is provocative, and at times stimulates the questing mind, but it is loose in construction and wandering in matter. Surely the last chapter should be highly significant, should gather up for the business of generalization the competent, incisive, selective qualities which distinguish much of the writing; but one finds a softer, discursive, persuasive manner which comes as anticlimax in a martial book. The book is an amplification of the Lowell Lectures of 1923, and is dedicated in the preface "with hearty gratitude, to those who did so much to lighten my burden of work in America, and to send me home with a still firmer belief in the future of that country." The return in the final chapter to gratitude and America and sky scrapers and the "teeming population" still further

confuses an already confused and too little related series of paragraphs. Among the *Appendixes*, however, the author recaptures the scholarly attention to evidence which commands respect and attention, a power of sympathetic and imaginative interpretation of facts and figures which illumines dark corners in other than the purely economic or artistic fields, a joyous confounding of the enemy Ralph Adams Cram, for instance, out of the writings of the very period which that author seeks to explain in *The Gothic Quest*. These qualities are among the excellences of the book: reliance on carefully considered sources, sympathetic insight and imaginative generalization, a courteous effort to win the interest and intelligent support of the reader, and joy in the task.

Amy Dunlap

LA PEINTURE HOLLANDAISE. By Clotilde Brière-Misme. 8 vo. 58 pp.; 64 pls. Paris, Van Oest, 1927.

The history of Dutch painting written by Clotilde Brière-Misme begins with a few words on the political history of Holland. This leads up to the year 1566, when the iconoclasts destroyed the greater part of early Dutch art.

"Master Geertgen" is the first Dutch artist whose work is discussed. Two movements are observed in the period following Geertgen, both of which turn away from the piety of the primitives. One is under the influence of the Italian Renaissance and shows aesthetic tendencies. It culminates with Rubens. The other movement is realistic in character. Its home was in the northern provinces. One of its chief expressions was portraiture, with Hals and Rembrandt as the great masters in this particular field.

The portrait is traced in its development from the religious donor portrait down to the end of the eighteenth century. Realism was always an essential in this branch of Dutch art. The guild pictures are discussed. It is explained that historical painting never flourished in Holland. *Genre* painting is analyzed and emphasis is laid on Italian influence. Architectural paintings were not numerous. The still-life painters are traced back to the period of Pieter Aertsen. Metsu, Kalf, Sorgh, Chardin, and Van Huysum are mentioned here. Linked with the still-life artists are the animal painters: Weenix, the Hondcoeter family, Cuyp, Asselyn, Potter, and others. Landscape is supposed to have come under the influence of Italy. Hobbema and Ruysdael receive special attention. A whole chapter is devoted to Rembrandt. The decline of Dutch art is described, and finally the influence of Holland on the art of other countries.

The author is typically French in her appreciation of Dutch art. She loves animation and consequently reacts to the little pantomimes in the *genre* paintings in which she sees social life reflected first of all. It is a little less refined than the life of the "*Fetes galantes*," but the author looks upon it with the same devotion.

She loves spirituality and her heart is open not only to the joy which radiates from some of Frans Hals' portraits, but also to the melancholy of some of his other works. Through his melancholy Hals is related to Rembrandt.

She loves open air and sunshine and wants it expressed in a lyrical way; so she gives a very fine description of

Ruysdael's work. She regards his landscapes as expressions of various moods of mind. Spiritual significance is given to the movement of the clouds in his paintings. Here again she detects melancholy.

She loves beauty and decoration, and still-life is perhaps one of the few fields of Dutch art in which both are sometimes naturally combined. Still-life is called in French "*nature morte*." Most likely this term was given to the sober still-lives which did not contain live elements. Many of these were painted in Holland at an early period as detail in religious painting, later on as individual subjects. Their sobriety is as impressive as the love with which the artist must have controlled his talent in order to overcome the technical problems connected with the rendering of some of the most simple objects which are many times lacking in specific decorative beauty. It is only natural for the French author to react more to the work of those artists who added fruit and game to eye-pleasing objects and who sometimes arranged their still-lives with almost theatrical taste, so that they formed an apotheosis. The author characterizes very well Dutch painting when she writes: "*La Hollande taciturne tend à repousser toute emphase décorative pour exprimer la personnalité intime des objets . . .*" and does not this sentence also reflect her racial love for "*un peu plus d'emphase décorative?*"

But, as seen from a Dutch point of view, there are some other features which are important in regard to the valuation of the art of the Low Countries. The motives of the artists might have had some attention.

The Dutch painter loves light, local color, and local texture. He wants to express space. If he must sacrifice any of these elements, he will sacrifice light least willingly. The serious paintings by "Master Geertgen," a fantastic scene by Jerome Bosch, a still-life by Heda, an interior by Brekelenkam, a portrait by Fabritius, and I add here also some examples of nineteenth century art, an interior by Israels, a landscape by Jacob Maris—all these pictures reflect that love of light.

Vermeer painted his interiors for the sake of the beautiful display of light and color and texture. The character of the persons represented and their social relations are of secondary importance. They do not play a greater rôle than the characters of the singers in a choir to which we are listening. We hear Bach, Palestrina, and so we see Vermeer. Some of his paintings are in a cool silver-gray tone. He must have loved the light of Holland when the sun tries to break through the fog. Others of his paintings are warm and light. It was the shifting of the clouds to which the artist reacted in his interior.

This is also characteristic of de Hooch. This artist loved to look from one room into another and, if possible, into a third. He loved spots of sunlight which played on the wall or on the floor, but he loved equally well the atmosphere created by such light in the darker parts of the interior. It was to this type of art that Schopenhauer was attracted, because of the aesthetic psychoses, because of the peace and quiet which it suggests, the relief it affords from desires and cravings, and because it frees one from himself for a moment. The social life reflected in the paintings by Vermeer and the early de Hooch works is as quiet and calm as the provincial town of Delft itself. It had its great

glory long before Vermeer's father was born. Delft enjoyed quietly its old age; it would dream its afternoons away. Slowly did its thoughts move, slowly as the water in the canals.

Amsterdam showed in the same period a different spirit. There was youth, it was exuberant, it had an international character and enjoyed its rapid expansion. More or less similar conditions prevailed in cities like Haarlem and Leyden. The difference between living in these towns and living in Delft must have influenced the artists. In Jan Steen's works the mental and physical relation of the persons represented is the leading motive. His field of philosophy was moral. He was not annoyed with the code of ethics of his fellowman, but smiled, and as a typical Dutchman expressed his opinion with some irony. His subject matter was not always refined, but Steen was an aristocratic observer. "*C'est le ton qui fait la musique*." These artists were not only *genre* painters, but very clever still-life artists at the same time. They knew how to unite a great amount of detail, which was possible by absolute control of local light.

The Dutch artist was fond of rendering light and dark as truthfully as possible. He followed light and dark to where it fades and blends in the surrounding local light. He painted space and depth and showed an aerial perspective fully developed before he had linear perspective at his command. The Dutch painter did not rest until his picture suggested that space. It did not matter whether it was a few inches in a still-life, a few yards in an interior, a few miles in a landscape; the difference was only quantitative. The canvass, the pigment, as such, had to disappear. The illusion of reality was his aim and that is why he could not be a decorator. From the point of view of a seventeenth century artist the pictures of Van Huysum and kindred artists are inferior because they fail in light, depth, and texture.

Politically, and artistically also, the Dutch were republican. The artist could paint just as he wished and what he wished, provided the picture brought a sound plastic message. His critics were matter-of-fact people who were not so easily fooled about the meaning of a painting. It is surprising to notice the variety in technique of the Dutch masters. Jan Steen painted as smoothly as the Dutch primitives. He had a remarkable aptitude for expressing detail even in small figures and objects. Hals' brush marks are a vital element in his work. Metsu hardly showed a brush stroke. Rembrandt was familiar with all techniques.

The author has limited her text to little more than fifty pages. The material is so presented that notwithstanding the great number of artists' names, the story is easily read, but an index to these names would have been welcome. The author gives a clear panorama in a small-size picture, consequently without much detail; the broad division according to subject matter made this possible. Naturally, not every subject is seen from its most advantageous point of view. Van Honthorst has received perhaps too much attention; Fabritius, one of the most independent pupils of Rembrandt, might have been given more credit.

The reproductions answer the demands made by the author as to subject matter; as to luminosity they fail

more or less, but they are good enough to show the intention of the artist. The changes from dark to light are too abrupt and that is just what the Dutch artists avoided in their work. However, the quantity atones in a degree for the quality.

Is it merely an accident that the name of Henri Havard does not appear in the *Bibliographie Sommaire*?

It is apparently not easy to write a short history of Dutch art. Few have been written even in Holland itself. The author deserves credit for this little handbook. May we expect from her a similar book on modern Dutch painting in which she will describe the returning influence from the French Impressionists on the Dutch?

Constant Van de Wall

AGNOLO BRONZINO. By Arthur K. McComb. 173 pp.; 61 pls.; 4to. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1928.

In the swing of the art critical world to the mediaeval period, or to the art of countries less explored, or to the discussion of the "moderns," the Italian Renaissance, which was the field for English-speaking critics in the late nineteenth century, has apparently lost its appeal for scholars. It is, therefore, a special pleasure to welcome this critical monograph. For the Italian Renaissance field is not yet disposed of. When the psychology of peoples comes to be correlated to their art, the philosophical historian will depend upon such studies.

Agnolo Bronzino, while not a thrilling painter, is a notable one. He is a serious descriptive painter of the sixteenth century personalities—personalities who help to describe their period.

In handling the subject Mr. McComb shows knowledge and sympathy. His style is pleasant. He carries the reader through events of birth and relationships and commissions, through the development and changes of style to the master's followers and later influence, and he does not omit aesthetic estimate.

The arrangement is well ordered. The brief explanatory preface and the lists of contents at the beginning are followed by the compact text on the painter's life and work. Footnotes, accessible, but not confusing, supply references to documents and other detailed matter. A suggestion of catalogues follows and an adequate index. The sixty-one illustrations, well selected to indicate the master's scope and quality, are massed at the end.

The catalogues are valuable. The detailed catalogue *raisonné* of authentic paintings occupies over 80 pages. To this is appended (somewhat unusually) a list of paintings attributed to Bronzino in sales catalogues, with the author's comments on the attributions. There is a list of drawings carefully described and discussed, followed by a catalogue of lost pictures, and by one of designs for tapestries.

The book, in my opinion, makes a permanent contribution to art bibliography, for which we should be grateful.

It is needless to say that the printing and appearance of the volume, issued as it is under the joint auspices of the Harvard and Oxford University Presses, leaves nothing to be desired.

If one were to offer criticism, it would be upon the quality of the illustrations, but considering the cost of good reproductions, one may comment but hardly blame. They are certainly no worse than those of the French and German popular illustrated monographs.

Alice V. V. Brown

ARTEMIS UND IPHIGENIE, MARMORGRUPPE DER NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK. By Franz Studniczka. (*Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXXVII.*) 160 pp.; 4 pls.; 102 figs. Leipzig, Hirzel, 1926.

In this monograph Professor Studniczka has given his subject an exhaustive treatment, which would have gained in effectiveness through greater conciseness of statement and through the elimination of some details, unessential for the establishment of his main thesis. The first two chapters are devoted to a detailed description of the subterranean chamber in the Gardens of Sallust in Rome, where the chief fragments of the marble group of Artemis and Iphigenia were found, and an equally detailed discussion of the somewhat scanty evidence for dating the building in late Hadrianic times. In the three succeeding chapters the author describes the reconstruction of the figures, almost splinter by splinter, and the restoration of the group as a whole, work in which he had the assistance of Franz Hackbeil, Konservator des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Leipzig, and Professor Adolf Lehnert, of the Leipziger Akademie für graphischen Künste. In this connection mention should perhaps be made also of the young doe, loaned by the Zoölogical Garden, which served as their model for the deer in the reconstructed group. All available evidence was examined and studied with the greatest care, and the restoration can probably be accepted as being close to the original in the main, although doubts are bound to arise as to the correctness of certain details, such as the deer, or the heads of Artemis and Iphigenia, of which only relatively unimportant fragments were recovered.

After a careful description and appreciation of the restored group, in the course of which the suggestion is offered that the original was brought to Rome in Hadrian's time from some sanctuary in Asia Minor, possibly that of the Ephesian Artemis, Professor Studniczka discusses its position in the development of the representation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia in art, and attempts to determine its date by a careful comparison with other works of sculpture as regards group composition, the treatment of the drapery, hair, and forms of the two female figures, and the rendering of the deer. It is this portion of the monograph that is most open to criticism. Professor Studniczka is, to some extent, a victim of the tendency, much too prevalent among modern scholars, to accept as certain attributions in the field of Greek sculpture which at best can be regarded as plausible. Even his attempt to show Lysippian influence in the group is far from convincing, so uncertain in reality is our knowledge of the art and style of that master; but to his credit it should be stated that he makes no effort to attribute it to any known sculptor. In one point at least his treatment of his evidence seems open to question. He seeks to prove that the practice of placing

the girdle high, well up under the breasts, began about 340-335 B. C., but there are various works showing this arrangement for which an earlier date either is proven or has been generally accepted. These obstacles he tries to explain away either as examples of "*Berufs- oder Zweck-tracht*" or by arguing, rather unconvincingly, to change their date to a later period. It is also rather surprising to find that, to judge from his assigning the figure of Mausolus to Bryaxis because it was found on the north side of the Mausoleum, he apparently accepts Pliny's statement that each of the four sculptors engaged on that building was responsible for the sculpture of one side. Despite such faults, however, the study as a whole leaves little doubt of the correctness of his conclusion that the group is a Greek original of the latter part of the fourth century.

The illustrations are numerous and excellent. Only a few misprints are in evidence. On p. 75, first line, "Akslep" should be "Asklep;" on p. 93, fourth line from bottom, "Abb. 78" should be "Abb. 77;" and in the heading of p. 109 "Iphigenie" should be substituted for "Artemis." A curious inconsistency in the page headings of Chapter XI should be mentioned. On pp. 97, 99, and 101 it appears as *Das Gewand Iphigeniens*, on pp. 103 and 107 as *Das Gewand Iphigenies*; and on pp. 105 and 111 as *Das Gewand der Iphigenie*.

Clarence H. Young

THE SCULPTURE AND SCULPTORS OF THE GREEKS. By Gisela M. A. Richter, *Litt. D.* xxix, 242 pp.; 4 pls.; 767 figs. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. \$35.00

At the very outset it should be clearly stated that this is not a history of Greek sculpture in the ordinary sense. It does not supersede such histories as those of Overbeck and Collignon, but serves as an admirable complement to them. Any reader, student or layman, should get from it a far better appreciation of what the Greeks actually accomplished in the field of sculpture than from the works just mentioned, and that is, after all, the essential thing. The art itself and that for which it stands are so much more important than the persons who created it. The arrangement of the material is new—at least in print—though the reviewer has for years used a somewhat similar method of presentation in his classes and doubtless others have done the same. Approximately two-thirds of the book are devoted to a study of "Greek sculpture purely as an artistic manifestation—by a direct consideration of the products themselves." The remaining third deals with the sculptors, or rather with those among them in regard to whose style and attainments our knowledge rests upon fairly sound, if usually meager, evidence. Apart from the arrangement of the subject matter the book offers little that is new. In fact, Miss Richter has shown herself refreshingly conservative in an age of reckless theories and attributions.

The first chapter contains a good and adequate, if concise, account of the historical background of Greek sculpture and of the Greek view of life. It is, however, an error to limit the term "liturgies" to the equipment of the tragic choruses (p. 13). The *gymnasiarchia* and also the *trierarchia*, which Miss Richter carefully differentiates, were liturgies, and the *choregia* included the equipment of cyclic and comic, as well as tragic, choruses. It is also

more than questionable whether mathematics regularly formed part of the elementary education, as stated on p. 14, and it is misleading to define metics as "foreigners" (p. 15). They were resident aliens, and apparently shared the life of the Athenian citizen of their class instead of being excluded from it as Miss Richter states.

The second chapter on the general characteristics of Greek sculpture contains an analysis of the Greek mentality and a general survey of the subjects used in Greek sculpture. The wisdom of giving to the law of frontality an arbitrary definition of her own (p. 19, n. 3) at variance with the ordinarily accepted meaning is highly questionable. The discussion of simplification of design and of unified space on pp. 21-22 reveals a tendency, apparent also elsewhere, to press her conclusions too far and to ignore adverse evidence. Here, for example, she does not mention the standing figures with arms bent at the elbow and the hands extended in advance of the body, and the position of the Calf-bearer is by no means so far removed from nature as her words imply. As a whole, this chapter is not so satisfactory as the first.

The third chapter is devoted to a tentative chronology of outstanding Greek sculptures and is perhaps more open to attack than any other part of the work, a danger which Miss Richter foresaw and alludes to in her preface (p. viii). The dates of some of the oldest sculptures seem unduly early, but since, as stated in the footnote on p. 27, they are based on an as yet unpublished book, it is impossible to judge the soundness of the dating. It would be interesting also to know Miss Richter's authority for her epigraphical dating. Under c. 570-550 we find the Calf-bearer which Roberts, whom she gives as her authority for the date of the Nikandre statue (p. 27), and also Larfeld, date before 575, and the Hera from Samos, dated by Roberts 550-500. She puts the Antenor maiden c. 510-500 on the strength of Dittenberger's dating of the inscription as "before 480," whereas Larfeld assigns it to the period 575-525. One rather wonders also how the date c. 555-530 for the sculptured drums from Ephesos was arrived at, when, as noted, Croesus "reigned c. 560-546 (or 555-541)."

Where external evidence is lacking, the dates assigned are, of course, purely relative, since there is no reason to suppose that the art of sculpture progressed with equal rapidity in all parts of the Greek world. A statement to that effect might well have been made and would have prevented misconception. Even on this understanding it would seem difficult to defend the dates assigned to some of the "Apollo" figures: Orchomenos c. 580-570, Calf-bearer and Tenea c. 570-550, Melos, Volomandra (why "Volomandra" instead of the usual "Kalyvia"?), Munich, and Boeotia c. 540-510. In this list the Tenea and Melian figures should certainly be transposed, since the latter is much less advanced than any of those with which it is grouped, whereas the former is about on a par with them. As for the Orchomenos figure, despite its uncouth appearance, it shows far more knowledge on the artist's part than either the Calf-bearer or the Melos Apollo as regards the treatment of the back, the rounding of the abdomen, and especially the position in which the trunk is set in relation to the legs. From 500 on the dates are less open to criticism, but exception must be taken to placing the Eleusinian relief before the Parthenon sculptures, in view

of the treatment of the drapery of the Persephone, and, in the opinion of the reviewer, the Niobid in Rome belongs near the beginning of the fourth century rather than c. 450-440, the date here assigned to it.

The next four chapters are devoted to a study of the gradual development in the rendering of the human figure, the head, drapery, and animals, which is, on the whole, admirably done. Differences of opinion are bound to arise in subjective matters and little is to be gained by stressing them, but there are certain points which cannot be passed over in silence. It is rather surprising to find the Capitoline Satyr regarded (p. 45) as an Hellenistic creation, while the Chios head, with its extreme *morbidezza*, is accepted (p. 58. Cf. also p. 201) as a fourth century original. In the opinion of the reviewer also the bronze statuette of a girl in Munich belongs in the fourth, rather than the fifth, century (p. 43). The tendency to overstatement is more or less in evidence, as when the author says (p. 59) that "the feeling for volume is lost" in Hellenistic heads, or (p. 77) that the Karyatids "show the same transparent drapery" as the figures on the Nike balustrade, and adds that "at first sight we are not sure that the upper part of the left leg is not bare." A single glance at fig. 118 will show the exaggeration in the statement (p. 51) that "in the Niobid in Copenhagen the last vestige of stiffness" (i. e., in the rendering of the reclining figure) "is conquered;" and it would be far from "difficult to imagine" (or even to find) "more adequate representations" of a running figure (p. 48) than the other Copenhagen Niobid. It is also a mistake to speak (p. 53) of the complicated pose of the Marsyas and the bronze jumper in New York. Both figures are "snapshots," the former of momentary rest, the latter of movement, but in neither is the pose a complicated one. It is difficult to see "a new grandeur, heralding a new era" (p. 46) in the Berlin goddess, which is in reality merely a very charming example of the fully developed archaic type on a par with the more advanced of the Athenian maidens. To the reviewer the eyes of the Niobid in Rome "whose beautiful, composed features do not suggest in any way (except in the droop of the mouth) the physical agony she is in" (p. 61) clearly reflect her suffering. And it is absolutely astounding to find included among flying or running figures as "one of the most powerful renderings of movement in the history of art" (p. 48) the Nike of Samothrace, a figure that stands absolutely immobile on the deck of the trireme with body braced to resist the rush of the wind as the vessel speeds forward, while the statement in note 9 on the same page, "The Nike is evidently conceived as alighting after flight with wings still outspread," is equally surprising. A careless error is the inclusion under male heads (p. 57) of the Boston head of a woman, especially as it is properly labeled in fig. 155. Finally in the New York head, fig. 148, we have not "a flame-like motive" decorating the ribbon (p. 57) but an unusual treatment of the front locks of hair, as the head of the Volomandra (Kalyvia) Apollo will prove.

Chapter VIII is devoted to a study of composition on the basis of pediments, metopes, continuous friezes, and grave stelai. A discussion of composition in independent groups might well have been included. Exception must be taken to the statement in note 3 on p. 89 that the passage from Plato's *Republic* there quoted "shows definitely that

artists used geometrical proportion." That is a possible, but not the inevitable meaning of the passage. The statement in regard to the Centaur and Lapith group on p. 98 that "the beauty of line and composition makes us forget the violence of the struggle" is open to criticism, for the artist has failed to impart to his composition the slightest suggestion of a violent struggle. On the same page the reference to the "frieze of the temple of Assos" is misleading, since in that temple the decoration reliefs are on the architrave.

The three remaining chapters on technique, relief, and a comparison of Greek sculpture with Roman copies and modern forgeries are well done and interesting. Is it not about time, however, for archaeologists to stop speaking of "black" Eleusinian stone (p. 105), when the color is really a bluish gray and not over dark at that? Miss Richter follows (p. 108) the commonly accepted view that the Greek sculptor cut into his marble block free-hand. It may have been so, but the case for this theory is not so complete nor so one-sided as is generally assumed. The statement (p. 106) that the nude parts of chryselephantine statues "were made of solid ivory" is unfortunate, though its obvious absurdity, as applied to such a colossal figure as the Athena Parthenos, if taken literally, would prevent its misleading any but the unthinking. It is also misleading to cite (p. 112), without further comment, the Metropolitan Museum head (fig. 447) as an example of a head in which the eyeball was inset, for the shape and size of the cutting show that it contained more than the mere ball of the eye. One must also question the statement (p. 127) that the problem of representing a figure in three-quarters view "is squarely faced" in the runner from Athens (fig. 84).

Part II, which deals with the Greek sculptors from the archaic period to the first century B. C., is conservative and offers little that is open to criticism. Miss Richter has adhered rather strictly to her expressed purpose (p. 146) "to admit only such data as appear unassailable, citing where possible the original sources of our knowledge rather than the opinions of recent writers." The only noteworthy exception is her near acceptance of the attribution of various slabs of the Amazon frieze of the Mausoleum to Skopas and his collaborators on the strength of Pliny's statement that the four sculptors were responsible, each for the sculpture on one side of the building (cf. pp. 204, 210, 212, 214). In the case of each sculptor, after giving the few facts known about his origin and life, she discusses his date and known works, and then mentions the more important attributions that have been made. It might have been well to indicate that the statement that Pheidias was the pupil of Hegias (p. 161) rests, not upon the text of Dio Chrysostom as it has come down to us, but upon an emendation, palaeographically irreproachable, but still an emendation. Miss Richter might have strengthened her own case in regard to the date of the Olympian Zeus by pointing out that, from the context of the passage in which he describes the trial of Pheidias (p. 168), Plutarch evidently placed that trial at about the same time as the trial of Aspasia and the Megarian decree. As to the Nike of Paionios, is not the fact that the Mesenians and Naupaktians permitted the statement that Paionios made the akroteria of the temple (p. 184) to be inscribed on the basis of their dedicatory offering rather

significant and does it not suggest the possibility that this statue closely resembled, or was perhaps even a copy of, the Nike that formed the central akroterion? Finally, the reviewer cannot believe that the Eubuleus head, with its marked Alexandroid characteristics, is a fourth century work directly inspired by the work of Praxiteles (p. 201) rather than a product of the Hellenistic period, nor can he see in the Laokoön, even in comparison with the copy by Bandinelli, "the essential reserve" which Miss Richter feels in it (p. 225).

The book is very fully documented. No attempt has been made to verify all the references, but a dozen cases selected at random revealed only one error, p. 216, note 6, Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV. 61 (for 65). Two instances were noted where the reference was not given—Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* II, 13.8 for his criticism of the Diskobolos, quoted about the middle of p. 156, and *Procop. de bel. Goth.* IV. 21 for the statement in note 12, p. 158. One point in the author's treatment of her authorities is to be strongly deprecated, namely, the use of quotation marks to enclose the English version of ancient sources when she uses a free paraphrase instead of an exact translation. At times also the version gives a wrong impression of the original. As an illustration three passages may be cited. "Agorakritos of Paros was also a pupil of Pheidias, who was attracted by his youthful beauty" (p. 180) is certainly not an exact translation of Pliny's "*eiusdem discipulus fuit Agoracritus Parius et aetate gratus*." To render Pliny's "*uno crure ul insisterent*" by "the way they step forward with one leg" (p. 185) is not only to pervert the meaning of the original but to make it inapplicable to two of Polykleitos' known works, the Diadoumenos and the Amazon; while the translation of "*symmetria*" as "cannon of proportions" (p. 216) is equally faulty.

Few misprints occur. Only the following were noted: p. 34, the asterisk before "the statue of Hera of Polykleitos (fig. 654)" should be deleted, since that figure reproduces a coin and not a Roman copy; p. 48, "Marmarea" for "Marmaria;" p. 83, "Perachova" for "Perachora" (the same mistake occurs in the legend of fig. 340); p. 157, note 9, the omission of "than" after "smaller;" p. 158, note 10, "Eumoplos" for "Eumolpos;" p. 172, "Luku" for "Loukou;" p. 224, "Karkedon" for "Karchedon;" p. 225, "Kalkedon" for "Chalkedon." On the other hand, mistakes in the references to the illustrations are annoyingly frequent. A list of those noted should prove useful to readers. P. 4, delete 405, which is a metope from Selinus, not from the Treasury of Sikyon; p. 6, fig. 595 for 594 (also on pp. 23, 162, 165); p. 7, fig. 594 for 595 (also on pp. 33, 164, 165) and figs. 650-651 for 650-652; p. 28, fig. 16 (Apollo from Orchomenos) for 18; p. 49, fig. 97 (to illustrate the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury) for 382; p. 51, delete 412 (the Amazon of that metope is neither a "warrior" nor a "giant" nor is she "falling at a precarious angle"); p. 52, delete fig. 382, which shows no crouching figure; p. 55, delete 137 after "Olympia Hera;" p. 56, fig. 18 for 17; p. 76, delete 279, which does not show "a border of short transverse grooves;" p. 169, replace 189 by 200; p. 177, fig. 627 after "The head" for 626. Several errors in dates also occur: p. 40, 480-460 for 580-560; p. 41, c. 460 for c. 560; p. 215, 472-468 for 372-368. Fig. 190 is the head of the British Museum bronze, not, as stated in the legend, of the Lateran Mars-

yas, and, unless the reviewer's memory is at fault, the head shown in fig. 746 has been removed from the Musée Guimet and is now in the Louvre.

A valuable feature of the volume is the great number of illustrations, which are, with few exceptions, excellent. The book is a distinct addition to the literature of the subject and is, on the whole, so admirable that the careless workmanship and numerous errors are the more annoying. One feels that so much that is now open to criticism could have been eliminated by a relatively small expenditure of time and by the exercise of a little more care and study. It is a pity that the work was not published in a more convenient and cheaper form, in two octavo volumes, let us say, one of text and one of illustrations. This would have meant a reduced size for some of the illustrations, though a relatively small proportion of the total number, but should have brought it within the reach of many for whom the price is now prohibitive. It would also have made it much easier to find the illustrations referred to in the text.

Clarence H. Young

CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MELLICOTT. By Eugénie Strong. X, 55 pp.; 23 figs.; 42 pls. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. \$25.

Little was known to the world at large of the numerous, and in some instances very valuable, collections of ancient sculpture in British private manors before the publication, nearly half a century ago, of Michaelis' great work, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 1882. The book, unfortunately, contained no illustrations. Recently, fresh light has been thrown on these collections by the appearance of F. Poulsen's *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, 1923. We now have publications also of the Chatsworth, the Wyndham-Cook, and the Leconfield collections; and the very important treasures of Ince are soon to be revealed.

The sumptuous folio by Mrs. Strong, one of the greatest living authorities on Roman sculpture, makes known the details of the collection of a distinguished scion of the Mond family who has recently been elevated to the peerage. Students of ancient sculpture will undoubtedly be grateful for it, even if the works of art do not form a particularly distinguished group, consisting as they do of but forty-three pieces of statuary—of which one is a forgery and two others doubtful—and nine vases. The inclusion of the latter in the publication is of questionable value, as the pottery is so unscientifically patched and revarnished that a republication will be some day essential. The statuary consists of seven statuettes, twenty-three heads, seven torsos, two complete statues, a votive stele, a marble plaque, and fragments of a relief and a group in the round.

Mrs. Strong is immensely enthusiastic, and with justification, over two bronze statuettes of the collection—an Apollo recently discovered near Adrianople, which she assigns to about 460 B. C. and regards as of local manufacture, and a fluting and dancing satyr of the Hellenistic age which recalls the attitude of the Borghese Satyr. The illustrations reveal the second of the two statuettes as an artistic gem, complete in all details, while its tip-toeing attitude is strikingly lifelike.

Many of the descriptive notes are all too brief. But a Hygieia, formerly in the Hope collection, is treated, as one is glad to find, at considerable length. It is a fine Hadrianic copy of a fourth century original. Bernard Ashmole, a collaborator of Mrs. Strong's, has recently discovered in the Acropolis Museum fragments of what he thinks to be parts of the head of the original. This conclusion is accepted by Lawrence in his recent work, *Classical Sculpture* (p. 243). But as almost nothing remains of the modeled surface except one eyesocket and a portion of the nape of the neck, judgment may reasonably be suspended. The other good copy of the head is in the Terme Museum.

Other interesting marbles of the collection include a statuette of the "Sardanapallus type," a female portrait which recalls the Villa Albani "Sappho," a torso after the Cnidian Aphrodite, a wrongly restored Heracles and the Hind group, a head of Demosthenes, a Lycurgus, and a curiously eclectic torso combining features of the style of Praxiteles and Polyclitus none too happily. The Demosthenes is a fine copy resembling the one at Oxford.

There could be no finer display of skill in the handling of drapery than that manifested on a fourth century statuette of Hygieia, beautifully reproduced in four photographs. Very impressive also is the portrait of a Hellenistic prince with a countenance marked by unusual intelligence and power.

It is doubtful if the sternest of critics will challenge or condemn anything of importance in this catalogue. Most readers, however, will wish that the author had not restrained herself so rigorously within narrow limits. In many places a fuller discussion and more generous explanation of what is not altogether obvious would have been most welcome, coming from one possessing the unusual knowledge and insight of Mrs. Strong. The illustrations are profuse and give in one particular instance as many as seven different views of a work! They are reproduced in what is seemingly collotype, with a soft semisepia tint very pleasing to the eye. Though the pictures may perhaps at first sight be disappointing, owing to the absence of the strong contrasts beloved of the modern photographer, continued use leads to a high appreciation of their merits. The details of a surface—even when magnified, as sometimes shown—of bronze or marble may be studied very closely. In short, few possessors of the book will be inclined to lament their lack of personal knowledge of the originals.

But why, one may reasonably ask, should a book which is sold for three guineas in Britain cost \$25.00 in this country?

A. D. Fraser.

ENGLISH MEDIAEVAL PAINTING. By Tancred Borenius and E. W. Tristram. 66 pp.; 101 pls.; 4 to. Paris, The Pegasus Press, 1927. \$31.50.

It is astonishing that a scientific survey of mediaeval painting in England has been almost entirely neglected, whereas the local art of other countries during the Middle Ages has been studied over and over again. Lack of material is not responsible for this neglect; Keyser's compilation of painted decorations in Great Britain and Ireland (C. E. Keyser, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain*

and Ireland having Mural or other Painted Decorations, London, 1883) proves the abundance of monuments. Lethaby has inspired much interest in the field by his contributions in the *Burlington Magazine* (a series of articles on *English Primitives*), but a corpus of English mediaeval painting has not previously appeared. The volume by Borenius and Tristram supplies the deficiency and brings together an unusual series of reproductions which hitherto could be found only in exhibition catalogues and art periodicals.

The preface is, in a sense, an *apologia* for the limited treatment of the material presented, and a plea for a more exhaustive study of the field. The text presents a chronological account of English mediaeval painting from the eighth century to the early sixteenth, and the commentary increases in proportion to the number of surviving monuments. The rapid survey is brought to a close by an interesting account of the technique of painting during this period in England. The text is accompanied by plates of great beauty and clarity; a series of unpublished drawings by Tristram of mural paintings, many of which have now disintegrated, compose a very valuable part of the book. To all students of mediaeval art the volume will be of special service, though Kendon's study of mural paintings (F. Kendon, *Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages*, London, 1923) is adequate for the later Middle Ages, and Carter's careful description of ancient painting and sculpture (J. Carter, *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting now in England*, 1835) is valuable as an early record and for its beautiful color plates.

Two stimulating theories are contributed by the authors of the volume under discussion. Dr. Borenius suggests that Northern Europe was dominated during the early Middle Ages by an "English Channel school" rather than by distinguishable national schools, and he lays unusual stress on English influence in Scandinavia, France, Flanders, and in the Rhine region. Tristram reiterates his discovery of a new iconographic note in the representation of Christ as Piers Plowman in English mural painting of the later Middle Ages. (This theory was first published by the author in the *Burlington Magazine*, XXXI, 1917, pp. 135-140: *Piers Plowman in English Wall Painting*.)

Some badly mutilated wall paintings in country churches representing the crucified Christ "surrounded by many tools of labour, arranged so as to form a halo or glory" (p. 29) serve as a basis for Tristram's theory. "Clearly," he says, "the painter has wished to convey the idea of the analogy of Christ's suffering and crucifixion to the life of the labourer" (p. 29), and the author asserts that this idea is "clearly directly inspired" (p. 30) by Piers Plowman.

One may possibly agree with the general underlying principle, that in late Gothic art more and more stress was laid upon the glorification of labor, through which salvation was attained. However, one must take exception to some of Tristram's evidence. It is true that William Langland's poem (*Vision of Piers Plowman*) stresses salvation by labor and exalts the figure of Piers, the common laborer in the fields, in the opening section, while in the latter part of the poem Piers and Christ are identified. Tristram, however, overlooks the fact that in this last representation Piers is no longer the simple laborer, but, instead, represents all mankind, and his arms, which Christ puts

on, are *Humana Natura*. In this identification of Piers with the Saviour, Christ as a knight, arrayed in helmet and habergeon, rides to meet the challenge of Satan in knightly tournament. But nowhere in the text of the poem can we find a suggestion of a crucified Christ surrounded by a halo of laborer's tools.

It is difficult not to believe that Tristram is mistaken and that these implements are merely the instruments of the Passion. In the fragmentary wall painting in the church of Ampney St. Mary, Gloucestershire, the following objects are listed by Tristram: "mallet, wheel, hammer, knife, comb, dish, axe, horn, saddle, ball of cord and pincers" (p. 31). The poor state of preservation of this painting makes definite identification impossible, but it is more reasonable to assume that these are symbols of the Passion and should be identified as follows: mallet, hammer, stylized crown of thorns, knife, dish, and pincers. The "comb" might be a fragment of the cross. The figure of an archer holding a bow might be one of the centurions, and the other centurion probably appeared on horseback on the other side of the cross, with the oliphant slung from his back. Remains of the miniature cross of one of the thieves can be traced in front of the archer. The "old man sitting at a wheel (?), holding a rod with a cup shape at the end up to his eye" (p. 32) is quite probably Dionysius the Areopagite observing the eclipse which took place at the time of the Crucifixion. (See Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, New York, Dutton, 1913, pp. 223-4.) The two wheel-like forms are undoubtedly inaccurate stylizations of sun and moon. (Compare with these the sun and moon in a window at Bruges, reproduced by Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 189.)

On the other side of the door in this church there is represented, according to Tristram, "St. Peter receiving the labourers in Heaven" (p. 32). The laborers are preceded by "some women carrying distaffs." For these figures Tristram proposes a purely fantastic interpretation: the laborers have left their implements of labor to form Christ's halo and have come unidentified. The "distaffs" carried by the five women are possibly the lighted torches held by the five Wise Virgins, who often appear in scenes of the Last Judgment (Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9), which was the subject of the mural painting. If these figures are not the Wise Virgins, they may be the blessed carrying palms.

In the example of Christ as Piers Plowman found in Stedham Church, Sussex (now destroyed), the halo surrounding Christ is clearly composed of symbols of the Passion. One may identify the reeds and staves, a knife, the vessel containing vinegar, a mace or sponge, a crown of thorns, a lance blade. "The correctness of this interpretation of the objects in question is confirmed by comparing these wall paintings with the illustrations accompanying a series of prayers on the symbols of the Passion in two XV Century Mss. reproduced in *Legends of the Holy Rood*." (Charlotte D'Evelyn, *Piers Plowman in Art*, in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIV, 1919, p. 249; *Early English Text Society*, 46, pp. 170 ff.)

Opposing the theory that Christ is represented as Piers Plowman in these English Churches is the fact that the poem itself, as the literature of the Lollards, would be unorthodox, and such ideas would not be likely to supplant orthodox teachings in anything so conspicuous as wall paintings.

Tristram's discussion of this series of paintings occupies only a small part of the book, however, and there is much other material less open to criticism.

Ruth Ryan

MITTELALTERLICHE MALEREI IN SPANIEN. By Gertrud Richert. 76 pp.; 119 pls., 4 to. Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1925.

From the title one would expect this book to be an exhaustive work on Spanish painting during the Middle Ages. It contains, however, only sixty-nine pages of text and has neither index nor footnotes. It deals only with the art of Catalonia, ignoring the rest of Spain; and one searches in vain for new discoveries or original criticism. The Catalan frescoes and panel paintings dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth century are described in poetic, bombastic fashion. The scanty discussions of the pictures and the facts concerning them have been taken in large measure from the works by Mayer, Gudiol, Bertaux, San Pere y Miquel, and Cook, but the author does not take the trouble to mention the sources from which she has drawn most of her material.

The first chapter is devoted to the Romanesque frescoes which formerly decorated the walls of the small parish churches of Catalonia. Few of these are now *in situ*. The mural decorations from S. Maria de Mur have found their way to Boston, and the majority of the others have been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona. Although it may seem barbarous to have taken these frescoes from the churches, the author shows that in many cases it was for the best, since they were covered with whitewash or hidden behind altarpieces, and the condition of the buildings in general was inimical to their preservation. In the Barcelona museum they are well housed, accessible, and are safe from the ready money of the Spanish art dealer.

The earliest frescoes discussed by the author are those from Pedret, which she places in the eleventh century. She points out that these differ from the more monumental frescoes from S. Miquel de la Seo, which show affinity with French sculpture and may be assigned to the middle of the twelfth century. At Fenouillar legends are portrayed for the first time in the main apse; the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus may have served as model. Similarities are pointed out between these frescoes at Fenouillar and those from S. Maria de Mur, now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. The mural paintings from S. Climent de Tahull, which surpass all others in quality, are assigned by Miss Richert to the end of the twelfth century. She then mentions briefly those of S. Maria de Tahull and S. Pere de Burgal, and then describes at length those of S. Maria d'Esterri d'Aneu, in which the first portrait of a donor occurs, and those of Bohí. It is interesting to note that in the latter blue is not employed; the artist has used a palette consisting of red, yellow, and gray, with thick black contours. Miss Richert notes iconographic peculiarities in the S. Eulalia de Estahón frescoes, describes those of Esterri de Cardós, and closes her list with a brief mention of some of the less important examples. She concludes the chapter with a summary, in which she stresses the strong dependence of the Catalan painters on the art of Italy and Byzantium.

The second chapter is devoted to Catalan panel painting of the Romanesque period, and most of the material can be traced to articles published by Dr. Walter W. S. Cook in *The Art Bulletin* and *Art Studies*. The author follows Dr. Cook in explaining the derivation of the painted altarpieces from the antependia made of precious metals studded with gems. She discusses their iconography, showing that the artists followed set rules. As in the frescoes, the position of honor was given to Christ in Majesty or to the Madonna and Child, and the lateral panels were devoted to scenes from the life of the Virgin or from saintly legend.

In her discussion of the Catalan antependia Miss Richert informs the reader that scholars have disagreed upon the date of the early St. Martin panel at Vich, but she does not explain why it cannot be placed before the beginning of the twelfth century. She describes two panels from La Seo de Urgell, an altar canopy in the Vich museum, the so-called Bishops' Panel from S. Sadurn de Noya, and an antependium in the Espuna collection. She then mentions those examples in which realistic features are combined with the supernatural. Many of these show a narrative tendency and are mostly derived from illuminated manuscripts. As an example of this group she describes the St. Lawrence panel in the Vich museum and notes the use of stucco ornament on the mandorla and on the frames that divide the lateral scenes, a mode of decoration which was frequently employed on these frontals.

The next group of panels discussed by the author are those painted under Byzantine influence, which dominated the art of Catalonia during the thirteenth century. The St. Andrew panel in the Barcelona museum is mentioned as an example of good draftsmanship, plastic sense, and color harmony, and what the author calls a "musical arrangement of the figures." Toward the end of the thirteenth century Romanesque art became decadent, as shown by the frontal of Sts. Julita and Quiricus from Durro, in which the figure style is disproportionately tall and creates an unpleasant impression by the harsh color scheme employed.

In her discussion of the stucco panels from the province of Lerida the author states that these panels, because of their resemblance to metal antependia, were formerly thought to stand first in point of date. She says that this theory has been disproved, but gives no evidence. She does mention the fact that Dr. Cook has called attention to the close relationship between the use of stucco in these panels and the use of Moslem motives by Moorish artists in Spain.

In another chapter Miss Richert shows that in the fourteenth century Catalan painting underwent great changes in form and subject matter. It was subjected to Italian and French influences, which had a tendency to "bring it down to earth." The *Majestas Domini* becomes the Son of Man, who sacrifices Himself upon the cross; the majestic Madonna and Child becomes the graceful young mother; the large frescoes disappear, as there is no room for them in the Gothic churches; and the retable replaces the antependium. The author discusses the great Gothic altarpiece which now comes into being and illustrates the evolution of the type with several examples.

Her discussion of the individual painters which follows, such as Ferrer Bassa, the first great Catalan painter of the trecento, appears to have been taken almost entirely from Mossen Gudiol y Cunill's *Trescentistes catalans*.

In her discussion of the art of the fifteenth century Dr. Richert shows that during the first two decades the style is merely a continuation of that of the trecento. Then the influence of Italy and France gives way to that of Flanders and Germany. The pictures are larger and the gold background is replaced by landscape. About the middle of the century stucco relief was widely employed in the backgrounds and was so common in Catalonia that it may be considered a special characteristic of Catalan quattrocento art. The principal masters of the fifteenth century are then discussed. Most of the material in this chapter appears to have been taken from August Mayer's *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*.

Although Miss Richert's book is almost entirely a compilation from earlier writers, it has the merit of being the first attempt to present as a continuous narration the history of Catalan painting from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century.

Isobel B. Binks

ARTE ROMÁNICO CATÁLOGO, JUNTA DE MUSEOS DE BARCELONA, MUSEO DE LA CIUDADELA, BARCELONA. By Joaquín Folch y Torres. 139 pp.; frontispiece; 183 figs. Barcelona, 1926.

Few museums contain adequate examples of Spanish Romanesque art, and until recently few objects were known outside those exhibited in the Episcopal Museum at Vich. The Vich museum catalogue, published in 1893, gave the first evidence of an interest in a period previously dismissed as unworthy of attention. Since then our knowledge of the Romanesque field has been greatly enlarged, and the time is most propitious for the publication of a catalogue of the Romanesque art in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona. This small volume by Joaquín Folch y Torres, former director of the museum, is particularly welcome because it presents much new material.

In the introduction the author gives an elementary survey of the formation of Romanesque art in Cataluña, much of which is drawn from *L'arquitectura romànica* by Puig y Cadafalch. The main body of the catalogue is divided into eight sections corresponding to the eight rooms in which the mediaeval objects are exhibited. There is an index of the chapter heads but no index of the particular objects. Ordinarily this would be a definite inconvenience, but since the catalogue is small and well illustrated specific objects may be found quickly enough by paging through the book.

The art objects listed include all manner of ecclesiastical furnishings, such as censers, crucifixes, images, altarpieces and retables, ciboria, and mural paintings. A description with illustrations of the method of removing the Catalan frescoes from their original positions in Pyrenean churches is incorporated in the catalogue, and is a summarized version of an account which appeared earlier in the *Gaceta de las Artes*, of which Sr. Folch y Torres is the editor.

It is unfortunate that the catalogue contains only the Romanesque objects from Catalonia, since the museum

contains highly interesting examples of mediaeval Aragonese painting, such as the St. Peter retable from Sijena, a St. Dominic altar-frontal from Tamarite, several painted frieze boards, the St. Vincent panel from Estimariu, and an altar-frontal depicting the Passion of Christ, from Teruel.

It is difficult to agree, in most instances, with the early dates assigned to the Catalan altar-frontals by Sr. Folch. In almost every case the dating of the painted antependia is a full century earlier than that followed by later critics. Dr. Walter W. S. Cook assigns the two altar-frontals from La Seo de Urgel (nos. 15 and 16 in the catalogue) to the middle or second half of the twelfth century (*The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, 1923, pp. 37-38), but the catalogue places both in the eleventh century. A stucco frontal portraying Christ and eight bishops, from Planés (no. 3 in the catalogue) is assigned merely to "the thirteenth century" in the catalogue, whereas Dr. Cook dates it more definitely about the year 1300 (*Art Studies*, II, 1924, p. 66). Another stucco panel with Christ and the twelve apostles, from Ginestare de Cardós (no. 7b in the catalogue) is dated in the twelfth century by Sr. Folch and about 1200 by Dr. Cook (*Art Studies*, II, 1924, pp. 49-51).

Aside from the patriotic desire to date the Romanesque art of Catalonia as early as possible, there are occasional errors in fact, such as the mention, in the introduction, of the Countess Hermesinda as the wife of Charles the Raven, whereas her husband was Ramón Borrell, who was Count of Barcelona from 992 to 1018.

In spite of a few errors and the early dating of objects, the catalogue will prove invaluable to students of mediaeval art. Of all the mediaeval schools in Spain that of Catalonia played a leading rôle, and the new material presented by Sr. Folch makes the important position of Catalonia yet more evident. It is to be hoped that this will be followed by a larger and more complete catalogue of the Gothic paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona.

Josephine Purtscher

LA PINTURA MIG-EVAL CATALANA. Vol. I, *ELS PRIMITIUS. Pt. 1, ELS PINTORS; LA PINTURA MURAL*. By Mn. Josep Gudiol i Cunill. Prev. 632 pp.; 232 figs. Barcelona, S. Babra, 1927.

The relatively unexplored field of mediaeval Catalan painting is again brought to the attention of archaeologists by the appearance of Gudiol's volume on the mural paintings and mosaics of northeastern Spain. The second volume, now in press, is reserved for a discussion of the panel paintings and illuminated manuscripts. At the death of Sanpere y Miquel, Gudiol completed his colleague's unfinished work *Els trescentistes catalanes* as a companion volume to *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*. The completion of *Els primitius* will constitute a solid foundation upon which modern criticism may eventually reconstruct the evolution of painting in Catalonia during the Middle Ages. In the end we may hope to arrive at a correct evaluation of the early art of this Spanish province and its relation to the contemporary art of Western Europe.

In dedicating his life to the study of mediaeval Catalan art Joseph Gudiol has contributed much to the knowledge of art history. Since 1898, when he was entrusted with the

direction of the Episcopal Museum of Vich, he has published numerous articles in the field of ecclesiastical history, liturgy, and archaeology. The list of his publications from 1894 to 1928 is impressive. Most of his studies have appeared in obscure local periodicals and newspapers. Among his more important books are: *Nocións d'arqueologia sagrada catalana*, 1902; *Resum d'arqueologia cristiana*, 1906; *La indumentària litúrgica*, 1918; *El mobiliari litúrgic*, 1920; *Vich y el seu Museu Episcopal*, 1921, 1923; and *Els trescentistes catalans*, 1924.

In this latest work, on Catalan primitives, Mossen Gudiol places before the reader a well ordered exposition of monuments rather than a critical evaluation of them. The student is left to draw his own conclusions. In the first chapter the author outlines the history of painting in Spain from prehistoric times to the tenth century. This prelude is followed by a somewhat generalized exposition of the social status of the mediaeval artist; there is no attempt, however, to depict the environment which gave rise to Catalan painting. One of the most valuable chapters is that which contains an alphabetical list of mediaeval artists whose names have been preserved in the archives. It is seldom possible, however, to connect these names with extant works of art. The bibliography of this section is both interesting and valuable to any scholar in search of source material.

The Romanesque frescoes of Catalonia are described chronologically, and an attempt is made to date them, although the author seldom gives any tangible reasons for his chronological system. Much new and interesting data however, concerning the churches is recorded in an effort to establish the dates of the frescoes or to interpret their subjects.

Gudiol seldom expresses an opinion on the intrinsic merit of an artist. The series of S. Miquel de Angulasters is said to be by a mediocre painter, that of Campdenavol by a rustic, and that of S. Eulalia de Estahón by a real artist. In most instances the author shows a first-hand knowledge of his monuments. In one case, however (p. 493), he mentions a mural painting at Vidrà, in the province of Roussillon, though no such church as that referred to exists today; the error is due to a note published by Pijoan in *Les pintures murals catalanes* (p. 18).

In one of the later chapters the author discusses the iconography of the Catalan frescoes, and it is apparent that the works of Emile Mâle are his chief source of information. It is surprising that in this discussion of iconography there are more references to the Cosmas Indicopleustes in the Vatican than to any other mediaeval work, and even stranger that Gudiol should have accepted the date given by Mâle for this copy of the manuscript, that is, the seventh century, whereas several years ago it was definitely proved that it belongs to the latter part of the ninth century.

In conclusion one must state that this volume by Mossen Gudiol fills a long felt need in the field of mediaeval Spanish painting. It is to be hoped that in the last volume this eminent Catalan critic will also give more of his own personal criticism and a synthesis of Catalan art during the Middle Ages.

Margherita Scolari

DAS SCHOTTENTOR. KULTURHISTORISCHE AUSLEGUNG DES PORTALBILDWERKES DER ST. JACOBSKIRCHE IN REGENSBURG. By Richard Wiebel. 4 to. 62 pp.; 28 figs. Augsburg, Filser, 1928.

In the introduction Richard Wiebel states that the Celtic monks who built the St. Jacobskirche at Regensburg worked according to very definite plans and selected the type of decoration with great care. But they did not consider the fact that the generations to come would no longer understand the symbolical meaning of their sculpture. To be sure, during the Romantic period attempts were made to explain the symbolism, but Wiebel makes unfavorable criticism of these efforts.

He refers to the religious literature of the twelfth century which, with its wealth of symbolism was undoubtedly a basis for the builders of the Schottenportal. He also mentions interpretations based on North Germanic mythology; contemporary literature and religion have to be studied, he declares, in order to understand the spirit of this sculpture. With fifty or sixty pages of reading matter and a set of beautiful photographs, Wiebel tries to adjust his readers to the art of the Regensburg portal.

While the book illumination and wall decoration of the period may have served as models, they contribute little to the solution of the message of the Schottentor decorations. Somewhat more light was thrown on the subject by a study of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, the learned friend of the Celtic monks in Regensburg about 1150. Wiebel also suggests that contemporary figure work and decorative elements of Romanesque sculpture in other localities must be studied. He does not regard mythology and Christian allegory as sufficient sources of information; the fields of history of culture, ethnology, superstition, fairy tales, folklore, and legends have yet to be explored.

The author does not wish to dwell on architectural problems nor does he pretend to throw light on the history of the art of the portal. He refers the reader repeatedly to Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* and *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, to Hans Karlinger's *Romanische Steinplastik in Altbayern*, to Dr. Joseph Sauer's *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, and other authorities.

The meaning of the sculpture cannot have a far-fetched interpretation, since it had to be understood by the average mediaeval layman. The writer declares that solving the riddle will contribute not only to the history of art, but it will also show that, notwithstanding its many dragons and demons, this early period of Germanic culture was more sound and optimistic than our present spiritual life, which he considers to be in a decline.

A detailed description of the sculpture follows. The upper frieze with Christ and the apostles is regarded by Wiebel as the key to the secret of the decorations. It suggests to him the Judgment scene, especially when considered in relation to similar but more detailed portal subjects elsewhere. The Bible text which gives the great message of the whole decorative scheme of the Schottenportal is Matthew, xxiv, 35: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

Although the portal was built on the north side of the church, it has to be considered as originally planned for a

western façade. The symbolism is closely connected with geographical direction and becomes intelligible by comparison with similar decorations on the western side of the majority of churches. The north is associated with the earth, with woman, with the devil, and with the heathen, the south with the sun, heaven, and man. The same principle is illustrated in churches in Verona, Hirsau, Tübingen, Chur, and Zürich. We see that by assuming the portal to have been planned to face the west, the writer arrives at some interesting conclusions.

The five arcades on either side of the upper frieze are supposed to represent the wise and foolish virgins. The middle row of arcades contains human heads which are taken to represent Europe, Asia, Africa, and the unknown. On the right of the entrance the four winds are represented. These two rows are separated by a decorative molding.

Most impressive are the human figures which are placed below this second row of arcades and which Wiebel interprets as representing the four geographical directions on the one side and the four elements, fire, water, earth, and air, on the other side. The lower row of arcades with additional animal forms is supposed to represent at the left the three climatic zones of the earth, and at the right, clouds, ether, and stars.

The great panel at the left of the façade illustrates the downfall of earth. At the bottom a mermaid is represented as symbolizing the sea, which swallows the ashes of the earth (Luke, xxi, 25). The right panel shows the downfall of heaven. A group of three men and a mermaid have been explained in various ways. These men are carrying books and may symbolize the announcers of the words that according to the quotation above shall not pass. But they may also represent knowledge, philosophy, wisdom, or similar concepts. A detailed description is also given of the geometrical ornament and plant and animal motifs. The analogy with other monuments the interpretation of which is more definite is emphasized in some cases.

The author discusses next the entrance itself. The arches are without decoration. Lions are placed where the arch starts on the columns; they are supposed to protect the church. In some human figures donors may be recognized, which suggests a tendency toward individualization.

The lions at the base of the columns are regarded as warning powers; lions were also placed at the entrance of cemeteries as *memento mori*. The right lion devours men, the left animals. The church of St. Zeno in Verona has similar lions. The differentiation between the male and female lion corresponds with the interior division of the church into a part for the men and another for the women.

The tympanum of the portal represents half figures of Christ between Jacob, the church patron, and St. John the Evangelist.

The columns and capitals of the entrance are decorated with floral motives which the writer does not attempt to interpret symbolically. A zigzag ornament is traced to Norman origin and regarded as giving protection against evil. The same design is also met with in decorations on the dome church in Worms.

The human figures between the columns are supposed to portray the sinners who have to remain outside of the

church; these types are discussed in detail. Local statuary and literary sources are numerous referred to and throw an interesting light on local traditions and social relations in the Middle Ages.

The ornament on the framing pilasters reminds one of the decorative *motifs* used by the Lombard goldsmiths. Roman designs are also applied here.

The interlacing border is interpreted as a defense against evil powers and its very placing at certain points seems to have been important. The north, for example, was regarded as the home of the devil. The author also discusses some decorations on the west side of the church and some of the capitals of the interior.

Finally, Wiebel recommends once more, in order to more fully understand the iconography of the period, a most serious study of the local culture at the time of the construction of the church. He warns the student against some fallacies resulting from taking too narrow a view.

A few photographs might have been added, for example, one of the church itself, so that the reader might understand better the relation of the portal to the construction of the entire church. The photograph of the portal itself seems to demand a more elaborate complement than actually exists. The frieze of Christ and the apostles, which gave Pastor Wiebel the key to the meaning, is barely visible in the given photograph of the portal. The writer presents an interesting reference list. As optional reading Emile Mâle's works and Hans Hildebrandt's *Regensburg* would not be out of place.

Aside from the reading material the illustrations alone are very impressive. The book stimulates interest in German Romanesque sculpture whether or not the reader agrees with the author in some details.

Constant Van de Wall

WILHELM NEUSS. *Die Kunst der alten Christen. Augsburg. 1926, Filser. 155 pp.; 208 figs; 4 color plates.*

This book is a survey of Early Christian art that is meant to acquaint the reader with characteristic examples of its various phases, to clarify its monumental evolution in broad outline, and to bring out the underlying racial, religious, and cultural factors whose interaction caused the vicissitudes of style from the beginning of the Christian era until the Carolingian period in the West and the iconoclastic controversy in the East. The chapters, of varying length but none of them long, bear titles which reveal the character of the book: *Introduction: the approach to an historico-artistic evaluation of Early Christian works of art; The beginning of Christian art in catacomb painting; The content of the earliest Christian representations; The creative genius of the earliest Christian art—the formative power of the symbol; The later sepulchral frescoes and sarcophagus-sculpture—the decline of plastic power and the new feeling for space; The Early Christian church—the creative alliance of western quest of form with oriental artistic tradition; The decoration of the Early Christian church—the old oriental two-dimensional art in combination with the Hellenistic tradition of beauty and the Syrian quest for expression; The content of the art of the Early Christian church—content and form; Minor arts in church and house-beauty, expression and two-dimensional style in conflict; Miniatures*

in Early Christian lands—the mental and the visual image; The Hellenistic-oriental development of the types of representation—realism, mysticism and liturgy; The denouement—icon and iconolatry—Early Christian and mediaeval art.

Thus revealed, the work must be taken for what it is, an effort after a popularly philosophical picture of Early Christian art in the light of our present knowledge. It serves its purpose extremely well and fully deserves Baumstark's enthusiastic comment as having "no equal in its happy selection of material." It is the first book of its kind to properly evaluate the Eastern monuments and the factors they represent. The author possesses a style whose force and originality impresses even the non-German reader, and the interplay of Hellenistic tradition and the rising mysticism which culminated in the triumph of Christianity is well thought out and impressively presented.

The archaeology on which the author builds his theoretical structure of Early Christian art is quite up-to-date, and the author shows a sufficient acquaintance with the points of controversy to justify his habitual conservatism of judgment. A number of criticisms on his handling of difficult problems of iconography, of Early Christian architecture, and of the Iconoclastic Controversy are voiced by Baumstark in his review of the book (*Oriens Christianus*, 1927, p. 190). The present reviewer would also dissent from Neuss in a number of points regarding the sarcophagi: we find in his volume the old and wholly unjustified notion that the strigil *motif* is necessarily a mark of early date; he relates the "Battle of Ponte Molle" on the Arch of Constantine to the "Red Sea" sarcophagi, which have been recently proved by Marian Lawrence to be of a date at least seventy-five years later than Constantine's reign; and he seems to have no suspicion of the significance of the Asiatic style and iconography of the columnar sarcophagi as contrasted with the Latin ones of the "frieze" style.

There are also minor points that need or suggest correction. The death of Junius Bassus is to be set in 359, not 354; Cosmas Indicopleustes is called a "monk" though conclusive evidence for this is lacking; few critics will agree with the statement that the Ashburnham Pentateuch was "probably written and illustrated in North Africa," in view of the domed architecture in its backgrounds, quite uncharacteristic of Roman Africa. Neuss does not question the authenticity of the "Great Chalice of Antioch," nor of any other of the pieces of Early Christian silver that have recently come on the antiquity market. A long note is devoted to the question of whether the silver casket of S. Nazaro is to be dated in the fourth or the sixteenth century, with judgment in favor of the former date, mainly on the assurance of Delbrueck that the casket was described in an account of its discovery as having the reliefs which now adorn it. The reviewer has already pointed out (*Amer. Jour. Arch.*, 1928, p. 403) in a notice of Delbrueck's publication of the casket in *Antike Denkmäler*, IV, 1, 1927) that the testimony of Giussano, which is the supposed account of the discovery of the casket alluded to by Neuss and Delbrueck, is derived from the only account left us by an eyewitness, namely, that of Carlo Bescapè, and that Giussano's inaccurate description of the reliefs on the casket must have referred to its appear-

ance a year later, when it was reinterred. Giussano's evidence is, therefore, rather in favor of a substitution of a contemporary work for the original reliquary, than otherwise.

In his general portrayal of Early Christian art, which is, after all, the purpose of the book, the author has rendered conspicuous service. Not the least of the merits of the book is its refusal to confuse the reader with the unproved hypotheses of Strzygowski's later period; the author's attitude toward one of these, viz., the leading rôle assigned to Armenia in the formation of Christian architecture, is succinctly expressed in the statement that Hripsime in Wagharschapat (A. D. 618) may be regarded as "one of the earliest of Armenian churches." Neuss' whole treatment of Early Christian architecture is admirably simple, and brief, and his handling of the change in the Greek East from the basilical to the central form brings out well the aesthetic viewpoints involved; he misses, however, or at least does not clearly state, the outstanding factor in the aesthetic effect of the basilica, viz., its "axis of movement" which carried the eye too swiftly forward to no adequate terminus, and produced a lack of balance and unity that was finally supplied by the vertical axis of Byzantine and Gothic architecture. In the same way, one would be better informed of the reason for the happy effect of the processions of saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo if the obvious distinction were brought out between Hellenistic symmetrical composition and the newer oriental search for unity by rhythmic repeat, of which these mosaics are outstanding and successful examples. The dating of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter as coeval with its text, the statement that we "unfortunately lack any material for comparison of Alexandrian with contemporary Roman works," the assumption that Christian book illustration begins in the fourth century—all reflect an imperfect grasp of the data on Early Christian illustration of manuscripts, which certainly may be used both to present a fairly clear picture of Alexandrian style, and also indicate a tradition of at least Old Testament illustration which antedates Constantine. The explanation of that characteristic of Early Christian composition which Riegel named isolation, as "*die Herrschaft der geistigen Vorstellung ueber die sinnliche*" seems to the reviewer a rather verbose circumlocution, *more Germanico*, for the simpler and more penetrating term "descriptive style."

Against these minor defects should be set the unity and consistency of the author's treatment viewed as a whole, its compact and yet adequate survey of the field, and the generally convincing picture which he gives of the shifting phases of the Early Christian view point, while underlining at each step the essential unity of the tremendous revolution that, during the period covered by his book, transformed the old world ideas into the mediaeval view point and generated the Byzantine and Gothic styles.

C. R. Morey

LES VITRAUX DE LA CATHÉDRALE DE ROUEN: XIII^e, XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e SIÈCLES. Edited by Georges Ritter. 106 pp., 100 pls., plan. Folio. Cognac (Charente), 1926.

The late war has proved, as far as the publication of the art of Rouen cathedral is concerned, at once a deterrent

and a stimulus. M. Ritter, who is an archivist in the Archives Nationales, had intended originally to do for Rouen what M. Houvet has done for Chartres, namely, to publish a complete work with plates and text on the architecture, sculpture, glass, and mobiliary art of the cathedral (*Avant-Propos*, p. 2). This project was thwarted by the coming of the war and continued impossible under post-war conditions. However, it was the fear of aerial attacks that led the French to remove the precious stained glass windows from the cathedral at Rouen, which gave to the Administration des Beaux-Arts an opportunity to photograph the glass, a task which M. Heuzé, General Secretary of the Société Française d'Archéologie, was appointed to undertake. Heuzé photographed all the windows that were accessible (some were left *in situ* and it was impossible to photograph them successfully); the results of his work are seen in the heliotypes in this volume. The plates are one-tenth the actual size of the windows and are fairly clear, though it is difficult at times to make out small details. The photographs were taken after the windows had been carefully washed, but before any restorations were made.

Ritter's chief object has been to publish the results of the work of Heuzé, thereby fulfilling in part his original project. He has not attempted to give an exhaustive discussion of the glass, but contents himself rather with somewhat brief descriptions of the scenes and their iconographical interpretation. The introduction is given over to a general consideration of the history of the windows and includes enough on style and composition to show, in outline, the development of the art of stained glass through the centuries represented. The material is divided according to centuries, dating being based for the most part on inscriptions, documents, and previous studies of the subject; a few of the dates are still uncertain. There is no attempt to discuss the subject of stained glass in general, either as to technique or history. In the notes on the plates brief descriptions of the scenes, including mention of colors, are given. Here chronological order is again preserved. A section is devoted also to the glass in the Archbishop's Manor, dating probably from the first years of the sixteenth century. In the thirteenth century group Ritter has succeeded in arranging in logical order most of the scenes transferred in the fourteenth century from their original place and put together without regard to meaning or design in the chapel of St.-Jean-dans-la-Nef and St.-Sever.

The entire publication is arranged in a careful and orderly manner, and the plates are nicely printed on paper of fine quality. This collection of plates offers an excellent opportunity to study the stained glass of Rouen both as to iconography and style, and thereby to gain an idea of four important centuries of stained glass work at Rouen, all of which are well represented in this one cathedral. As Ritter suggests, there is here a large field for scholarly research which has hardly been touched upon. It is to be hoped that Ritter will be able in the near future to publish his proposed works on the other phases of the art of Rouen cathedral.

Marion Hayes

BEYOND ARCHITECTURE. By A. Kingsley Porter. New ed. 84 pp. Boston, Marshall Jones, 1928. \$1.50.

Beyond Architecture, by A. Kingsley Porter, contains three short essays: *Against Roman Architecture*, *Stars and Telescopes*, and *Parva Componere Magnis*. These offer a spirited discussion of Roman architecture, what is wrong with modern society, how society affects art, what art is, and what art history should not be.

The book, as Mr. Porter tells us in his preface, offers "some new cider, some middling hard, and some turned to vinegar under a dusty label." The chapter *Against Roman Architecture* must be the vinegar in more than one sense—it is reprinted in its entirety from an earlier volume having the same name as this one. Where the new cider is, it is harder to say. Every idea in the present book can be found in the old one. And many of the most striking ideas are expressed in exactly the same words. But there is a difference. This present volume, half the size of its predecessor, is a generalization of it. Herein lies the difficulty of judging it. Elsewhere Porter has written extensively in solid scholarly style. In one of his books, *Medieval Architecture*, there is considerable discussion of Roman architecture, his pet abomination. He has studied Roman architecture carefully, and he dislikes it. In other matters of art history he has formed strong personal opinions. This volume represents a selection of such individual reactions to aesthetics and to art. At first sight, one might be inclined to brush the book aside as being too sweeping in its statements although the author has arrived at his conclusions only after deep and varied experience. Though his book appears superficial, it really is not.

But to get back to the vinegar, *Against Roman Architecture* is a sweeping indictment. Porter finds only emptiness, pomposity, and vulgarity in Roman architecture. His attack runs as follows: To-day we find charm in Roman ruins because time has softened them, given them a poetic quality they did not possess when they were new. It is true we do not really know what the buildings looked like centuries ago but from what has been preserved we know that the Romans did not have a sense of color (judging from Pompeian frescoes) and they were not very sensitive (the architectural detail with few exceptions is quite terrible). Roman architecture was definitely commercial and was made for expediency, money, or fame. It was the perfect reflection of Roman life in its joylessness, dullness, and vulgar display, shown, for instance, in the banquet scene of Petronius' *Satyricon*. This lack of joy, observable in Roman life and art, proves that art is a failure. Every work of real art communicates an impression of joy, that is, it communicates directly the conception of the creator. No copy can convey the spirit of the original. Roman art is a copy of Greek art. Greek art communicates the impression of joy. Roman art being a copy of Greek art cannot and does not communicate this emotion.

In fine, Porter "refuses to bow down before the Goddess Rome." This argument with its blocks of logic so carefully put into place tempts one to play with the author at his own game. In another essay he says, "The art of forgery has attained such perfection that the most perspicacious experts can no longer distinguish with any sureness . . . the genuine from the imitation."

Where, then, does his criterion of joy go to? If a forgery can be so perfect as to be indistinguishable from the original, does it not meanwhile communicate joy as surely as the original? Again, a copy, in this sense, has as its purpose the exact reproduction of the original. No one can say that Roman architecture had as its purpose the exact imitation of the Greek. It contributed qualities peculiar to itself and, being distinct from the Greek—that is, not an exact copy—could it not have been possible for it to communicate this mysterious quality of joy?

All this is sophistry, of course, but so is Porter's deadly argument against Roman architecture. Roman architecture may be ostentatious and vulgar—not all of it is, as he himself says. It is not ostentatious and vulgar because it is a copy of Greek architecture. However true Porter's separate premises, when put together as an engine of war they somehow do not destroy Roman architecture.

Much attention has been given to the essay *Against Roman Architecture* because it is so typical of Porter's style, so illustrative of his way of thinking. The other two essays in this volume are different in subject matter, but the method throughout is similar.

The facility with which Porter writes is at once the charm and defect of this work. Sometimes there is more interest in the turn of a phrase than in the thought expressed. But there is no lack of interest in the volume. The passage on Greek art is beautifully written. His definition of beauty is clear and persuasive. His "bad boy" attitude toward Roman architecture is very entertaining. Much more could be listed, and Porter's charm would not be exhausted.

Finally one must thank Porter for not sitting on the fence. He strikes out one way or another. He is stimulating and says much that seems true. The principal quarrel with him is in regard to the way in which he arrives at his conclusions.

Frances Levine

BILDNEREI DER GEFANGENEN. Studie zur bildnerischen Gestaltung Ungeübter. By Hans Prinzhorn. 60 pp. 176 illustrations, 2 in color. Berlin, Axel Juncker Verlag, 1926.

In an earlier work, *Bildnerlei der Geisteskranken*, Prinzhorn examined the drawings of psychopathic individuals. In this later volume it is the arts of the imprisoned that are more briefly studied. The author is interested in these works for the light they throw not only on the prisoner but on artistic creation in general—hence, the subtitle of the book. It is a study of the pictorial imagination of untrained men. This subject is of vast interest to the student of aesthetics and should be more cultivated by historians of traditional arts. It adds to our insight into how the greatest variety of individuals create under the most varied circumstances with the greatest differences in skill.

In addition, such works are of value to the educator and psychologist, for they provide a simple evidence of the nature of imagining. We learn from them the manner in which an adult without knowledge of the artistic conventions for space, movement, light, etc., conceives of these relations, how much he actually knows of the shapes of



FIGS. 1, 2, 3—Linoleum Prints done in Miss Katherine Larkin's Class at Blackwell's Island

objects, their correlation with his vocabulary, his abstractions of experience in imagination. This is a method superior to the "Breakfast-table" experiment of Galton, in which questioning and introspection were considered adequate means of discovering the character of individual imagery.

In the study of the arts of prisoners there is of course the difficulty that not all prisoners are criminals or vicious persons, and that in intelligence, education, and personal interests they show a range perhaps as great as the community which imprisons them. This only increases the interest of the investigation, for we may observe how the normal variety of individuals are affected in their arts by these new conditions of confinement. In this respect it would be worth studying traditional works made in prisons, and not remarked by Prinzhorn, like the mediaeval manuscripts in Paris and London (British Museum, 1. A. XX, a fourteenth century Bible in French written by Robert de la Marche in the Paris prison, and Bibl. Nat. fr. 1611, a fifteenth century work by G. LeClerc) and sculptures in Agen, Narbonne, etc.

In accord with the method of interpretation practiced by historians of art, Prinzhorn tries to relate the forms and subjects of prison art to the mental peculiarities of the prisoners, although he recognizes the importance of social factors. The artistic activity is considered the result of an enforced isolation which produces in ennui a passive, dreamy state of mind that allows free play to suggestion. The materials are those most accessible in a prison, the walls, furniture, crude pottery, playing cards, and bread, chewed, moistened, kneaded. Since the prisoner is a socially mal-adjusted individual, his art is personal and compensatory. It contains no forms like trees and landscape or objects rendered for the sake of their beauty; these do not interest the prisoner, whose world is colored by antagonism to society and dissatisfaction with his confinement. Ornament is also as rare as disinterested representation. The compositions of the imprisoned are dominated by a strong sentimentality realized in images of retrospective tenderness and piety, heroic autobiography and celebration of the artist, subjects like the mother's funeral, the village church, occasional grotesquerie, and a great deal of erotic, and often perverse, fantasy. The few thoroughly realistic works portray incidents of the prisoner's life, crimes, detection (cf. Fig. 3), conflict, and sexual experience. Allegory and symbolism of a conventional kind are very prominent. In style these works are similar to much folk art in the inconsequential union of unrelated forms, the free borrowing of strange *motifs*, the lack of perspective and normal proportions, the love of symbols and inscriptions. In tattooing and in the decoration of playing cards an ornamental idea is evident, but it is of the simplest character. The tattooing is usually of folk and allegorical *motifs*, sexual references, trade-marks, and propitious symbols arranged in accord with the structure of the body. The playing cards recall in their subjects and style the similar works of the late mediaeval period and suggest a continuous tradition that deserves further study.

If the personal subject matter springs from the particular experience of the imprisoned man, the primitive methods of representation are explained by Prinzhorn as the result of the criminal's primitive temper ("*primitive Seelenzustand*").

He observes, however, that the practice of tattooing is not a peculiarity of the born criminal, representing atavistic tendencies or inferior types, but is common to particular social groups and crafts. It is so often determined by particular experiences and chance events that it is wrong to see in it the reflection of a degenerate or inferior primitive mentality. But the author does not distinguish clearly the socially primitive from the psychologically primitive and leaves us in doubt as to his real meaning.

This analysis is illustrated by eighty-eight reproductions of drawings, tattoos, and modelings of prisoners, to which are added as many examples of *Gaunerzinken*, pictographic signs employed by German thieves in the last century and now gone out of usage. Several poems and epigrams are published, including the doubtfully or undeservedly "immortal" *Ballad of Reading Gaol*, with the misprint,

"But I never saw a man who looked
So *whistfully* at the sky."

The greater part of the reproductions is of German works; a few have been taken from the Italian materials collected by Lombroso. Some are evidently the works of men trained in the arts of representation, while many are simple drawings and modelings analogous to the scrawls and graffiti of public places, and the clay figurines that appear in various levels of Mediterranean excavations. There is also a large class of more ambitious works by untrained men with an obvious interest in completeness and firmness of representation, illustrated by several bread sculptures and playing cards. Two of the former, narrating the battle of police and robbers, and the trial are comparable to the best in primitive modeling (figs. 52, 53).

The material upon which Prinzhorn's observations are based is necessarily limited and gives an imperfect idea of the possible variety of such art. Such works are only infrequently preserved, and in the few existing collections there is evident a too arbitrary choice and a lack of systematic effort. They are perishable by their very nature, since they are made of the most fugitive materials. The indecency of some works and the common crudity of untrained art have also discouraged their preservation. We are nevertheless led by the author to believe that permanent and essential characteristics of prison art have been described although many of them are peculiar to special cultural traditions and experience. Although in some prisons the men are taught to practice crafts, Prinzhorn reproduces no works created after this training. He remarks that in the Prague prison school there is "no free play of individual fancy, no expression of personal needs, but an acquiescence in what is learned and acquired." In the works of this school "there could be found hardly a piece that was in any way distinctive of a place or individual. The things had more to do with manual skill than with the fashioning and the pictorial expression of the spiritual (*Sedischem*)."

It seems that with a little training the psychological peculiarities of the prisoners are entirely deflected in their arts, if we may trust Prinzhorn's account, which betrays an arbitrary association of the artistic with the direct and personal expression of the "spiritual." Yet if we examine the best of the individual works of untrained men reproduced by him, like some of the card decorations and the bread sculptures, it is doubtful whether we can recognize in them the previous life (*Lebensvorgaenge*) which

he misses in the pieces at Prague. He considers the latter less characteristic material for his study because he cannot easily identify in them a prison or criminal background. This would hold, however, for most of the works he has reproduced. If the prison is indeed a specific environment and the criminal a distinct being in his art, then even this inculcated craft should in its products differ from the works of similar instruction outside the prison walls.

That prisoners are incapable of disinterested representation of the external world because of their maladjustment and personal preoccupations is hardly certain. Unconfined adults and children, untroubled by the problems of the criminal, likewise do not represent objects for their beauty. Such a conception of art or of the imitation of nature is exceptional in history. It is a mistake even in the study of historic arts to correlate the disinterested imitation of nature with liberty and a happy disposition since we are dealing with traditions and not individuals creating spontaneously. In the case of the prisoners, the indifference to natural beauty or to the realistic transcription of the world about them in their drawings must be considered analogous to the same indifference in the drawings of most untrained artists and the preponderant mass of primitive art.

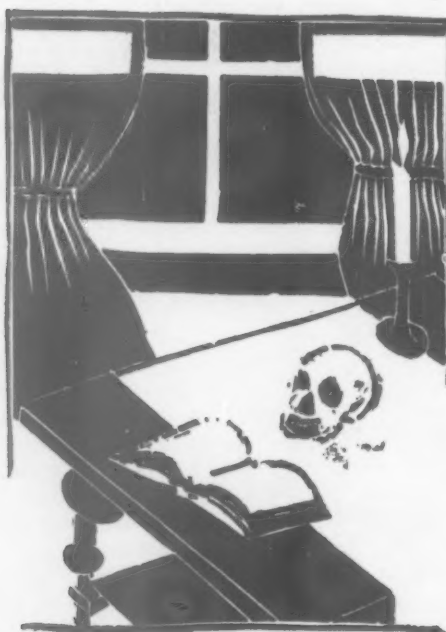
The author notes an exception to the highly symbolical and personal art of the imprisoned in a painting of the courtyard of the prison which reveals in no way an artist confined and miserable. But this he thinks an exception because the artist was an experienced painter incarcerated under unusual circumstances and finally pardoned. If this picture reflects the skilled traditional painter, the more personal (?) products of the other men may with equal pertinence be

referred to the common style or characters of the untrained artist. But even in prison the latter may be influenced to represent subjects remote from his troubles. This we know from the drawings and prints made under the direction of Miss Larkin by the untrained young criminals in Blackwell's Island. From the landscapes and urban scenes, the pictures of Paul Revere (cf. Fig. 1), sea captains, soldiers, animals and birds, and even ornamental compositions, we could hardly infer that the authors were criminal boys in confinement. They differ perhaps from the works of unimprisoned boys in their greater originality.

It is obvious that the writings and pictures of individuals in prison may include ideas arising from their special circumstances and from their personal experience (cf. Fig. 2). But these must be carefully distinguished from the forms and subjects which they have in common with the members of a still larger group to which they also belong.

Prinzhorn's book is a useful contribution to a field of investigation which in earlier books has been approached in a completely insensitive manner. The works of the imprisoned have not been considered as imaginative expressions or ornaments but have been pitted against the technical prowess of academic art and judged very primitive, if not atavistic and degenerate. The more philosophic historians of art today maintain the universal rather than European scope of art history. If the folk arts of northern Europe and Asia, and all primitive art are to be considered in an ideal history or aesthetic, the less sophisticated contemporary arts, whatever their motivation or value, also deserve place.

Meyer Schapiro



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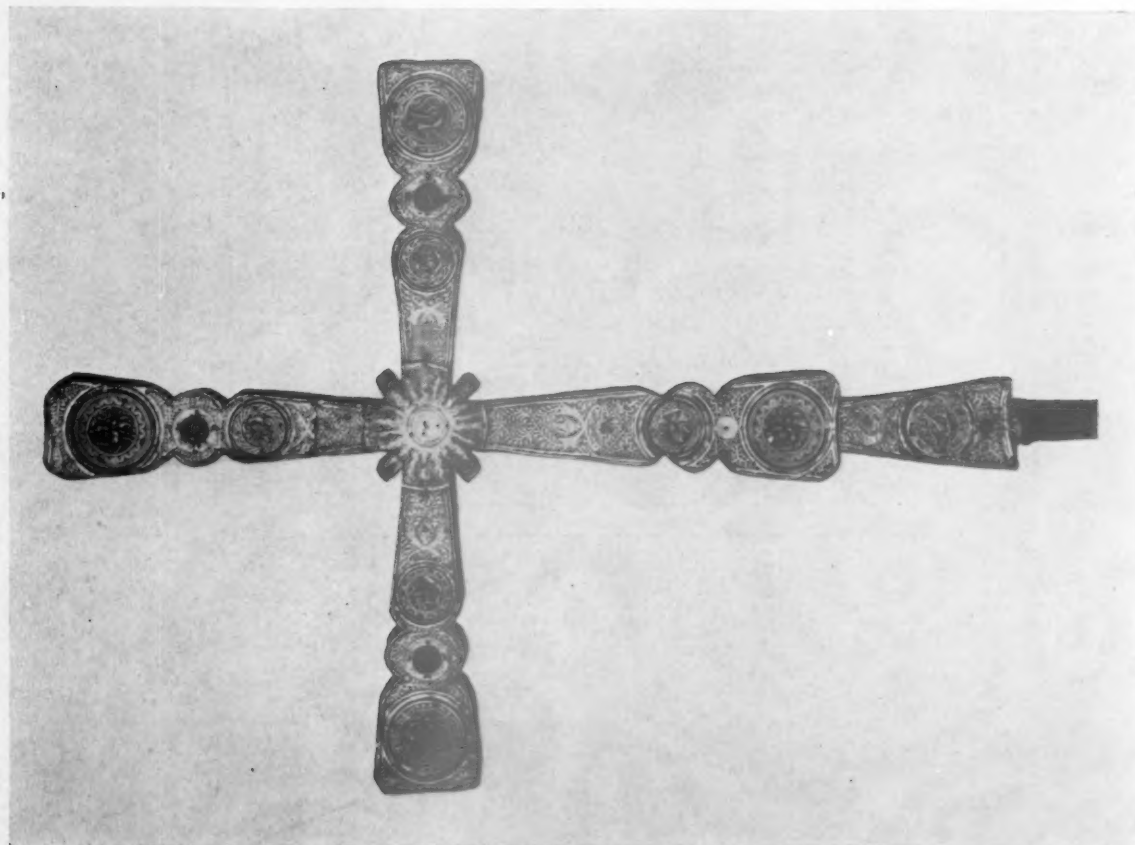


FIG. 1

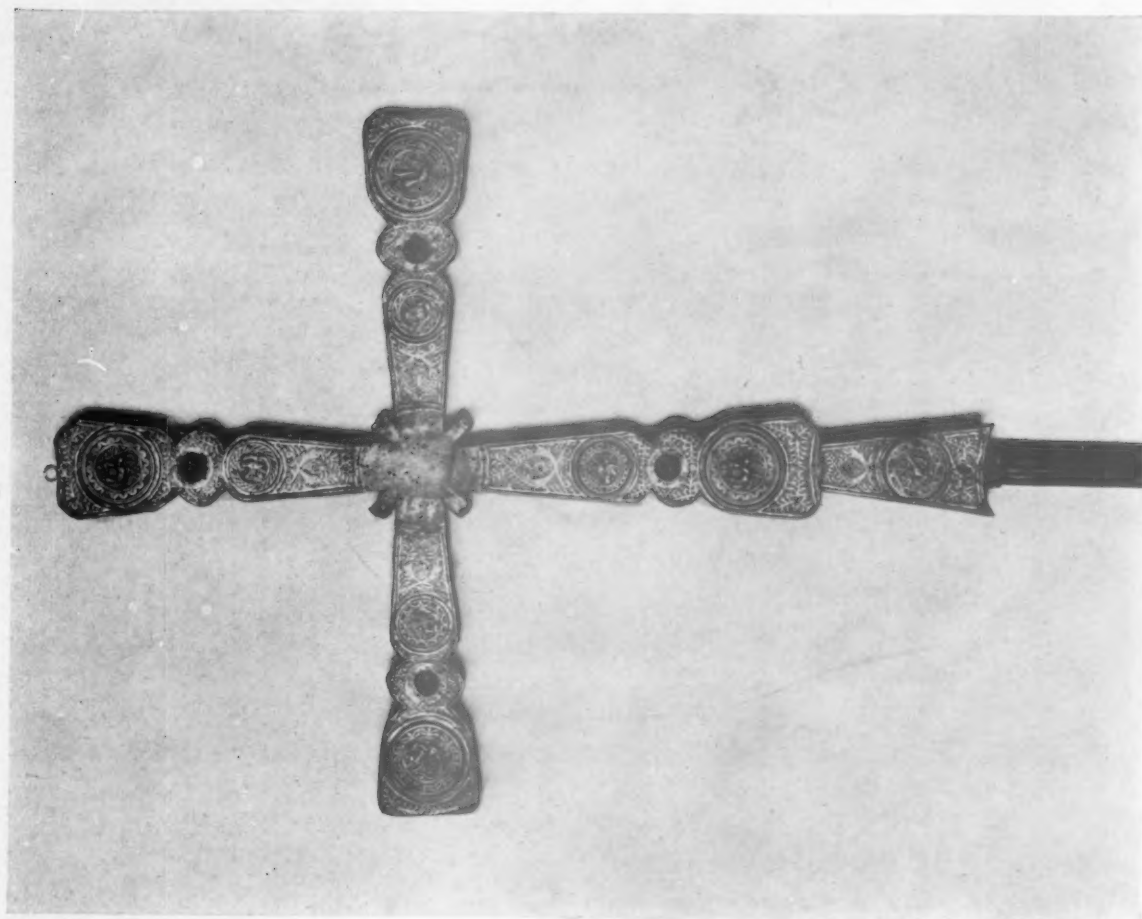


FIG. 2

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum (lent by Samuel Yellin): Spanish Processional Cross. Front and Back

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CROSS

A Note on a Mozarabic Theme

BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING

IN the beginning the cross and the lamb were both symbols of Christ, but the cross was also an emblem of His Passion, and on sarcophagi is carried by Christ as a distinguishing mark, as well as by the apostle Peter, who was admitted to share His Passion. The lamb was also a symbol of the faithful. In order to be more specific, therefore, the Agnus Dei was employed, "the Lamb that was slain," and the lamb carries the cross or is somehow in juxtaposition with it, as on the triumphal arch of SS. Cosma e Damiano (530). On the reliquary cross of Justin II (†573) the figure has assumed the traditional aspect, standing and holding with one foreleg the long-stemmed cross. Its place is on sarcophagi, crosses (reliquary or altar crosses), reliquary caskets, and portable altars.¹ It may have direct apocalyptic significance, as in the Aemilianensis manuscript (Fig. 7).

It is not the Agnus Dei, strictly speaking, that is intended on the sarcophagus of Archbishop Felix (†705), in S. Apollinare in Classe. At the center of the front, under a baldachin, is a X P cross with pendent Λ and ω ; then a pair of lambs beneath crosses, which they do not carry, however; then under other baldachins are hanging lamps; and, finally, a candlestick is followed by a simulated column at each end of the sarcophagus front. On the lid a large cross is flanked by victory wreaths enclosing a pair of Greek crosses, from the arms of which, again, hang the Λ and ω . All is strictly symbolic. The cross exalted and bearing the Λ and ω stands for the apparition with which the Revelation of St. John opens: "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last . . ."

The Triumph of the Cross, then, has nothing to do with the success of the Church; it stands always for the triumph of Christ—"Fulget crucis mysterium." The magnificent pages of the Gelasian Sacramentary are eucharistic; the no less magnificent pages with which every complete Beatus once opened are mystical. The other great early manuscripts (non-Spanish) which blazon the Triumph of the Cross are the Missale Gothicum, the Laon St. Augustine and Orosius, the St. Jerome from St. Amand, and the St. Gregory at Leningrad; in the Orosius and the Sacramentary the Agnus Dei is present. All these manuscripts have a connection with either Fleury or Luxeuil, and in both schools some relation to Spain declares itself.² The cult has always assumed peculiar importance in Spain.

Broadly speaking, the Triumph of the Cross was chosen for a theme on the heathen frontiers: in northern England, in northeastern France, in Spain, in Armenia. It died

1. The Milan ivory is not an Agnus Dei; neither, strictly, is the enamel of the Silos coffer, but that is probably for want of space, as the Λ and ω are present and mark the theme as apocalyptic. Caskets, as cited, are at Leon and Astorga, altars at Leon and Conques.

2. In Zimmermann's *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* may be found good plates for studying some of the miniatures

of these manuscripts. The Triumph of the Cross (pl. 135) in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Wilson points out that most of the theological manuscripts in Pitain's collection, whence this Sacramentary derived, came out of Fleury) should be compared with the Aemilianensis, fol. 16. The Missale Gothicum, from Fleury, has the twin horseshoe arches (pl. 46) and at least one initial completely Leonese (pl.

away as the adversaries were converted—earliest in France, where Charlemagne dealt with the Saxons; latest in Armenia; but it persisted in Spain as a favorite devotion of Isabella the Catholic until the fall of Granada. In pages of the Gelasian Sacramentary devoted to it the lamb is placed at the center of the cross, in conformity with Fortunatus' words in the *Pange lingua*: "*Agnus in cruce levatur*." The device had been used already (as on the reverse of Justin's reliquary cross) but here it has become a settled convention, to be reproduced at Laon. The *A* and *ω* of Revelation, i, 8, find a sacramental interpretation in Apringius' *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, which explains their invariable occurrence in this group of manuscripts with Mozarabic connections, as also in the Spanish Beatus and other manuscripts from Palencia and Leon down to the Romanesque age. They hang from the two arms of the cross, like Visigothic votive crowns; and on the upper edge of these arms are set a pair of pricket candlesticks, with tapers. The Leningrad St. Gregory, attributed to the school of Luxeuil, is quite clear in this respect. So are the Beatus manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, including that of Silos in Castile (also the Liber Comes and the Councils codex from S. Millan), but excluding the Albino Beatus,³ which while keeping the pendent *A* and *ω*, follows an earlier tradition in setting the lamb on a roundel at the center of the cross and the evangelical creatures out on the four arms.⁴ All the attachments are present in early Leonese work⁵ like the Rose of the Winds, the Astorga casket, the Bible of Leon. But with the passage of time the significance of the candles was forgotten and they were transformed into mere ornament (e. g., in the Aemilianensis, Liber Comes, Facundus); though the original intention survives even here in an inscription which ends *fulget*, a word which the Gallican church had used in the Leningrad Gregory, "*Crux alma fulget*." This word is unforgettable as it breaks out in the second line of Fortunatus' great hymn of *Vexilla regis*, one of the chants written for Holy Cross Day by the friend of Queen Radegund; and it is on liturgical grounds that we must account for the use of the word and probably of the naïf symbol.

In certain of these manuscripts under consideration (e. g., the Aemilianensis, which is dated 992; Facundus, 1047; Liber Comes, 1043; and the Rylands Beatus, as late as the twelfth century) the tall cross which spans the page is neither more nor less than that carried by the Agnus Dei, and the lamb is depicted at the bottom of the page. But the cross in these and the other Spanish miniatures is the Cross of the Angels, the Spanish shape with four equal arms, carried on a sort of stalk such as is found on metal processional crosses for setting them in the staff.

* * * *

In Spain the cross as an emblem antedates Christianity. Gómez-Moreno has published,⁶ among the Vadinia inscriptions, an epitaph of a boy beneath which a horse and a cross

47 d). With the Orosius from Laon (pl. 144) cf. the Aemilianensis, fol. 16. The two from Luxeuil, St. Jerome (pl. 63) and St. Gregory (pl. 64 a)—cf. Gerona, fol. 2—show how Luxeuil has everywhere superior lightness and grace besides the advantage of two hundred years' seniority. The Lectionary (pls. 51-57) and the Wolfenbützel St. Augustine (pls. 56-62), also from Luxeuil, demand comparison with Oveco's initials in the Valcavado Beatus at Valladolid. And, lastly, in the Gudehinus Evangelary

from Fleury the faces of two animals must be compared with the consistent Beatus tradition of a Beast (established in the eighth century) and the special type of Beast in that of Urgel.

3. Acad. Hist., from S. Millan.

4. Cf. Laon Orosius, Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, pl. 144.

5. Gómez-Moreno, *Catalogo Monumental, Prov. de Leon*, 81, 79, 80.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 7.

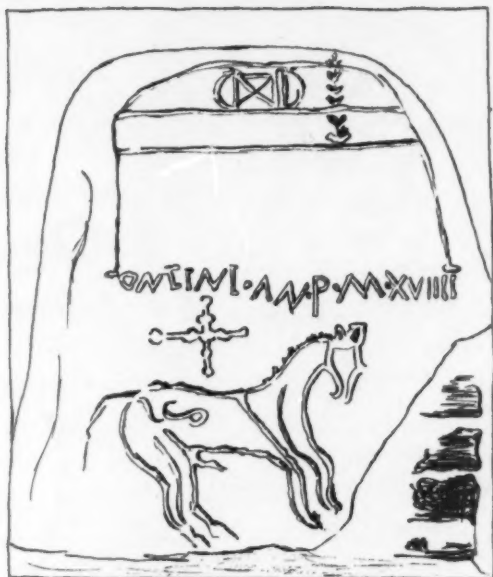


FIG. 3—Epitaph from the Cantabrian Mountains. Cross and Horse

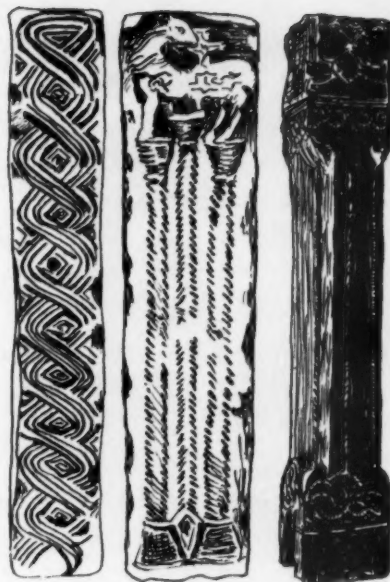


FIG. 4—Jamb Post (?) from Dalmatia. Agnus Dei

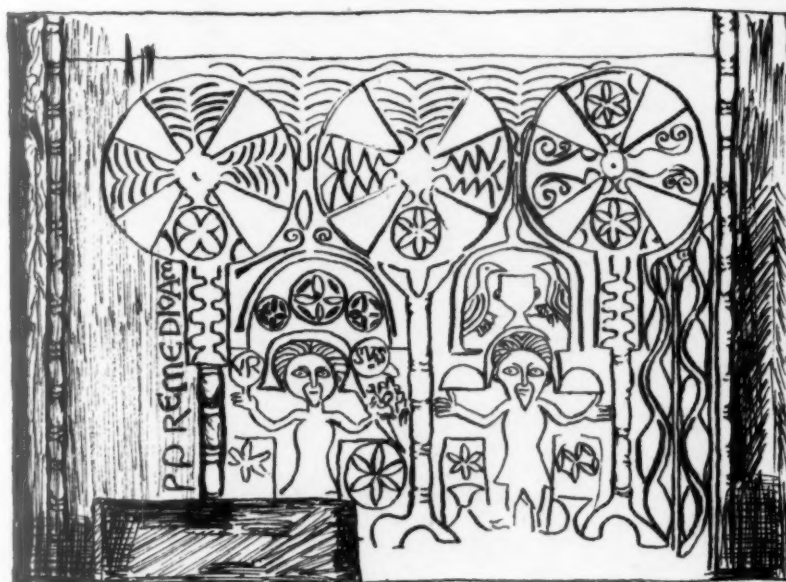


FIG. 5—Ferentillo, Badia di S. Pietro: Carving of the Three Trees with other Magic Symbols



FIG. 6—Galligans, S. Pedro: Carving of the Three Rods on Jamb Post

are rudely engraved (Fig. 3). The cross is equal-armed and set with disks of the same pattern as a fine gold processional cross in the Pennsylvania Museum (Figs. 1, 2). Gómez-Moreno opines that the foyer of these lost folk must be sought in the Asturias. Their emblem survives unaltered in the Spanish Renaissance. Certainly in the Asturias, when history recommences at the Reconquest, we have a set of crosses, jeweled, equal-armed, and resembling each other: the Cross of the Angels (808) at Oviedo; that of Compostela (874); that of Pelayo, or "of Victory" (908), nearer in shape to the so-called Gallican cross (which, for example, opens the Leningrad Gregory); and that of Peñalba in the Vierzo (940). These four show at present no signs of pendants or prickets, though on the Oviedo example Morales saw points of attachment, and both pendants and prickets may be seen attached to the Cross of Victory on the bottom of the Astorga casket (early tenth century), which is admitted as Mozarabic. On the bottom of the agate casket of Oviedo the Cross of Victory was set amid the tetramorph but wanted room for the attachments. It appears, then, that the paintings of the manuscripts refer back to actual metal crosses, for altar or processional use, which were not only treasured but specially revered. They cannot be referred to one historical object as prototype, because the Cross of Victory, repeated on the Astorga casket and then in the Rylands manuscript, is a cross fleury and is slightly different from the others in proportions. The power of the cross is a sort of folk use, not unlike a totem, proper to the Asturian-Leonese marches.

The mottoes set about the cross in the earlier miniatures confirm its potency:⁷

<i>Hoc signo</i>	<i>tuetur pius</i>
<i>In hoc signo</i>	<i>vincitur inimicus</i>

and again:⁸

<i>Signum</i>	<i>crucis</i>
<i>Christi</i>	<i>regis</i>

The school of Luxeuil (in the Gregory manuscript, of the eighth century) wrote merely, "*Crux alma fulget*," and the other Gallican manuscripts have only the names of Christ. The most elaborate motto is on a page of the Aemilianensis:

<i>Defendens qua</i>	<i>agmina</i>
<i>Perenniter</i>	<i>beatorum</i>
	<i>fulgit</i>

It is this same manuscript which offers elsewhere a striking Triumph of the Lamb (Fig. 7) surrounded by the four evangelistic symbols, the *A* and *ω* being disposed at top and bottom of the almond-shaped glory and the lamb itself, regardant, surveying a triad of symbols, the usual Maltese cross between the lance and the grail of the Passion.⁹ Strangely enough, Strzygowski has encountered a variant of the Aemilianensis theme in Dalmatia and published it in a recent work (Fig. 4).

7. Beatus, Valcavado, 970, Acad. Hist., tenth century; Mozarabic Antiphonary, c. 1067. This motto is found inscribed on both the Oviedo crosses

8. Beatus, Silos, 1091; Liber Comes, 1073.

9. The substitution of this chalice, which in Carolingian art is found below the feet of the Crucified, for the pail

which held the anodyne and the sponge on a long reed, may be traced clearly through the Spanish manuscripts. It exemplifies the supersession of the narrative by the symbolic. In the Rylands frontispiece are repeated, between two angels, lamb, cross, lance, and grail.

Spaniards have an especial devotion for *Jesus Sacramentado*, for Whom of all symbols the lamb is the most acceptable. It was set in the tympanum of S. Isidoro of Leon, where, long afterwards, popes gave permission for a perpetual exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. It is found on the portable altar of Leon; and we see it on the tympanum at Meyra (see the cover design and tail piece of this magazine for a drawing of the relief), placed between two vine stocks in fruit, that there may be no question of the Eucharist in its two species. It is probable that the importance and familiarity of the lamb symbol may be laid in part to the extensive use of the Apocalypse for the first of the three lessons of the Mozarabic liturgy; the Apocalypse was read, for instance, during the whole time between Easter and Pentecost and on various other feasts as well, particularly those of Holy Cross. The feast of the Invention of the Cross falls on May third, that of the Triumph of the Cross in July, and that of the Exaltation of the Cross on September fourteenth. The lesson of the May feast is:

"I John was in the Spirit and the Lord showed me a river of life proceeding out of the seat of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it and on both parts of the river the word of life bearing twelve fruits, yielding fruit month by month. And the leaves of the tree [lignum] were for the healing of the nations . . ." And so it goes on to "forever and ever. Amen."

So in the *Sacrificium* the magnificent antiphonal response was of "the voices of many angels crying before the Lamb Who is the first-born of the dead," as from the other side of the choir it was given out: "*Lavit nos super lignum sanguine suo.*" And this, as well as—in the appointed hymn of *Pange lingua*—the "*fuso agni sanguine*," serves to enforce the identification of the lamb with the sacrifice of the altar, for which the cross is only another symbol.

* * * *

At this point my colleague Dr. Diez reminds me of the symbolism encompassing the Agnus Dei on a page of the Gerona Beatus (Fig. 8), the scene of the Four Horsemen and the Lamb. On various early pieces, chiefly ivories, the lamb is horned; it is really a ram, as Barbier de Montault notes with some bewilderment; and on the strength of this, Paul Sarasin¹⁰ identified it with the ram of Hermes as a fertility god. The cross is a *tetras*, corresponding to the Egyptian Re, Osiris, Keb, and Schu,¹¹ all four being incorporated in the ram of Mendes. So on this page of the Gerona Beatus we have in the use of both lamb and cross a familiar folk duplication of emblems just for good measure. But the Maltese cross, to which the Mozarabic forms approximate, is a sun symbol more ancient than Egypt; and on this and other pages of the Beatus miniatures the lamb holds in his other foreleg the *crux ansata*, a symbol of immortality and, no less, of fertility. The *fleurs-de-lis* that decorate the *tronus*, or disk, on which the lamb appears here, are esoteric symbols, likewise. Even the design in the border of the page, which suggests a half-honeysuckle, is interpreted by Sarasin,¹² when it appears on an early Cretan cup, as the spiral of the lightning. The lance and the bow are, no less, signs of the lightning, and the four evangelists are riding on sun symbols! Sun and lightning and fertility—what

10. *Helios und Keraunos, oder Gott und Geist*, Innsbruck, 1924.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 36; fig. 36, p. 69.

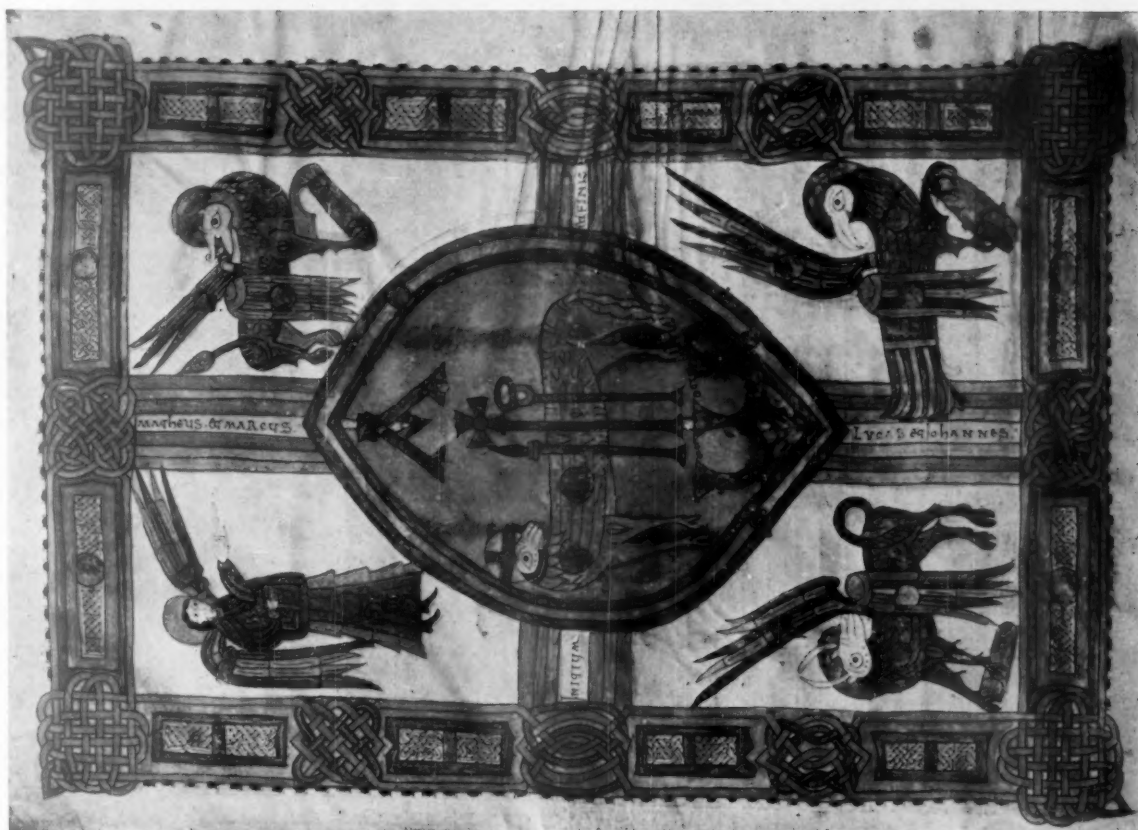


FIG. 7—Escorial Library: *Codex Aemilianensis*, Folio 454
Agnus Dei with Cross, Lance, and Grail

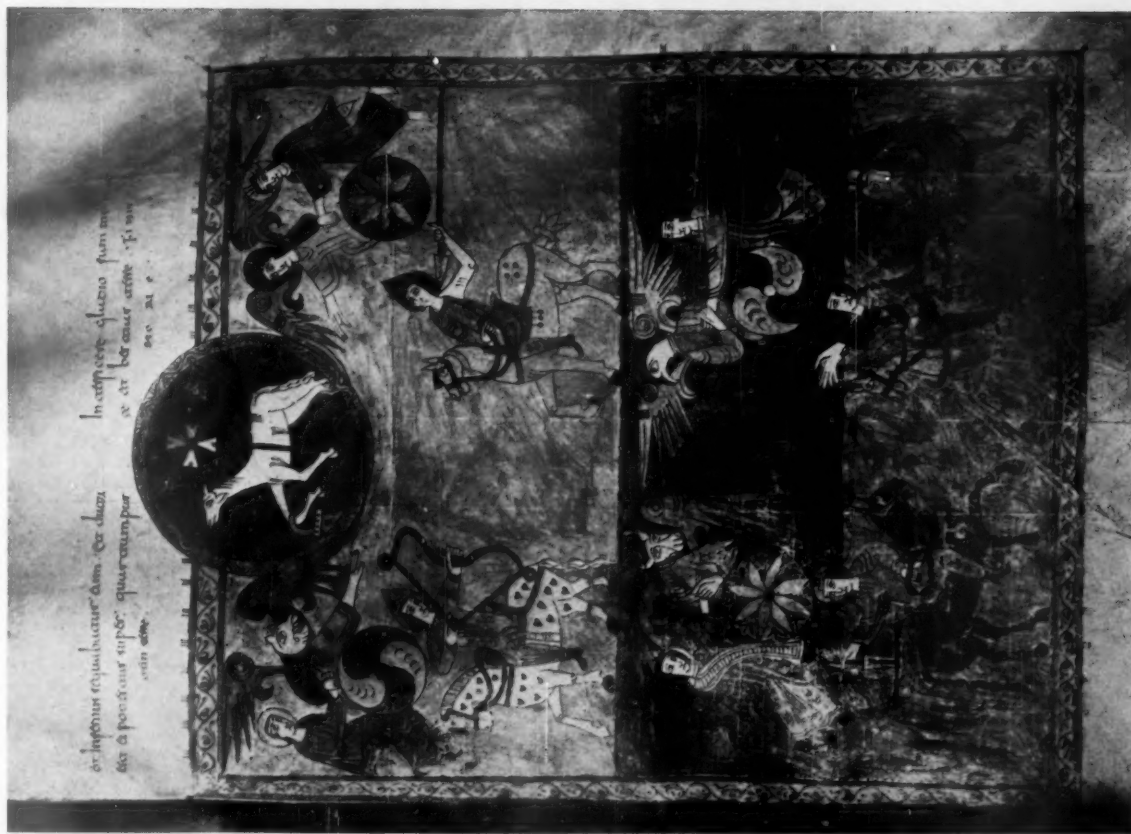


FIG. 8—Gerona, Cathedral: Page from the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus of Liébana. Agnus Dei with Esoteric Symbols



FIG. 9—*Islamic Carving from the Maghreb (?)*
The Three Trees



FIG. 10—*Escorial Library: Detail of Page from the Codex*
Vigilanus. The Garden of Paradise

have they to do with Patmos and Liébana? Well, for one thing, they have plenty to do with Eden and Sinai; and, for another, in comparative religion symbols must always reckon on strange bedfellows; lastly, the whole corpus of the Beatus manuscripts is a mine of folklore hitherto unworked. I have some reason for believing that along with the apocalyptic tradition the esoteric may be traced, by anyone who knows enough, throughout the work of the eighth century Asturian monk.

* * * *

In one place in the *Pange lingua* the cross is a tree:

*Crux fidelis inter omnes arbor una nobilis
Nulla talem selva profert fronde flore et germina;
Dulce lignum, dulce clavum, dulce pondus sustinet.
Flecte ramos arbor alta. . . .*

Indeed, the May office begins: "Tell it out among the nations that the Lord reigns from the Tree," and Fortunatus had used the verse. The *Inlatio* (what we call the *Proper Preface*) treats of paradise, the earthly paradise and the heavenly, and the trees of the Garden. In the Gallican missal, also, there are plenty of trees; though all is shortened, a still more striking passage may be found in the Roman (Tridentine) use: "*Haec est arbor dignissima in Paradisi media situata.*"¹³ The phrase brings back the argument to Mozarabic miniature.

In the Vigilanus, which was finished in 976 at Albelda in the Rioja, is a map of the world; and on the same page, illustrating a description of the earthly paradise, is a little picture (Fig. 9) in which the four rivers flow away from the fountain at the foot of the Tree of Life and two seraphim are standing on guard between this and two flanking trees, and the flaming ramparts of Eden rise up toward the stars. Now the Tree of Life has a halo about its head, and the leaves bow down as bidden in the *Pange lingua*, and under them, and above, you may count the twelve fruits. Nearly related to this in symbolic logic is the design on the back of the Harbaville triptych, in which two cypress trees bow down in homage to the central cross; but even closer is an English manuscript of about 1060¹⁴ in the substitution of the Crucified for the central aureoled tree, which was for the healing of the nations. The cross between two trees—it is here in the Winchester manuscript as on the Byzantine ivory, *arbor una nobilis*.

The lamb and vine stocks of Meyra (reproduced as the cover design and tailpiece of this magazine), that if looked at from one aspect, appear only another variant of the same theme, cannot be exactly dated, but the carving must fall somewhere between the original foundation of S. Rosendo, in the eighth century, and the coming of the Cistercians, in the twelfth. We might refer it tentatively to the tenth century; belated Mozarabic it manifestly is, and quite exquisite.

How in the Carolingian epoch, the theme of the Three Trees is a favorite; how at Cividale the carving is flawless and at Ferentillo (Fig. 5) touches the lowest point of forlorn bewilderment and the carver Ursus does not know whether he means trees or

13. I have not traced the phrase, but these passages are usually taken from the Fathers.

14. Arundel Psalter, fol. 52 v. Reproduced in *Art Bull.*, V, 4, fig. 20.

crosses, only he is sure that he means to put himself safe in their shadow—cannot be discussed at any length here, though a derelict bit of decoration, probably from the Maghreb (Fig. 10), shows how Islam could reduce all to a stylized pattern without, probably, any symbolic value. Last of all the Three Trees survive in folklore as the Three Rods, carved on the door jamb (c. 1131) of S. Pedro de Galligans (Fig. 6), and set on the shield of Majesty in the porch of Chartres in the thirteenth century. The Dalmatian emblem, carved on the side of a pillar or door jamb, is standing upon what seem to be the Three Rods. One wonders whether the symbol of Meyra was put over the lintel there for its apotropaic value. At Gerona, in any event, the intention was purely magical, without a memory of the ancient symbolism, much as a Cantabrian father cut a potent sign on the rock above the place where he buried his son (Fig. 3).

There was not opportunity to consider here the symbolism of the jeweled cross, whether occurring in Ravenna mosaic or in English poetry, nor the cross that burgeons on Italian bronzes and Armenian stones, nor was it possible to trace the beautiful Byzantine imagery of the Garden of Paradise on the pair of ivory triptychs at Paris and Rome. The matter here concerns a remote western world and a curious intermingling of orthodox and folk beliefs.

ROMANESQUE SPANISH MURAL PAINTING (I)

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

I.

UNTIL a comparatively recent date the existence of important Romanesque schools of mural painting in Spain was hardly recognised. The frescoes in the Panteón de los Reyes at S. Isidoro, Leon, and the mural decoration in S. Cristo de la Luz at Toledo were the only Romanesque examples which were considered worthy of notice by the authors of *Museo español de antigüedades*. Although occasional notices had appeared of wall paintings in the province of Catalonia, these attracted little attention until the publication by Pijoan in 1907 of the frescoed apse in the small church of S. Quirze at Pedret. Such interest was aroused by this publication which appeared in the first fascicule of *Pintures murals catalanes*, issued with color plates by the newly founded Institut d'Estudis Catalans at Barcelona,¹ that a systematic search on the part of archaeologists and *excursionistas* followed.² Many of the small churches in the region of La Seu de Urgell and the Pyrenean valleys of Andorra, Aneu, Bohí, and Ribera de Cardós were examined, and within a comparatively short time remnants of more than fifteen mural paintings, all in a more or less damaged condition, were discovered.

The prompt publication of the newly found frescoes of Catalonia by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans³ aroused an unusual interest in this local Romanesque school and in

1. J. Pijoan, *Pintures murals catalanes*, Barcelona, 1907, fasc. I, pp. 3-7. The mural paintings at Pedret were mentioned as early as 1889 by Joseph Puiggarí, but little notice was taken of them (*Pintures murals de Pedret in L'Avenç*, Barcelona, 1889, pp. 105-110). For additional notices of the architecture and mural paintings in this church see: J. Gudiol i Cunill, *Arqueologia sagrada catalana*, Vich, 1902, p. 248, fig. 82; J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a catalunya*, Barcelona, 1909, I, pp. 366-370, figs. 423-431; J. Pijoan, *A Re-discovered School of Romanesque Frescoes*, in *Burl. Mag.*, XIX, 1911, pp. 67-73; M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 59-63, pls. XVI-XVII, figs. 22-23; A. Mayer, *Geschichte der spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 15; W. Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 120; J. Pijoan, *Les pintures murals romàniques de Pedret*, in *Gasete de les Arts*, no. 23, 1925, pp. 5-6; G. Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 9-10, fig. 1; J. Gudiol i Cunill, *La pintura mig-aval catalana, I, Els primitius*, Barcelona, 1927, pp. 142-152, figs. 24-30.

2. Attention had already been called to the frescoed chapel of St. Martin de Fenouillar by J. A. Brutails, *L'église Saint-Martin-de-Fenouillar*, in *Bulletin archéo-*

logique du comité des travaux historiques, 1886, pp. 443-449 and in *L'art religieux en el Rosselló*, Barcelona, 1901, pp. 150-152. In the latter work Brutails also mentioned mural paintings in Roussillon at Marcevol, St. Martin du Canigó, S. Andreu de Sureda, and S. Joan lo Vell at Perpignan. M. Gudiol had also mentioned wall paintings at S. Pere and S. Maria de Terrasa, S. Anna de Monral, S. Pere de Casseres, Campdenavol, (J. Gudiol i Cunill, *Nocions de arqueologia sagrada catalana*, Vich, 1902, pp. 248-249, fig. 82; *idem*, *Descubriments de pintures romàniques en el Bisbat de Vich*, in *Revista de la asociación artistica-arqueológica Barcelonesa*, 1909, VII, pp. 202-204). For an early discussion of the mural paintings at St. Martin de Brull see J. Gudiol, *L'església del Brull i les seves pintures*, in *Estudis universitaris catalans*, 1909, III, pp. 325-330; *Anuari d'estudis catalans*, 1909-10, p. 714; *idem*, in *Boletín de la asociación artistico-arqueológica Barcelonesa*, 1909, VII, p. 142.

3. *Pintures murals catalanes*, Barcelona, fasc. II-IV; see also José Pijoan in *Burl. Mag.*, XIX, 1911, pp. 67-73. For the most recent publication of the Catalan frescoes, where earlier bibliography is cited, see J. Gudiol, *La pintura mig-aval catalana, I. Els primitius*, Barcelona, 1928.

1919 many of the mural paintings were removed from their original position in the small Pyrenean churches and placed on permanent exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona.⁴ One of the most interesting and best preserved of this series, formerly in the church of S. Maria de Mur in the province of Lerida, was brought to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.⁵ So successful was the installation of the Catalan mural paintings in public museums that legitimate hopes were raised that similar Romanesque paintings might be recovered from beneath coats of whitewash in parish churches and abandoned monasteries farther to the West.

As for Upper Aragon, the existence of mural paintings had long been known. As early as 1866 Carderera mentioned that many churches, cloisters, and hermitages in Aragon contained fresco paintings and in "far greater number than any other province of Spain."⁶ He called attention especially to mural decoration in the region of Huesca, but these examples, for the most part, were not earlier than the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷ In fact, with the exception of the Romanesque fragments in the former cathedral of Roda (Figs. 1-4),⁸ in the Ribagorza, nearly all the mural paintings are late Romanesque or Gothic in style. This includes the remains of wall paintings at Bierge (S. Fructuoso), Barluenga (Sra. Miguel), Monflorite (N. Sra. de los Dolores), Ibieca (S. Miguel de Foces), Liesa (N. Sra. del Monte), the royal convent of Sijena (Figs. 5, 6), Alquézar (Colegiata), Concilio, and the monastery of S. Juan de la Peña.⁹

II.

One of the avowed purposes of the first expedition of the Spanish Research and Publication Committee of the College Art Association was the examination of many newly

4. For a discussion and description of the manner in which the Catalan mural paintings were removed from the walls of the Pyrenean churches and transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona, see Joachim Folch i Torres, *Les pintures murals romàniques al Museu de la Ciutadella*, in *Gaset de les arts*, Barcelona, 1924, I, 4, pp. 1-3; 6, pp. 1-2; *idem*, *Museu de la ciutadella, catàleg de la secció de arte romànic*, Barcelona, 1926, pp. 52-59.

5. For reproductions and a discussion of the Mur frescoes see *Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. IV; José Pijoan, *A Catalanian Fresco for Boston*, in *Burl. Mag.*, XLI, 1922, pp. 4-11; Joseph Goday, *Una iglesia románica policromada*, in *Museum*, IV, pp. 45-53; J. Gudiol, *La pintura mig-eva catalana, I, Els primitius*, pp. 262-282, figs. 89-97; Charles H. Hawes, *A Catalanian Fresco of the Twelfth Century*, in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XXI, Boston, 1923, pp. 32-40; Harley Perkins, *Boston's XIIIth Century Fresco*, in *The Arts*, III, 1923, pp. 421-426.

6. "Parece que desde el siglo XII se llenaron, numerosas iglesias, claustros y ermitas de pinturas murales, en tanto número, que no creemos presente igual provincia alguna de España" (Valentín Carderera y Solano, *Noticia de Jusepe Martinez y Reseña historica de la pintura en la corona de Aragón*, a prologue in Jusepe Martinez, *Discursos practica-bles del nobilísimo arte de pintura*, Madrid, 1866, pp. 8-9).

7. Some of the Aragonese frescoes mentioned by Carderera have disappeared during the past fifty years, as shown by his notes preserved in the provincial library at

Huesca. One of those is a fresco in the monastery of Alaón, similar in style to those at Sijena. He also mentions mural paintings in a bad state in the church of the Templars at Barbastro. This small church, first placed under the patronage of Santa Fé, and known afterward by the name of S. Juan, passed to the knights of Malta. Quadrado states that the walls of a chapel were decorated from top to bottom with paintings, and these undoubtedly represented scenes from the life of Santa Fé. At the bottom could be deciphered the remains of an inscription: . . . ISTER ALFÓSS DE . . . UBRI DEPICTOR, and probably ME FECIT. (José M. Quadrado, *España, sus monumentos y artes*; Aragón, Barcelona, 1886, pp. 156-157.)

8. For a discussion of this cathedral see Ricardo del Arco, *Monumentos poco conocidos, La Ex Cathedral de Roda*, in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, XXXI, 1923, pp. 28-43.

9. For a discussion of these Aragonese mural paintings see Ricardo del Arco, *La pintura en el altó Aragon*, in *Vell i Nou, primera epoca*, 1919, V, nos. 93 ff.; *idem*, *La pintura mural en Aragón*, in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, XXXII, 1924, pp. 221-238; J. Folch i Torres, in *Página artistica of La Veu de Catalunya*, Barcelona, August 18-25, 1919, nos. 488-490; Francesco Carreras i Candi, *Excursións per la Catalunya aragonesa i Provincia d'Osca*, in *Bulleti del centre excursionista de Catalunya*, XVIII, 1908, pp. 193 ff.; XX, 1910, pp. 161 ff. The frescoes in Upper Aragon are also treated by Gudiol, *Els primitius*, pp. 493-540.



FIG. 1—Roda, Cathedral: *Majestas Domini* (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 2—Roda, Cathedral: *St. Michael* (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 3—Roda, Cathedral: *Labors of the Months* (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 4—Roda, Cathedral: *Baptism of Christ* (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 6—Sijena, Convent: Entombment on Apse Wall of
Church (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 5—Sijena, Convent: Adoration of the Magi on Apse
Wall of Church (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 7—Uncastillo, S. Juan: *John the Baptist Baptizing on Apse Wall* (Photo. Mora)



FIG. 8—Uncastillo, S. Juan: *John the Baptist before Herod on Apse Wall* (Photo. Mora)

reported "finds" in the western provinces, and in June of 1927 many of the so-called Romanesque mural paintings in western and southern Aragon and Navarre were examined. These, however, almost without exception, proved to be relatively late in date. In western Aragon (province of Saragossa) one of the earliest examples in a fairly good state of preservation is found in the hermitage church of S. Juan at Uncastillo.¹⁰ The apse contains an imposing figure of the *Majestas Domini*, seated on a cushioned throne, with the right hand upheld in benediction (Fig. 9). On either side, in the upper register of the vault, are standing apostles and the lower register contains two scenes (Figs. 7, 8, 10). The better preserved scene on the left shows John baptizing his disciples. Above is the legend POPUL[US] CREDEN[TES](?) IOH[ANNE]S(?) On the right the saint stands under arrest before Herod. This work, which can be dated in the first half of the thirteenth century, shows clearly the influence of Romanesque models and is more closely allied than most Aragonese mural decoration to the Romanesque series of Catalonia.

The mural paintings at Sos del Rey Católico, also on the western frontier of Aragon,¹¹ proved to be much later than those at Uncastillo. Originally the walls and ceilings of at least two chapels in the lower church at Sos were embellished with scenes from the Infancy cycle and lives of saints (Fig. 11). The best preserved portions were concealed behind the altar of *La Virgen del Perdón*, until they were discovered in 1924 by Dr. Pascual Galindo Romeo of Saragossa. Although much of the original decoration is still covered by a thin coat of plaster, enough is now visible to show that the walls were originally painted in the fully developed fourteenth century Gothic style of Navarre. They are somewhat reminiscent of the Gothic paintings in the church and *sala capitular* of the royal convent of Sijena (Figs. 5, 6).¹²

As for southern Aragon, the best preserved examples of mural decoration are found in the church of S. Miguel at Daroca.¹³ A large Coronation of the Virgin is shown in the center of the curving wall of the main apse (Fig. 13). Christ and the Madonna are seated on a throne and the cloth of honor is upheld by angels. The central panel is surrounded by a perspective meander and is bordered on either side by three registers containing angels with candelabra and musical instruments. The lowest section of the wall has suffered much from moisture, but the standing figures of Sts. Peter, Paul, and other apostles can be recognized.

10. Uncastillo is one of the Cinco-Villas of Aragon. It is in the province of Saragossa and belongs to the diocese of Jaca. There are two parish churches, S. Maria and S. Martin; the church of S. Juan lies outside the town. During the Middle Ages the place was of great importance, due to its strongly fortified castle, and obtained special privileges from Sancho I, Ramiro, and other Aragonese kings. For a discussion of the town see P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, 1849, XV, pp. 215-216.

11. Sos del Rey Católico is situated one hundred and thirteen kilometers from Saragossa and six kilometers from the borders of Navarre. The castle, which is said to date from 970, was rebuilt and strengthened by Alfonso the Warrior and King Ramiro (1138) (Pablo Riera y Sans, *Diccionario geográfico de España*, X, pp. 93-94). As a frontier town of Aragon it was strongly fortified and in

1362 the king of Navarre took it after a long siege. Several conferences between the kings of Aragon and Navarre were held here during the wars of Castile between Peter the Cruel and his brother Henry of Trastámara. King Ferdinand the Catholic was born here, March 10, 1452.

12. Cf. Gudiol, *Els trescentistes, segona part*, Barcelona, pp. 97-98, figs. 34-38; Ricardo del Arco, *op. cit.*, 1919, no. 94, pp. 248-50, figs. 16-18; Ricardo del Arco and Luciano Labastida, *El alto Aragón monumental y pintoresco*, pp. 49, 52; Mariano de Pano in *Aragón histórico; idem in Linajes de Aragón*, 1913.

13. The church has suffered many changes, the oldest portions dating from the Romanesque period (V. Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1907, I, p. 687, fig. 287).

Equally fine in quality is a mural painting on a side wall of the church of S. Miguel at Daroca (Fig. 12). Here an imposing figure of St. Valerian, clad in bishop's robes, is seated on a throne underneath a trefoil arch; he holds the eucharistic wafer in his right hand and at the left and right are kneeling figures of a king, queen, and other dignitaries. In the register above, the doubting Thomas touches the wound of the Saviour and on either side appear standing figures of the apostles. The compartments are separated by a ribbon ornament; the predominating colors of the draperies are red, orange, and yellow; the backgrounds are pale blue. Earlier than the two examples mentioned above is a mural painting recently uncovered in the apse of the church of S. Juan (Fig. 14). The figure of St. John the Baptist is placed in the center of the composition and scenes from his life and martyrdom are portrayed in the side compartments, with a damaged Last Supper depicted above. All three paintings at Daroca are in the fully developed Gothic style and show no traces of Romanesque influence.

An investigation of other possible sites in this region did not disclose the work of earlier artists. Slight remains of mural decoration were found in the Cistercian abbey of Veruela,¹⁴ above the portal which leads from the cloister to the church and in the fortified tower, known as the *Correctorio* (Fig. 15). In the latter the Annunciation and figure of God the Father are portrayed above the portal and below are two saints. The large inscription above the doorway reads MISERERE MEI DEVS. SECVNDVM MAGNAM MISERI COR-DIAM TVAM. Fragments of mural painting were also found in the monastery of Piedra,¹⁵ in the cathedral at Tarazona,¹⁶ in a chapel in the castle at Mesones, and in the castle at Alcañiz,¹⁷ but these proved to be even later in date than those at Daroca.

III.

In the province of Navarre,¹⁸ no mural paintings of the twelfth century were found. Originally, the Romanesque cathedral of Pamplona, consecrated in 1124, may have contained an important series, but any traces were destroyed with the complete rebuilding, begun in the late fourteenth century (1390-1420),¹⁹ and construction of the present Gothic structure. As for the Gothic period, faded remnants of decoration are still visible on the walls of the cathedral cloister at Pamplona, and of these the best preserved example portrays the genealogy of Christ, with the Crucifixion, the Virgin, St. John, and prophets

14. The Cistercian monastery of Veruela, in the province of Saragossa and the diocese of Tarazona, was founded late in the twelfth century. All that remains of the ancient part of the monastery are the church and *sala capitula*, transitional in style, and a Gothic cloister. Cf. Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 461-463, figs. 45, 53, 129, 452, 453; *idem*, *Notas de una excursión*, in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, 1899; Quadrado, *Aragón*, pp. 531 ff.; George E. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, New York, 1914, ed. King, II, pp. 186 ff.

15. The Cistercian monastery of N. Sra. de la Piedra, in the province of Saragossa and diocese of Tarazona, also dates from the late twelfth century (1195-1218). It was begun under D. Alfonso II of Aragon and was completed under James the Conqueror, but the original construction was disfigured during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 465-66, fig. 456.);

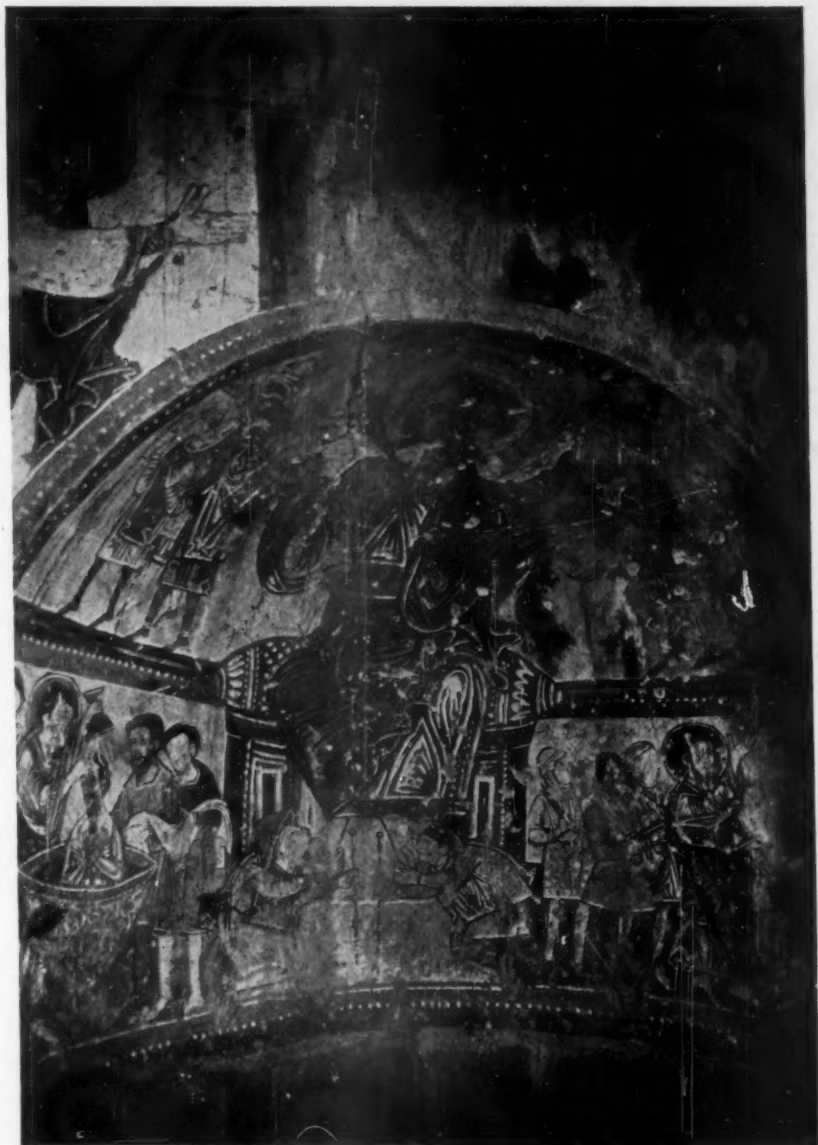
cf. Carlos Sarthou Carreres, *El monasterio de Piedra*, in *Museum*, V, Barcelona, 1907, pp. 345 ff.; for further bibliography see, *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana*, Ed. Espasa, Barcelona, XLIV, p. 731.

16. For a discussion of the architecture see Lampérez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 407-409; Street, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 178 ff.

17. Province of Teruel. This was the principal house of the Order of Calatrava in Aragon and the construction of the castle dates from the thirteenth century (Lampérez *Arquitectura civil Española de los siglos I al XVIII*, Madrid, 1922, I, pp. 308-11, pp. 335-37).

18. For a brief discussion of mediaeval art in Navarre see Julio Altadill in *Geografía del País Vasco-Navarro*, ed. F. Carreras y Candi, Barcelona, pp. 683 ff.

19. For a discussion of the architecture see Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española*, II, pp. 342-45.



FIGS. 9, 10—Uncastillo, S. Juan: *Paintings on Apse Wall*

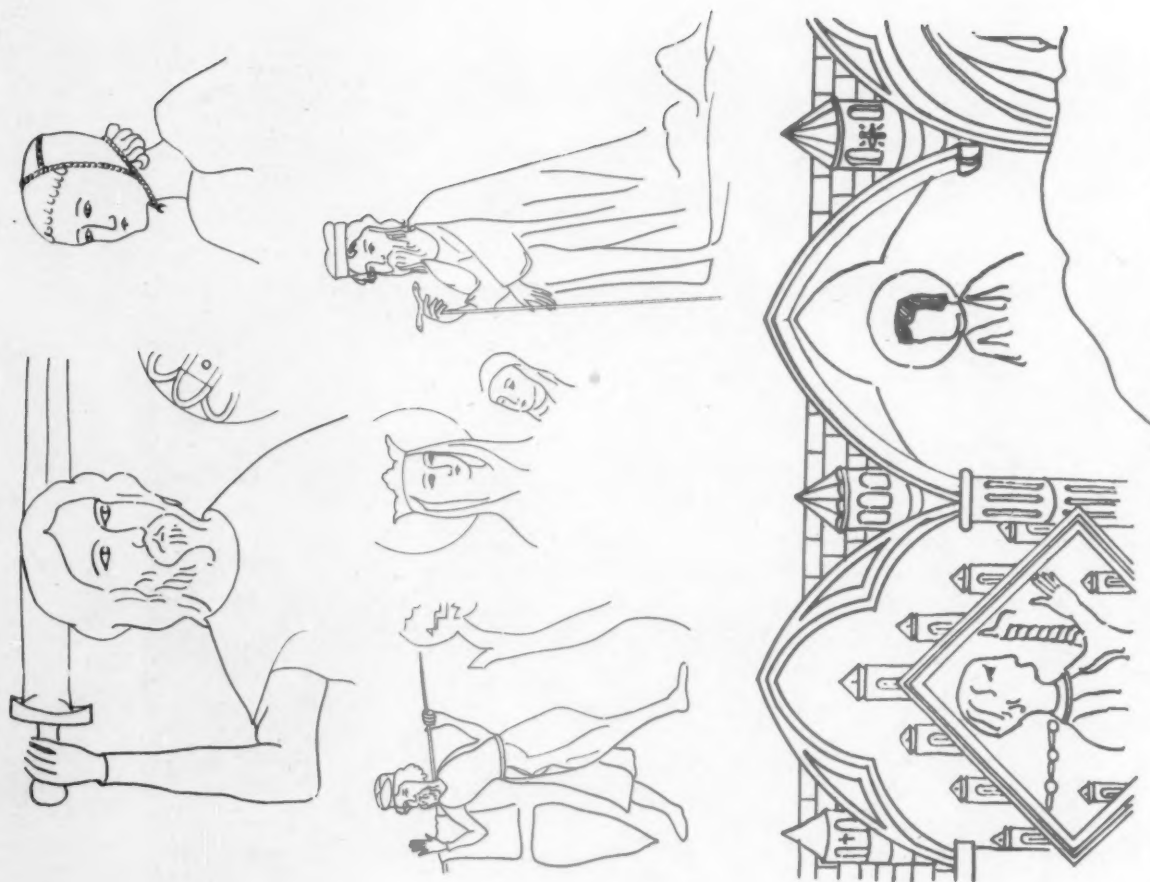


FIG. 11—Sos del Rey Catolico, Chapel of La Virgen del Perdon
 Drawings of Details of Mural Paintings



FIG. 12—Daroca, S. Miguel: St. Valerian, Apostles, etc. on
 side Wall (Photo. Mora)

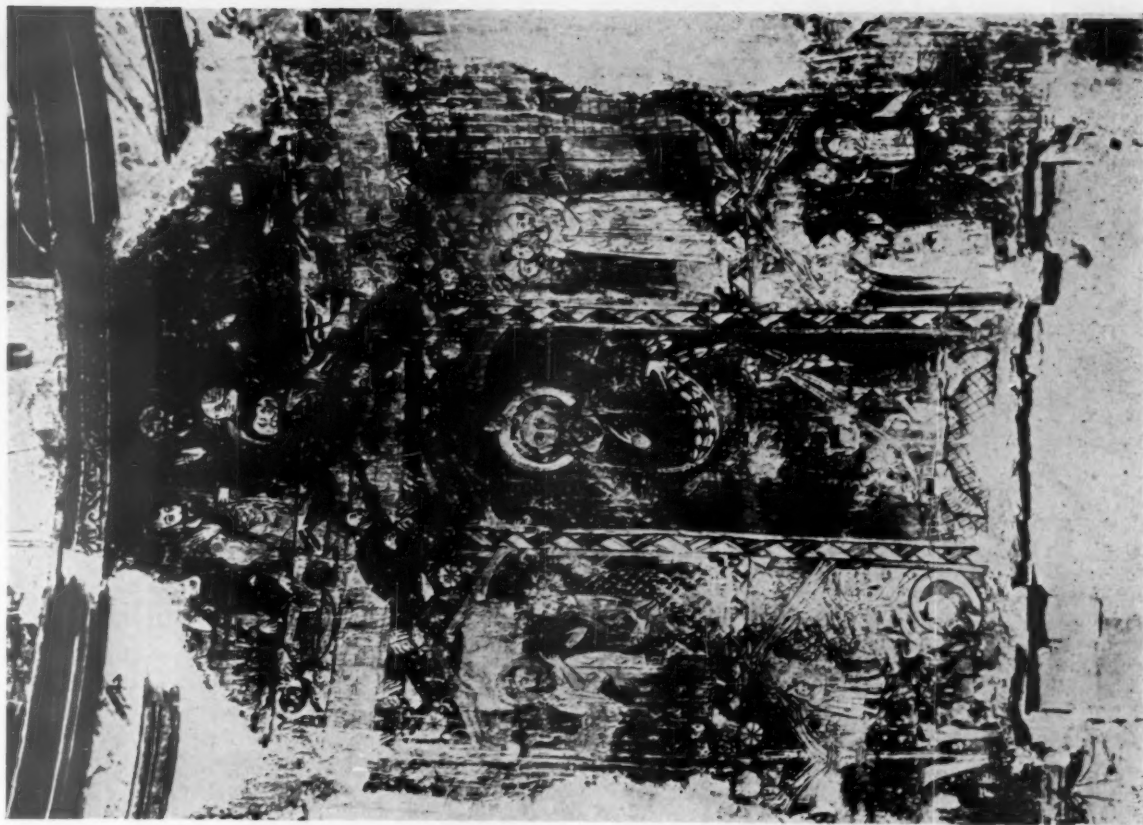


FIG. 14—Daroca, S. Juan: John the Baptist and Scenes from his Life (Photo. Mora)

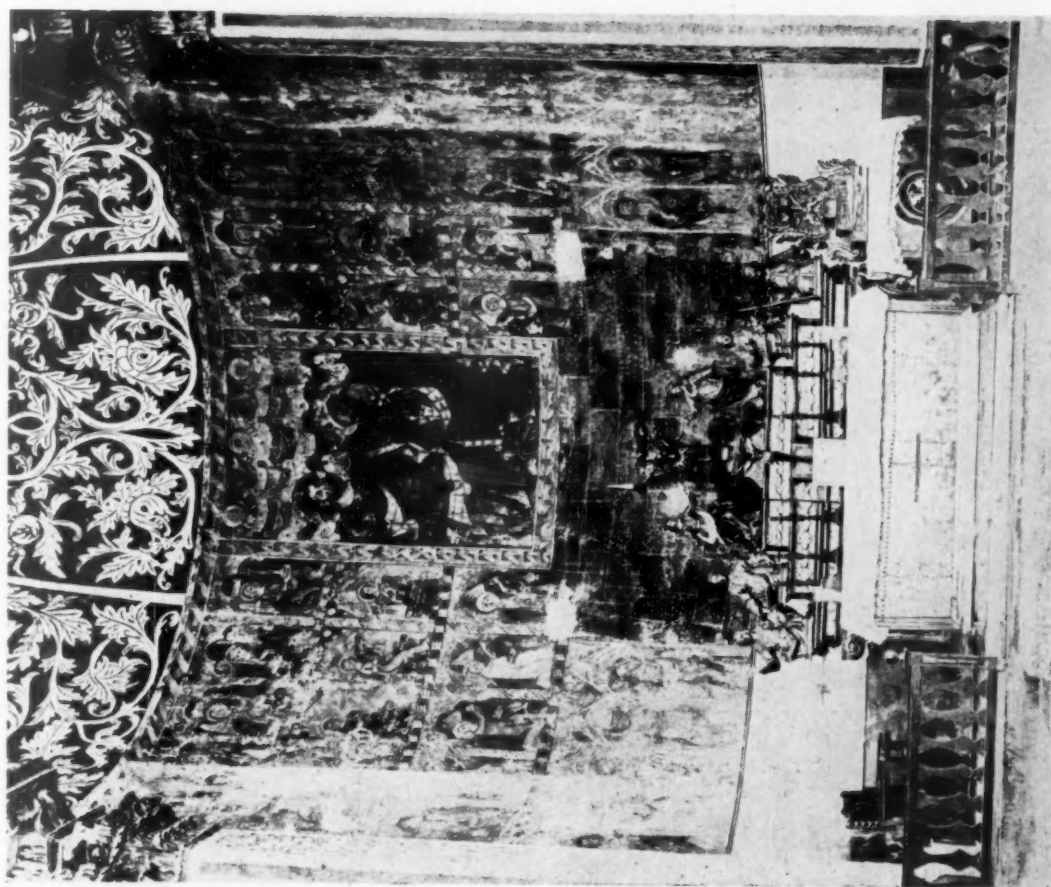


FIG. 13—Daroca, S. Miguel: Coronation of the Virgin on Apse Wall (Photo. Mora)



FIG. 15—Veruela, Monastery: God the Father, Annunciation and two Saints, in the Correctorio (Photo. Mora)

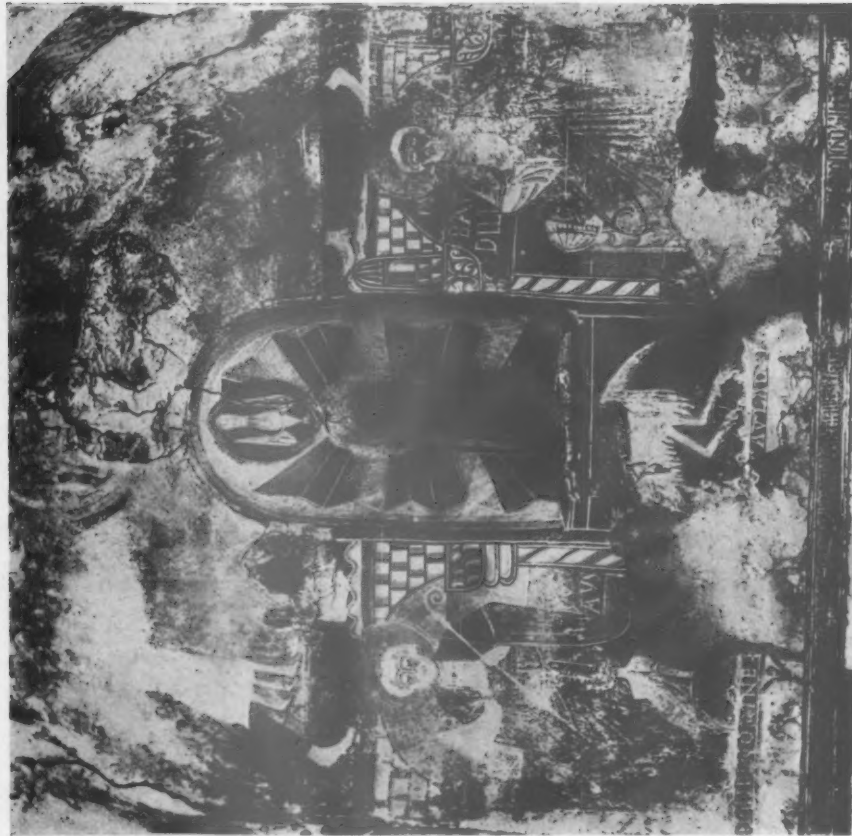


FIG. 16—Berlanga, S. Baudelio: Paintings on End Wall of Apse

with scrolls. Perhaps the most interesting fragment in the cathedral is that preserved behind the altar of the former refectory. At a late period the upper part of this mural painting was "restored," but the lower section is in its original state and shows the Burial and Resurrection of Christ. These scenes are by an excellent artist of the fourteenth century and in style are analogous to the mural paintings at Sos.

Outside of Pamplona other fragments of mural painting are gradually coming to light. A Gothic example has recently been uncovered at Puente la Reina, in the Iglesia del Crucifijo. From documents it is possible to assume that the royal palace at Olite, the ancient seat of the kings of Navarre, originally contained an important Gothic series of mural decoration, but to-day the castle is in ruins. An investigation of the other possible sites in Navarre, at Artajona, Sorleda, and elsewhere, revealed frescoes no earlier than the late Gothic and Renaissance periods.²⁰

IV.

A more extensive search recently undertaken by the writer in the provinces of Castile and Leon yielded interesting and important results. The Romanesque frescoes in the Panteón de los Reyes at S. Isidoro, Leon, were revisited.²¹ At Toledo a coat of plaster had been removed from the curving apse vault of the ancient church of S. Cristo de la Luz and traces of an early *Majestas Domini* can now be seen, as well as the figures of saints on the apse walls which had long been known.²² The painted vault in the church of S. Fé at Toledo, on the other hand, also a recent discovery, proved to be much later in date. The highly important series at S. Baudel de Berlanga (province of Soria) have recently been removed from Spain.²³ The ruined monastery of Arlanza, not far from Hortigüela, was revisited and the faded Gothic frescoes which have now been almost entirely uncovered were found to be in an advanced state of deterioration. Although there have been negotiations for the removal of these interesting mural paintings to the museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona, it is highly probable that there will be little to remove unless quick action is taken.²⁴ At the monastery of S. Domingo de Silos traces of Gothic paintings were found

20. I am indebted for many courtesies shown to me at Pamplona by Sr. D. José Maria de Huarte, Director of the Archivo de la diputación de Navarra.

21. Cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España, provincia de Leon*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 199-201, figs. 205-213; Julio Pérez Llamazares, *Iconografía de la real colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, León, 1923, pp. 113-118; A. L. Mayer, *Geschichte der spanischer Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 23-24, fig. 15; S. Isidoro, León, in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, XXV, 1917, pp. 81 ff.; Quadrado, *Asturias y León*, in *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia*, Barcelona, 1895, p. 489; H. Isherwood Kay in *Spanish Art (Burlington Magazine Monograph)*, II, London, 1927, pl. 1B.

22. For a discussion of the mural paintings in the apse of S. Cristo de la Luz at Toledo see José Amador de los Ríos, *Pinturas murales nuevamente descubiertas en la ermita del Santo Cristo de la Luz, en Toledo*, in *Museo español de antigüedades*, Madrid, 1872, I, pp. 483-509.

23. A full description of this church and the mural paintings which have been removed will be published in a later number of *The Art Bulletin*. For a discussion of the

church see Alvarez and Melida, *La ermita de San Baudelio en término de Casillas de Berlanga (Provincia de Soria)* in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, XV, 1907, pp. 144-55; Lampérez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana Española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1908, I, pp. 249-52, 423-4; Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, New York, 1913, pp. 68-69; A. L. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 21, fig. 13; M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 309-20; José Garnelo, *Descripción de las pinturas murales que decoran la ermita de San Baudelio en Casillas de Berlanga*, in *Bol. de la soc. esp. de ex.*, XXXII, pp. 96-109; Georgiana G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain*, Bryn Mawr, 1924, pp. 197-201; Charles H. Hawes, *Two Twelfth Century Frescoes from the Hermitage Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga, Spain*, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, XXVI, Boston, 1928, pp. 6-11.

24. For a description of the monastery see Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Las ruinas del monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza*, Madrid, 1896; Luciano Huidobro, *El monasterio de S. Pedro de Arlanza, y su primer compendio historial*, in *Boletín de la comisión provincial de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Burgos*, III, 1924, pp. 199-207;

during the past year on an arch in the cloister and in the tower but these were of minor importance, as were those in the cloister of the cathedral at Burgos, and later mural paintings at Las Huelgas and in the vestibule of the monastery of Oña.

V.

Acting on clues furnished by local antiquarians, new sites were visited and additional unknown frescoes of the Romanesque period were studied. The most important examples which have thus far escaped the attention of archaeologists are the mural paintings in a small chapel at Maderuelo.

The village of Maderuelo lies north of the Guadarrama mountains and south of Aranda de Duero, on the Riaza river, a tributary of the Duero, and is situated in the northeast corner of the province of Segovia, far from the beaten track of travel.²⁵ Until recently there were only footpaths to the town but now a road has been cut through from Campo de S. Pedro. The latter village can be reached by motor car from Bocequillas, which lies on the main highway between Madrid and Aranda de Duero, and also from the village of Saldana, on the road from S. Esteban de Gormaz. Maderuelo contains but a handful of inhabitants, most of whom are peasants.²⁶

On a small knoll in an isolated spot south of the town of Maderuelo, across the Riaza river, stands the hermitage known as "Ermita de la Cruz" (Fig. 27). For years the nave of the building was without a roof. This, however, has now been repaired, new windows and doorways have been cut through the walls and the structure has been converted into a farmhouse, and is inhabited by a family of Castilian peasants. The apse, a chapel at the east end, appears to have suffered less damage than the remainder of the building. This was not employed as a dwelling but served until quite recently as a storeroom for potatoes and other farm products! The discovery that this temporary storeroom was entirely decorated with mural paintings led to activity on the part of a Spanish art dealer, and negotiations were begun for the sale and removal of the frescoes. Nothing, however, has yet been removed, and it is still possible to study the series *in situ* (Figs. 17-28).

This small chapel which served as the apse of the hermitage, is nearly square in plan, measuring about four meters on each side. Originally, an altar stood in the center or at the east end; but this has disappeared and the chapel is now completely empty. Light enters through the narrow east window and a square opening in the south wall, and there is no difficulty in studying the mural decorations which cover the four walls and ceiling. Although the lower sections of the walls have suffered from abuse and moisture, the colors

Lampérez, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 355-369, 478, 480. See also Gómez-Moreno in *Bol. de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXXVI, pp. 13-16, who dates the frescoes about 1132; J. Chapée, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXII, 1912, pp. 380, 381. Since the above lines were written the mural paintings have been transferred to canvas and will eventually appear on the walls of a Spanish museum.

25. It lies twenty-two kilometers north of Riaza and seventy-seven kilometers from Segovia.

26. To-day there are not more than eight hundred inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in agriculture,

raising cereals, potatoes, etc. In the fifteenth century the town belonged to the powerful constable of Castile, Alvaro de Luna, and was at the head of a group of nine villages. During the Middle Ages it contained more than ten parishes, but these have now been reduced to one, that of S. Maria de la Asunción, which belongs to the diocese of Segovia. For further information see Pablo Riera y Sans, *Diccionario*, Barcelona, 1884, pp. 611-12; Madoz, *Diccionario*, X, p. 519; Quadrado, *Salamanca, Avila y Segovia*, Barcelona, 1884, p. 684; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, XXXI, p. 1345.

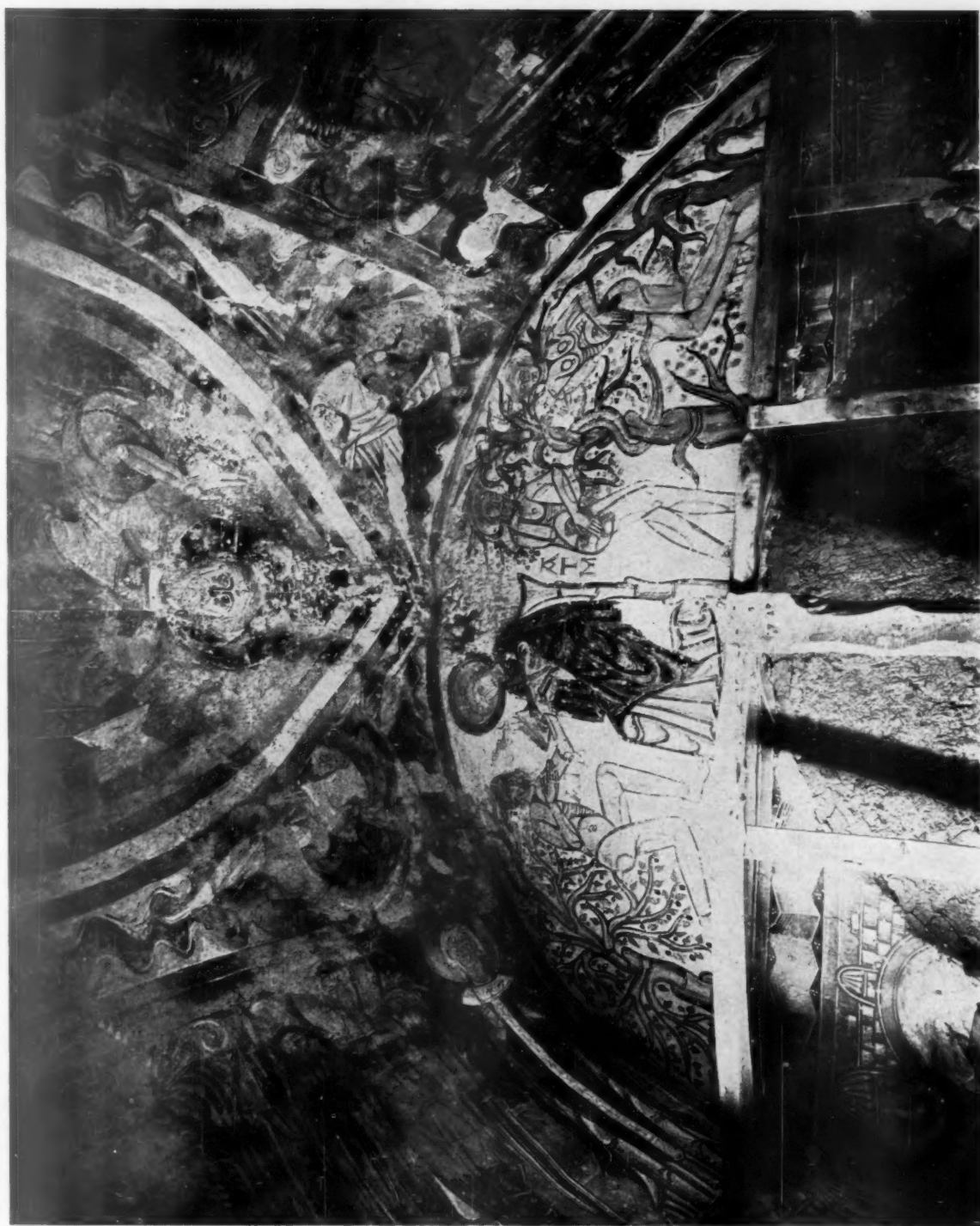


FIG. 17—Maderuelo, Ermita de la Cruz: Paintings in Apse Chapel, Looking West

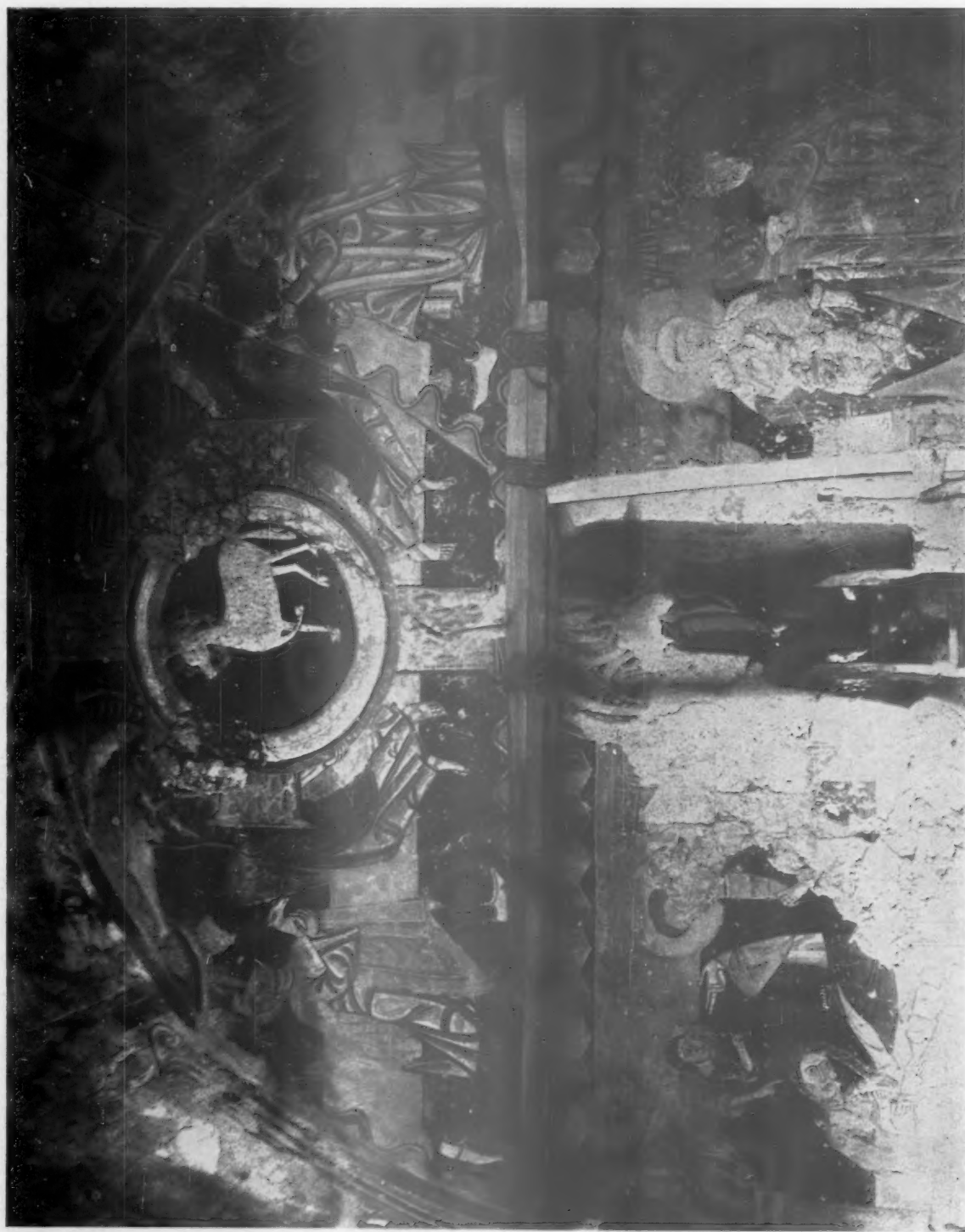


FIG. 18—Maderuelo, Ermita de la Cruz: Paintings on East Wall of Apse Chapel

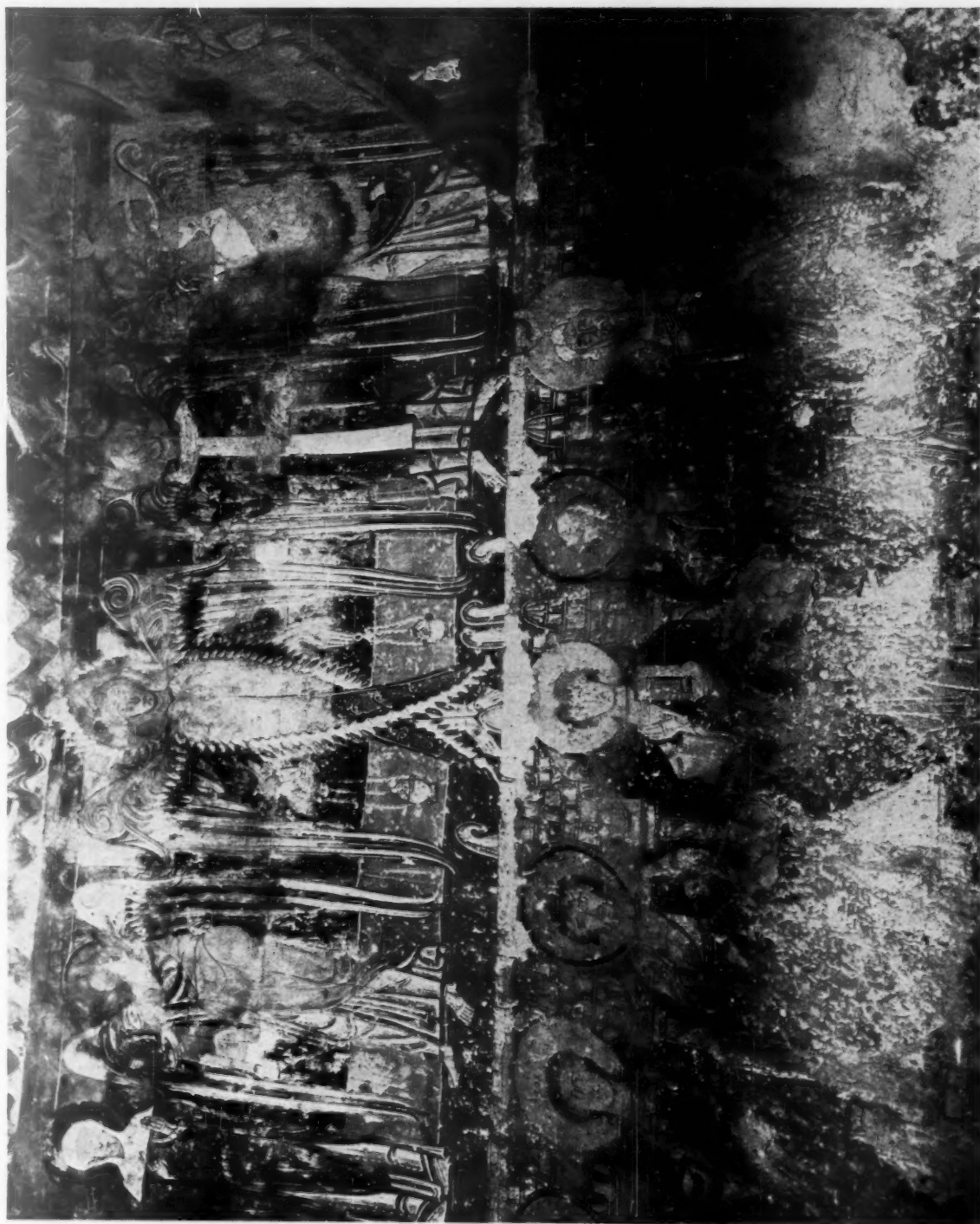


FIG. 19—Maderuelo, Ermita de la Cruz: Paintings on North Wall of Apse Chapel

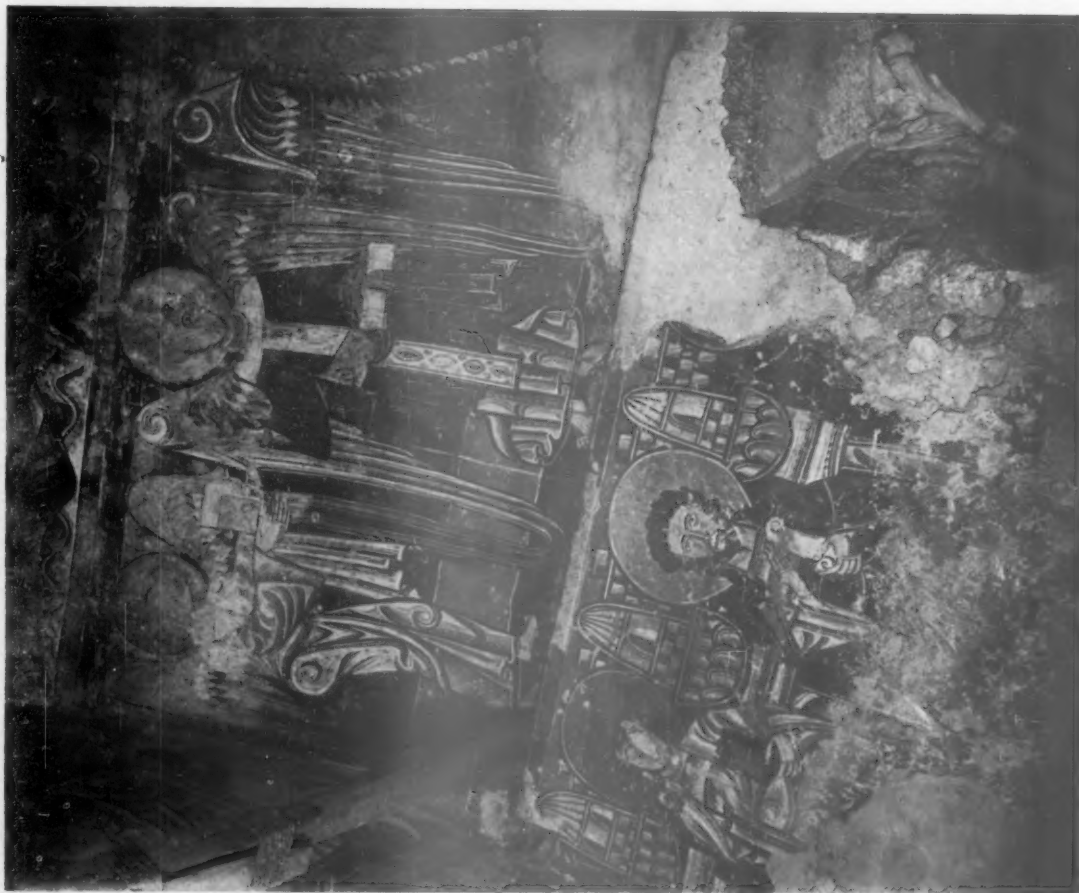


FIG. 20—Maderuelo, *Ermila de la Cruz*: Paintings on South
Wall of Apse Chapel

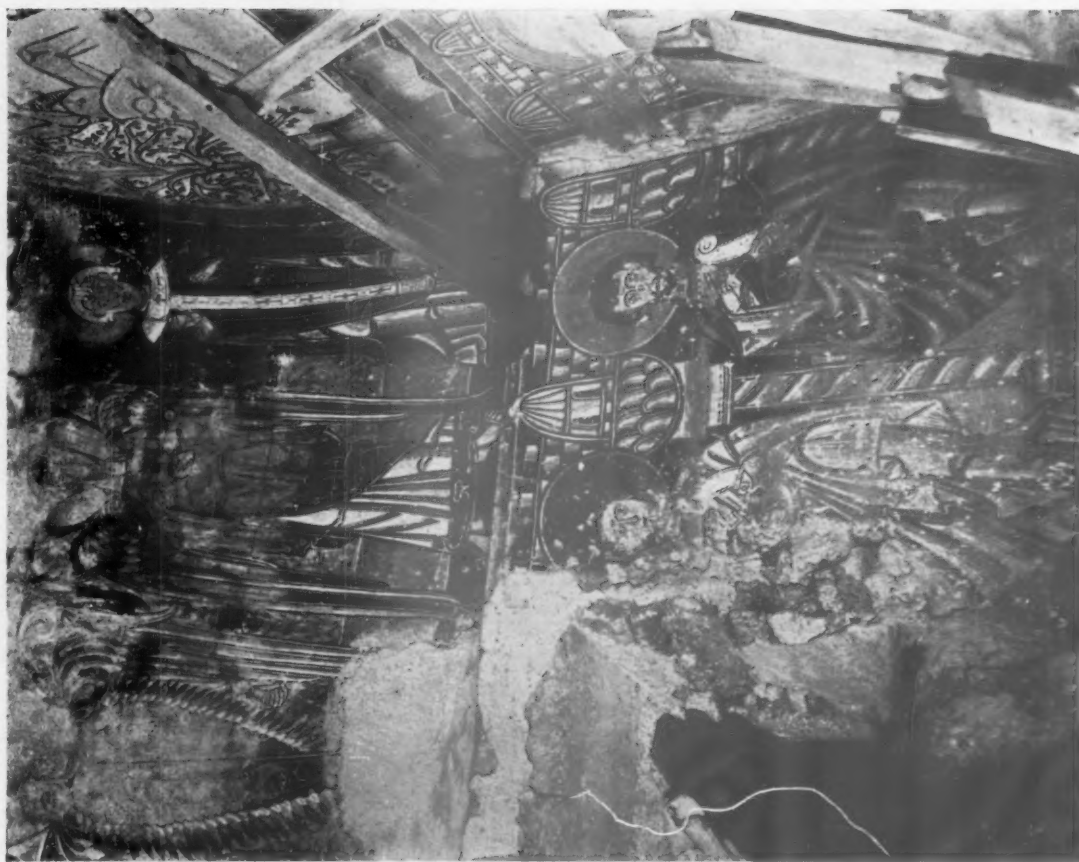


FIG. 21—Maderuelo, *Ermila de la Cruz*: Paintings on South
Wall of Apse Chapel

on the upper surfaces of the walls and on the ceiling are in a surprisingly good state of preservation. In view of the fact that these paintings have never been published and are quite unknown a detailed description will be necessary.²⁷

The chapel is covered by a barrel vault, and this forms of the upper wall at either end a lunette, in which Genesis scenes are portrayed. The lunette at the west end, above the present entrance, contains the Creation of Adam and the Temptation and Fall (Fig. 17). In the scene of the Creation, God the Father, portrayed with a plain, light red nimbus, long, light blue tunic and reddish brown mantle, holds Adam (ATM) with his left hand and extends the right in a gesture of speech. The bearded Adam is completely nude and he is shown on one knee, as if slowly rising from the ground. The composition is closed on the left by a tree, with small leaves and a fruit resembling cherries. The Fall of Man, shown on the right, follows the traditional Spanish version of this scene. The tempting serpent is coiled about a light green tree, and Eve, on the right, reaches forward and takes the fruit from its mouth. The knees of Eve are bent and she appears to be falling forward, an attitude which can be ascribed to the artist's inability to adapt the figure properly in the restricted field of the lunette. Adam, who stands in a three-quarters position at the left, gazes at the serpent and rests his chin on his hand in a gesture of doubt. Both the nude figures cover themselves with large leaves and are identified by the words ATM AT EV[A].

Two Gospels scenes were undoubtedly portrayed on the lower section of the west wall, and these were divided from the lunette above by a wide ribbon ornament which is bordered on either side by a narrow red band. These two scenes are now destroyed and all that remains are the tops of arcades with conical towers and crenelated roof. At the right of the doorway all trace of the original scene has been lost; at the left, the head of a dog indicates that the Annunciation to the Shepherds may have been represented in this space.

The lunette on the east wall of the chapel is in a fair state of preservation (Fig. 18). In front of a jeweled Greek cross in the center of the lunette, the Lamb of God, shown against a blue background and within a circular red and white mandorla, is supported by two angels, who are clad in light blue tunics and dark red mantles. In the extreme corners of the lunette appear the kneeling figures of Cain and Abel. The bearded figure of Cain, at the right, is clothed in a pale red tunic and yellow-green mantle and holds a bunch of wheat in the left hand. The beardless Abel, on the left, wears a light green tunic and brown mantle, brown hose, and white sandals. He holds a lamb in both hands and from a segment of a circle above his head appears the *Dextera Domini*. The lunette is framed by wavy blue clouds, and the figures are placed against a background with dark blue, black, yellow, and brown stripes.

The two Gospel scenes on this end wall are less well preserved. They are placed on either side of the central window, the embrasure of which contains a white dove within an oval mandorla and a light blue foliate scroll on a red ground. The Adoration of the Magi is

27. A short inaccurate notice was made of these mural paintings in 1907, but since then this monument has passed quite unnoticed (Pedro Mata y Alvaro, *Pinturas murales en Maderuelos*, in *Bol. esp. de ex.*, XV, 1907, pp. 135-137). I called attention to these mural paintings on December 29, 1928, in an address delivered before the

eighteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America, held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, and this was reported in *The Art News*, January 5, 1929, p. 24. The chapel has since been acquired by the Spanish government and declared a national monument.

shown at the right underneath two arches. The Virgin is seated in a frontal position at the left and holds the Child in her lap. She is represented with a large yellow nimbus, white headdress, red tunic, and dark blue mantle. The figure of the Child is entirely destroyed except for the lower edge of His tunic, the feet, and a hand outstretched toward the Magus on the right. Only one of the three Magi is represented and he holds a bowl outstretched in both hands. He has a white beard, wears a dark blue jeweled crown, light blue tunic, and red mantle.

At the left of the window Mary Magdalen washes the Saviour's feet with her hair. Christ, seated on a blue footstool, is represented with a yellow nimbus and red hair; He is clothed in a light blue tunic and dark green mantle with yellow lining, and He extends His right hand in a gesture of speech. The kneeling Magdalen, clad in a light red mantle, holds His feet with her left hand and dries them with her hair. Above her head appears the bust of an angel, who points downward. The figures are shown beneath an arch and against a background composed of red, yellow, and green stripes. Below this scene are traces of a painted curtain, proof that there were no additional scenes on the lower section of the wall.

The side walls of the chapel were divided into three horizontal registers. The lowest register was undoubtedly embellished with a painted curtain which reached to the floor, but all traces of this have disappeared. Above this, in the second register, the twelve apostles were shown seated underneath arcades. On the north wall (Fig. 19) all six of the apostles are preserved, although the lower part of the figures has suffered much from moisture. On the south wall (Figs. 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27), two figures were destroyed when a window was cut through the wall and only the heads and shoulders of the remaining four apostles were preserved. On the north wall St. Peter, with white hair and beard, is shown at the extreme east end, and St. Paul and St. John are seated at the left. It is impossible to identify any of the remaining apostles by their attributes. Each is depicted with a nimbus, long tunic, and mantle, and with a book or scroll in one hand, while the other hand is raised in a gesture of teaching or speech. Some are represented with short hair and are beardless; others are bearded and have long hair which falls behind their shoulders.

The arcades which shelter the apostles are almost identical with arcades portrayed in the frescoes from S. Baudel de Berlanga. The slender striped shafts rest on double bases and support a stilt block on which rests a semicircular capital. Above this rises a conical niche with windows and a crowning conch; between the niches runs a wall surmounted by crenelations. This wall appears to imitate Mudéjar brick work.

Standing figures of archangels, seraphim, symbols of the evangelists, the Virgin, and church fathers are shown in the two upper registers on either side. On the north wall (Figs. 22-23) the Annunciation is shown at the left. The Virgin stands in a frontal position with left palm turned outward and right hand raised in a gesture of speech. She is clad in a pale red tunic, light blue mantle and white headdress. Gabriel, wearing a light blue tunic underneath a light yellow mantle, turns toward her in a three-quarters position and holds a red book in both hands. In the center of the composition a seraph, with body concealed beneath six long wings covered with eyes, holds a censer in either hand. The archangel on the right holds a long staff in the right hand and a scroll in the left. He has red and blue wings, and wears an orange nimbus, red tunic, and blue dalmatic, bordered

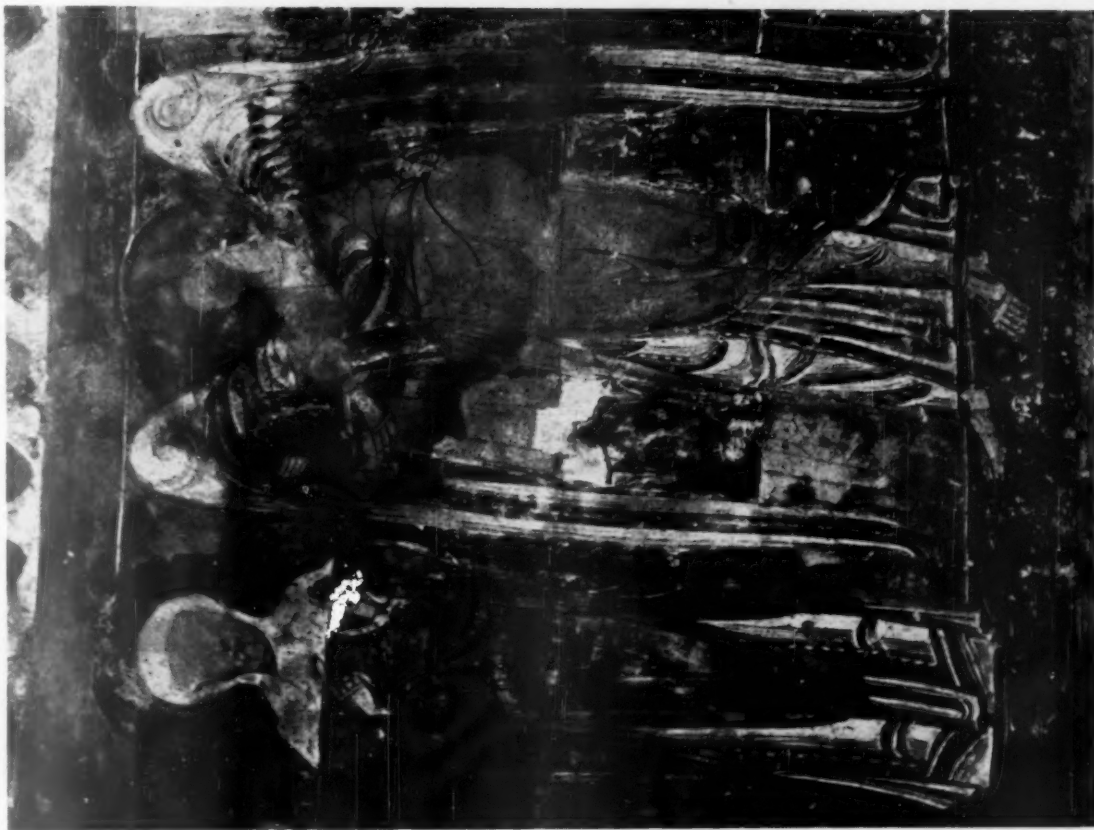


FIG. 22—Maderuelo, *Ermila de la Cruz*: *Annunciation on North Wall of Apse Chapel*

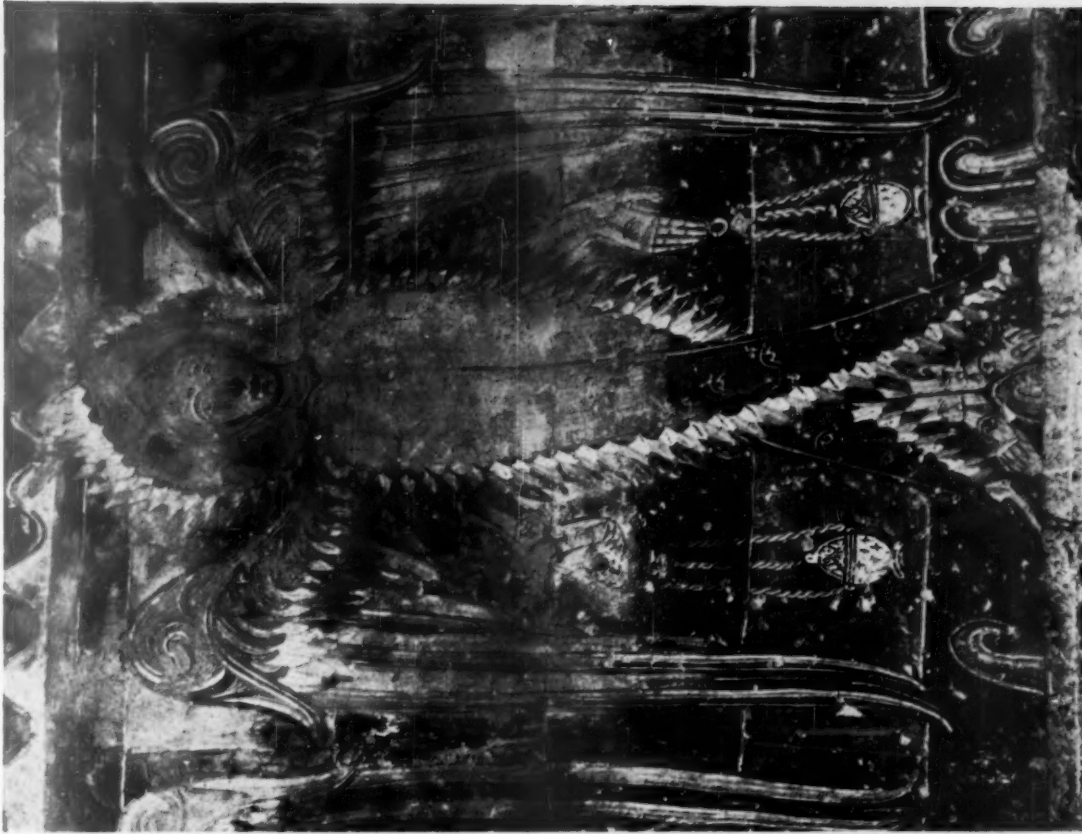


FIG. 23—Maderuelo, *Ermila de la Cruz*: *Seraph on North Wall of Apse Chapel*

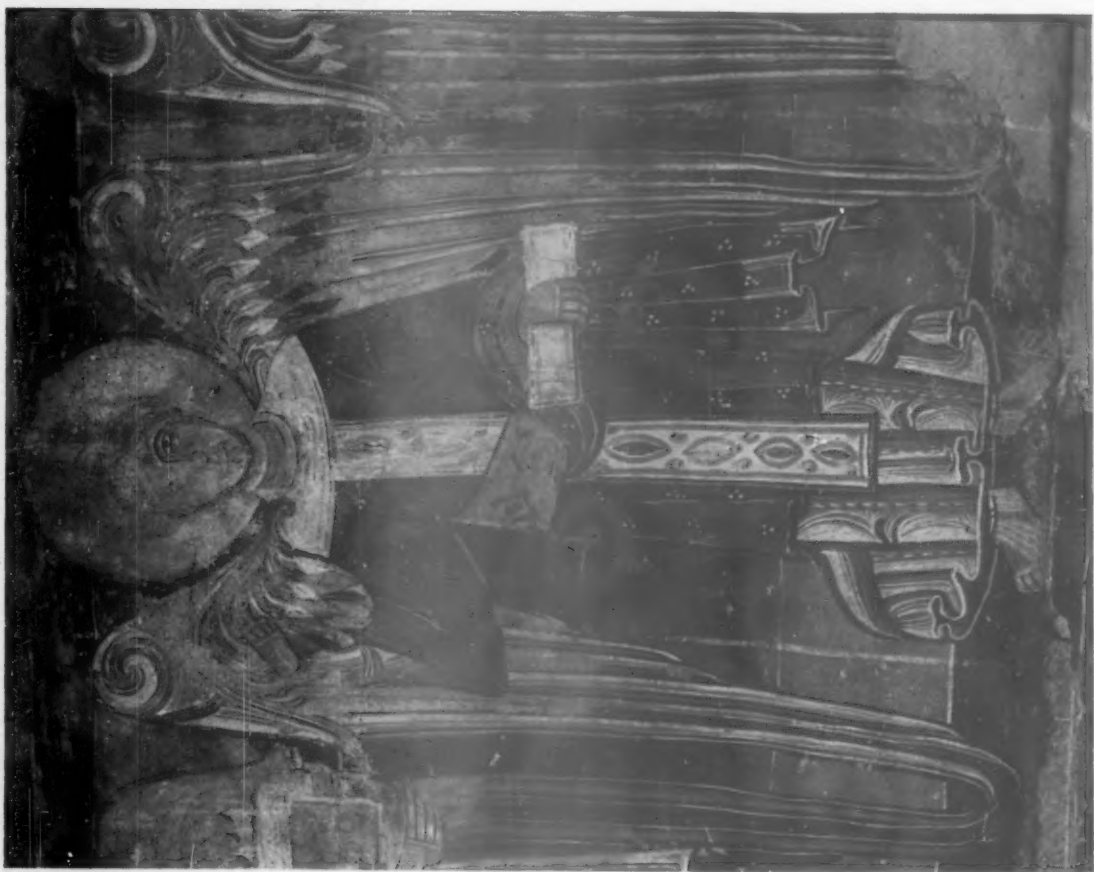


FIG. 24—Maderuelo, Ermita de la Cruz: Archangel on South Wall of Apse Chapel



FIG. 25—Maderuelo, Ermita de la Cruz: Archangel and Father on South Wall of Apse Chapel



FIG. 26—Maderuelo, *Ermita de la Cruz*: *Heads of Apostles on South Wall of Apse Chapel*



FIG. 27—Maderuelo, *Ermita de la Cruz*: *Heads of Apostles on South Wall of Apse Chapel*

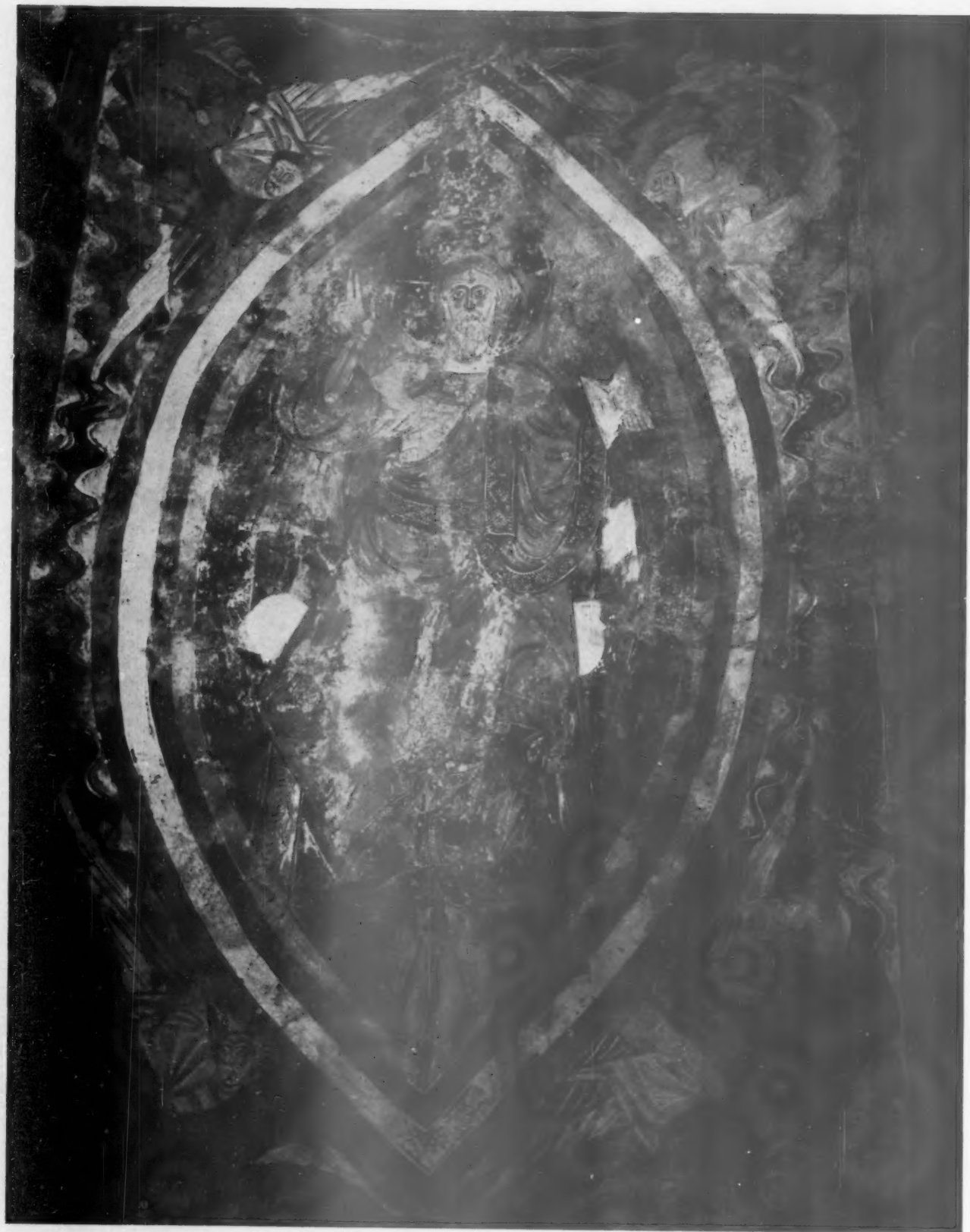


FIG. 28—Maderuelo, *Ermila de la Cruz*: *Majestas Domini* on Vault of Apse Chapel

with white. This register is closed on the right by the anthropomorphic symbol of St. Luke, who is depicted with the body of a man and the head of an ox with long horns. This figure is clad in a light blue tunic and brown mantle.

Five similar figures are portrayed in the corresponding top register on the south wall. At the extreme left (Fig. 20) the anthropomorphic symbol of St. Mark, with the head of a lion, is shown in profile. He has red and green wings, he holds a book in both hands, and wears an orange nimbus, red tunic, and pale green mantle. The archangel on the right stands in a strictly frontal position and holds a scroll in the left hand and a long scepter in the right. The colors of the red tunic and blue dalmatic are singularly fresh and well preserved, whereas the figure of the seraph in the center of the composition (Fig. 21) is partially destroyed. The archangel to the right of the seraph is also damaged. Much of the original color of the upper part of the drapery has disappeared, but enough remains to show that the figure was clad in a white tunic and red mantle. The bishop saint, who closes the composition, is in a good state of preservation. He is depicted with an orange nimbus, short white hair, cut off above the shoulders, and white beard. A red alb is worn under a blue chasuble with white pallium adorned with crosses.

The four walls of the apse are crowned by an imposing figure of the *Majestas Domini*, (Fig. 28), that fills the entire surface of the barrel vault. The Saviour is enthroned within a painted mandorla composed of a series of red, yellow, and white bands. He is seated on a cushioned throne, with feet resting on a blue footstool, against a dark red background, and is portrayed with a dark blue striped nimbus, pale red hair and beard, light blue tunic, and yellowish green mantle embellished with a rich border. In the left hand He holds an open copy of the Gospels, the pages of which are inscribed with the letters alpha and omega, and the right hand is raised in benediction. The mandorla, surrounded by red and blue clouds, is supported by four angels, who have red hair, red and white wings, yellow tunics, and pale red mantles.

From the standpoint of iconography the mural paintings at Maderuelo add nothing new to the Spanish Romanesque tradition. The scenes represented are those common to the mediaeval repertoire, and their chief value lies in the fact that the cycle is fairly complete and has not suffered restoration. The position of the enthroned *Majestas Domini*, at the crown of the vault (Figs. 17, 28), recalls the Saviour in the vault of the small chapel of St. Martin de Fenouillar in Roussillon, where inscriptions accompany the angels supporting the mandorla.²⁸ The representation of seraphim, archangels, and anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists in the upper register of the north and south walls is similar to that found in the Catalan church of S. Maria de Tahull,²⁹ where the anthropomorphic symbols of Mark and John, a seraph, and the archangel Gabriel are preserved in the upper register of the Gospel wall of the nave.³⁰ The *motif* of apostles seated underneath an arcade is widespread in Spain; it is especially common on the Romanesque altar-frontals of Catalonia although more often in Catalan work the apostles are portrayed standing.

28. Gudiol, *op. cit.*, 112, 113.

29. Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 65; Folch, *Catálogo*, fig. 167.

30. It is highly probable that the corresponding register on the opposite wall at Tahull, now lost, contained the archangel Raphael and the two other evangelistic symbols.

The inclusion of Old Testament scenes is in accordance with the common mediaeval formula of paralleling the Old and New Law and was in common use in Spain during the Romanesque period.³¹ In Catalan art the Creation of Man is best illustrated by the Genesis cycle at Osomort,³² where this scene is accompanied by the inscription . . . LIMO TERRE ET INSPIRAVIT IN FACIEM EIVS. It is also found in one of the niches at S. Martin de Brull.³³ The Temptation and Fall of Man is especially common in mediaeval Spain, and the variant found at Maderuelo, where Adam rests his chin on his hand in a gesture of doubt, appears in the late twelfth century Bible at Burgos,³⁴ on a Catalan panel at Solsona,³⁵ and on other Romanesque monuments. One of the best known Catalan examples of the Offering of Cain and Abel appears in an apse window from S. Maria de Mur, where the *Dextera Domini* is shown in the same manner as at Maderuelo. The figure of Abel with a lamb is also found in a mural painting from S. Maria de Tahull, where Abel holds the lamb on veiled hands and gazes up at the figure of the Saviour.³⁶

The composition and style of these mural paintings at Maderuelo show an obvious relationship with the frescoes which until lately decorated the hermitage of S. Baudel de Berlanga, in the province of Soria. At Berlanga the mural decorations on the walls of the nave give the monument its chief significance, but it is the damaged fragment of painting (Fig. 16) in the apse, or east chapel, that shows the close relationship with the scenes at Maderuelo. This east apse at Berlanga, raised above the level of the nave, measures 4.10 x 3.60 meters and is covered by a barrel vault. There is evidence that originally the entire surface of the three walls and ceiling was painted, but nothing remains except the composition on the end wall. The preservation of the decoration on this wall is due solely to the fact that in the sixteenth century it was covered by a coat of whitewash and protected by a large retablo placed behind the altar.

Although the composition in the semicircular lunette on the east wall at Berlanga is in an advanced stage of deterioration, enough remains to show that this was almost identical to that found in the lunette of the east wall at Maderuelo. A Greek cross, with a circular nimbus at the center, is supported by angels and at the sides two figures, wearing short tunics, hose and slippers, lean forward. The identity of these two figures cannot be determined with certainty, but it is quite probable that they represent the offering of Cain and Abel (cf. Fig. 18). A white dove within a mandorla is placed at the top of the window in the same manner as at Maderuelo, although the position of the dove's body is reversed, with the head pointed downward. The embrasures of the window are embellished with a "fan" motif composed of radiating bands of red, white, and yellow. On either side of the window are seated figures of saints: at the left, St. Nicholas (. . . AVS) and at the right St. Baudelio (BAVDILI), whereas at Maderuelo this register contains the Epiphany and the Washing of Christ's Feet by the Magdalen. The small rectangular panel directly beneath the window at Berlanga contains a decorative bird resembling an ibis, and beneath are traces of an inscription: IN DEI NOMINE . . . AVLA DEI . . . At Maderuelo the decoration beneath the window has been lost, but it is highly probable that a similar panel with an animal motif was shown here.

31. For a discussion of this use see Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, (VI), in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 4, pp. 395-396.

32. Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 146.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.

34. Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 1, p. 159.

35. *Ibid.*, fig. 2.

36. Gudiol, *op. cit.*, fig. 64, p. 215.



FIG. 29—*Maderuelo: Ermita de la Cruz*

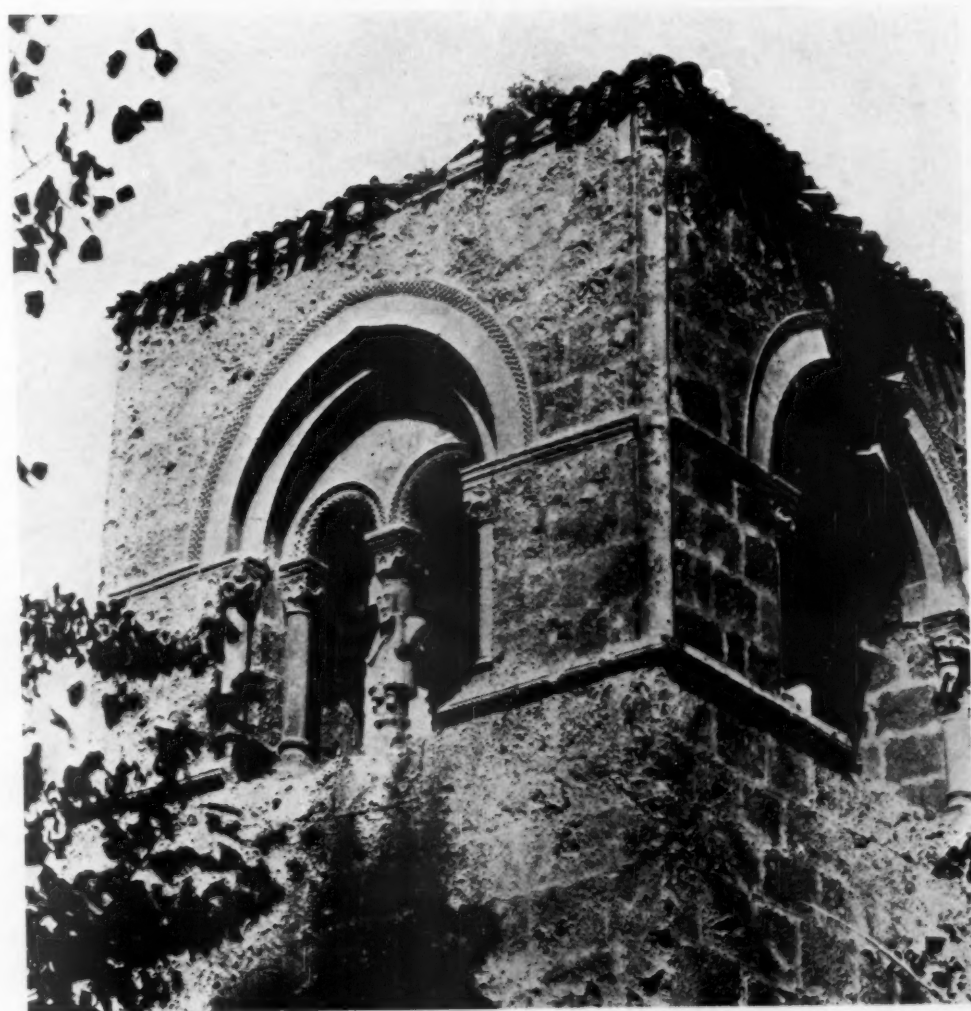


FIG. 30—*Tubilla del Agua: Convent*



FIG. 31—Tubilla del Agua, Convent: Interior of Nave

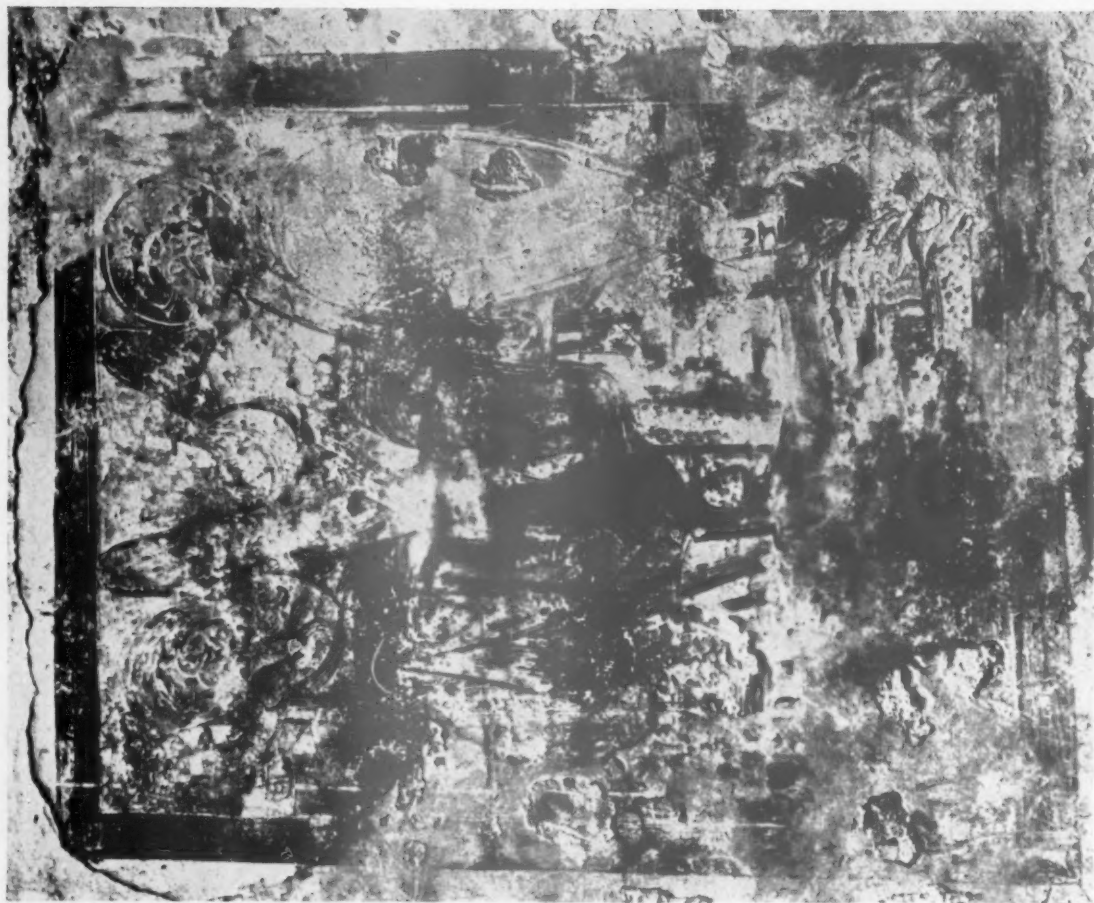


FIG. 32—Tubilla del Agua, Convent: Two Archangels on Wall of Nave

Such a close analogy between two compositions in different sections of Castile is not purely accidental and is fairly conclusive proof that one served as a model of the other. The two apses are almost identical in size and it is even possible that one might reconstruct the lost paintings in the east apse at Berlanga on the basis of the preserved mural decoration at Maderuelo. Both chapels are covered by a barrel vault and it is highly probable that the ceiling at Berlanga contained a *Majestas Domini*.

Further evidence of a close community of school is shown by a comparison of the figure and drapery style, the treatment of architectural motives, and the use of color in these two Castilian hermitages. Some of the heads of the seated apostles on the north and south walls at Maderuelo (Figs. 19, 26, 27) are almost duplicated in the Gospel scenes in the nave (cf. Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, of Berlanga); the head of Christ in the scene of the Washing of His feet by the Magdalen at Maderuelo is analogous to that of the Saviour in the Temptation of Christ and the Raising of Lazarus at Baudelio. The curious convention at Maderuelo of dressing the hair in a small puff above the forehead (head of St. Peter, Fig. 19; head of Christ in the Washing of His feet, Fig. 18) is identical with the treatment found in the Berlanga Last Supper and other scenes. The head of St. Jerome on the north wall at Maderuelo closely resembles the head of St. Nicholas in the apse of Berlanga.

In the drapery treatment there are also many analogies between the Maderuelo and Berlanga series. Reminiscences of the Moissac "flying fold" are evident in the manner in which at Maderuelo the lower edges of the tunics turn upward, although the drapery falls heavily and is handled in the plastic fashion so common at Berlanga and in Castilian manuscripts of the late twelfth century. The color scheme, with a liberal use of reds, oranges, and yellows, is the same in both series of mural paintings and a further striking resemblance is shown in the treatment of the arcades which are placed above many of the scenes at Maderuelo.

There is no definite document by which the mural paintings can be accurately dated, nor is anything known of the artists who executed these series. Maderuelo was a dependency of the monastery of S. Pedro de Arlanza,³⁷ where an artist by the name of Gudestee was at work in the eleventh century. In view of the relationship between Maderuelo and Arlanza it is quite conceivable that this chapel was decorated by artists sent from Arlanza, but the complete loss of all Romanesque painting in the latter monastery makes this a mere supposition.

The frescoes at Maderuelo show all the characteristics of the late Romanesque style. The treatment of the drapery, with the liberal use of the "flying fold," reveals the strong current of the Romanesque tradition, but the sureness and swiftness of handling indicate clearly that the artist was following a thoroughly integrated style. Although most of the heads are shown in a frontal position, they are rendered in a sure and sophisticated manner. This, together with the unusual stature of many of the figures, produces a naturalistic effect which betrays the influence of approaching Gothic. It is, in fact, this sophisticated handling of the human figure, rather than any single detail of the drapery or figure style which would make it impossible to date the series earlier than the first half or middle of the thirteenth century.

37. I am indebted for this information to Sr. D. Luciano Huidobro y Serna of Burgos.

VI.

Another Castilian fresco which came to light on the expedition of 1927 was found in a small church at Tubilla del Agua, province of Burgos. This small hamlet lies about fifty kilometers north of Burgos, not far from Sedano, and is on the main road to Santander.³⁸

The small church, now falling into ruin, appears to date from the twelfth century, although the small atrium may be even earlier. The upper section of the square tower contains interesting fragments of Romanesque sculpture (Fig. 30). This was a royal foundation, built for nuns, and contains many features found in other convents in the region of Palencia, such as S. Andrés de Arroyo and S. Eufemia de Cozuelos (Palencia), and the abbey of Rodilla. As these convents in Palencia were built for royalty, it is highly probable that this was also true of Tubilla del Agua. It was a dependency of the convent of S. Fé at Toledo.³⁹

The vaults of the small nave of the church at Tubilla del Agua have now fallen (Fig. 31) and a small patch of mural decoration has been recently freed from a thick coat of white-wash. The space uncovered, about three feet in width by five in height, is on the Gospel wall, facing the main entrance, and below this is a niche which formerly contained a sepulcher.⁴⁰

The composition consists of two standing figures of archangels, enclosed within a dark red border (Fig. 32). The angel on the right, probably St. Michael, is represented with a yellow nimbus, red hair and wings, and is clothed in red and yellow robes. He holds a blue shield and with a long spear pierces the dragon which lies at his feet. Another angel, at the left, with a green nimbus, red and yellow robes, also holds a spear in his hand. The figures are relieved against a striped background composed of light red, yellow, and dark red bands. The angels are drawn in graceful lines and the colors are exceedingly harmonious.

The style and color scheme of this work shows clearly that the artist was following the manuscript traditions of this region, and the freedom and sureness of execution indicate a date in the thirteenth century. Constant exposure to sun and air, however, is doing its work and if the faded fresco is not shortly transferred or removed to a local museum nothing will remain of this rare example of the Romanesque school of Castile.

38. It lies on the right bank of the river Uzaron (Rudrón), and contains not more than eight hundred inhabitants. There was once a lake here, whence the name (Madoz, *Diccionario*, XV, p. 172).

39. I am indebted for this information to Sr. D. Luciano Huidobro Serna of Burgos.

40. This sepulcher appears to have been a common burial tomb for the nuns. The tomb has been torn out and the space is now filled with human skulls and bones.



FIG. 1—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: *St. Stephen before the Sanhedrin*. Fresco



FIG. 2—Copy by Yperman of Fresco in Fig. 1



FIG. 3—*Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: St. Stephen among his Accusers. Fresco*



FIG. 4—*Copy by Yperman of Fresco in Fig. 3*

THE CAROLINGIAN FRESCOES OF THE ABBEY OF SAINT GERMAIN D'AUXERRE¹

BY EDWARD S. KING

BENEATH the plaster and seventeenth century frescoes covering the walls of the western crypt of the Abbey of St.-Germain at Auxerre MM. Louis and Yperman uncovered in 1927-1928 portions of a series of mural paintings of a greatly older date. It appears that these paintings are works of the ninth century; the only examples known in France from Carolingian times and thus the only paintings on a large scale we have to compare with the illuminated work of contemporary scriptoria. This notice has for its object the first published study of any length of these frescoes with a presentation of the archaeological probabilities surrounding them.² A complete account will be possible only after a new and thorough study of the crypts, including the removal of the later paintings, under which it is entirely possible that further Carolingian paintings may come to light. An analysis will also have to be made of the inscriptions of various dates now painted on the walls in order that the full story of the Carolingian period may be known.

The frescoes of the ninth century thus far uncovered depict three scenes from the martyrdom of St. Stephen, protomartyr, four sainted bishops (the paintings uncovered by M. Yperman), with accompanying ornamental enframements and decorations. St. Stephen, chief of the seven deacons appointed by the apostles to assist them in the daily ministrations and to attend to the relief of the widows (Acts vi), came into conflict with the Jews, who on account of his eloquent defense of the supremacy of the Gospels accused him of blasphemy against Moses and against God. The first of the frescoed scenes shows him brought for trial before the Sanhedrin (Figs. 1, 2). His reprimands in response so outraged the pride of his accusers that they "cried out with a loud voice" and "ran upon him with one accord" (Figs. 3, 4). Then he was cast out of the city and stoned to death (Figs. 5, 6) (Acts vii, 57-58). St. Stephen is represented in these scenes as beardless, clothed in the alb (white) and the deacon's dalmatic (yellow) which has for decoration two *clavi* or stripes with orfrays of tassel-like form (both in purple). (The positions of these scenes are indicated on the plan (Fig. 21) as *a*, *b*, *c*, in the order given above). Traces of a light blue-green appear in the backgrounds of the two latter scenes. The four bishops are each nimbed and dressed alike, their costumes consisting of the alb (white) and dalmatic (yellow), which garment combined with the chasuble (red) denotes their bishop's rank. The chasuble

1. I wish to express my gratefulness to M. Jean Verrier of the Ministère des Beaux-Arts, Paris, who first told me of the existence of these frescoes.

2. A description of the frescoes and a brief mention of their significance along with a reproduction of the scene

of the Stoning of St. Stephen, illustrated here in Fig. 6, are given in Marcel Aubert's 2nd edition of R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, 1929, pp. 809-810.

is decorated with a Y-shaped orfray (yellow).³ Each bishop stands on a pedestal (red) and holds a book (red), and each pair is surrounded by a border of six bands (red to yellow). One pair is bearded (Fig. 7), the other beardless (Fig. 8). (On the plan their positions are *d* and *e* respectively).

A certain amount of information bearing on these paintings is to be had from the history of the abbey.⁴ The first church of St.-Germain was erected by Clotilde, widow of Clovis.⁵ This was given additions towards the east about the middle of the ninth century by Conrad I, count of Auxerre and maternal uncle to Charles the Bald,⁶ and this structure and its additions appear to have stood until the building of the Romanesque church, after 1064.⁷ The constructions subsequent to this period do not concern the discussion here, for such rearrangements as their building may have occasioned to the supporting structures of the crypts have had no visible effect upon the condition of the frescoes, though this consideration may prove of importance for future excavations.

The crypts of St.-Germain as seen to-day date principally from two periods: the middle of the ninth and the latter half of the thirteenth centuries, the former portion being represented, generally speaking, by the western crypt, the latter by the eastern with the cryptal chapel below it.⁸ (The portions of Carolingian construction are indicated on the plan by the diagonally shaded areas.)

The first mention of a crypt in connection with the abbey⁹ comes from the *Gesta* of the bishops of Auxerre, referring to the year 857, at the time of the death of Heribaldus,

3. The Y-shaped orfray of the chasuble worn by these figures has been called a *pallium* (de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 810). The *pallium*, however, is longer than the decoration appearing here, falling below and being independent of the chasuble and usually with fringed terminations. It is not worn by ecclesiastics below the rank of archbishop, except in special cases. Thus to call the decoration of the chasuble of these four figures a *pallium* would be in contradiction to their significance which, as this article proceeds to show, is simply that of bishops of Auxerre. Cf. the discussion of this matter in Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg i. B., 1907, pp. 213 ff., 622 ff.

4. General accounts of the history of the abbey of St.-Germain are to be found in V.-B. Henry, *Historie de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, Auxerre, 1853; Leblanc Davau, *Recherches historiques et statistiques sur Auxerre, ses monuments et ses environs*, 2nd ed., Auxerre, 1871; Jules Tillet, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, in *Congrès archéologique de France*, Paris, 1908, pp. 627 ff.; Leclerc, *Abbaye de Saint-Germain*, in *Annuaire statistique du département de l'Yonne*, 1841, 3rd part; L'abbé Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse*, ed. Challe & Quantin, Auxerre, 1848. Most of our information for the Carolingian abbey and the periods preceding comes from the *Miracula Sancti Germani Episcopi Autissiodorensis* of Hericus, written before 880 (published in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum, Julii Tomus septimus*, Paris and Rome, 1868). Cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

5. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, pp. 274, 292; Leclerc, *op. cit.*, p. 4; M. Chardon, *Histoire de la Ville d'Auxerre*, Auxerre, 1834, p. 71.

6. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, pp. 284-285; Tillet, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

7. Tillet, *op. cit.*, p. 632, states that portions of the abbey from the end of the Carolingian period included the "trois premières travées" of the church and reproduces a design in the Bibliothèque Nationale which purports to represent them. This portion was destroyed in 1820, after Napoleon had given the abbey to the city for a hospital (1810), which it now is. Cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 530; Léon Maître, *La confession carolingienne de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 5th series, IV, 1908, p. 323.

8. Tillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 645-646.

9. According to J. von Schlosser's abbreviated quotation (*Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, Wien, 1892, p. 194) from Hericus' *Miracula* of St.-Germain the earliest mention of a crypt in connection with the abbey refers to the year 841: ". . . corpus B. Germani in cryptam tanto condignam thesauro . . . translatum est . . . Actum est hoc a Dei hominis facti 841." There was a translation of the body of St. Germain in 841—two months after the defeat of Lothaire at the Battle of Fontenoy (June 25, 841) by his younger brothers Charles the Bald and Louis the German. The two victors ordered Heribaldus, the bishop, to make a translation of the body of St. Germain, but there is no mention of a crypt on this occasion (cf. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, pp. 286-287). The passage ". . . beati Germani in cryptam translatus est" refers to the ceremony of translation on Epiphany Day, 859, as the editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* have pointed out (p. 289, annotata *a* and *b*).



FIG. 5—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Stoning of St. Stephen. Fresco



FIG. 6—Copy by Yperman of Fresco in Fig. 5

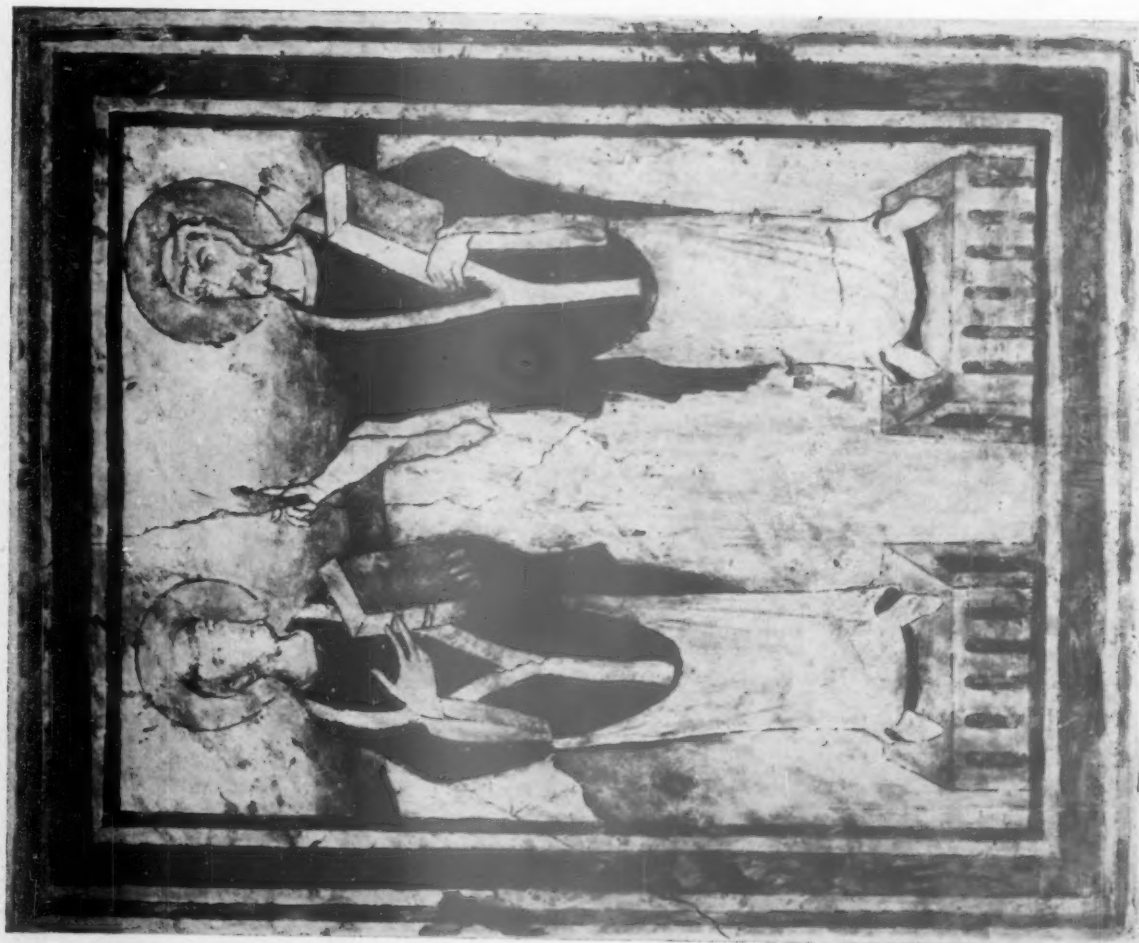


FIG. 7

Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Bishops (Copy of Fresco by Yperman)



FIG. 8

Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Bishops (Copy of Fresco by Yperman)

Bishop of Auxerre, and his burial in the crypt, with apparently the one and only notice of significance for the frescoed scenes of St. Stephen, for in this passage the crypt is spoken of as dedicated to him: ". . . in basilica sancti Germani in cripta sancti Stephani nobilem sepulturam accepit . . ." ¹⁰ The tomb of Heribaldus was and indeed still is under the scene of the Stoning of St. Stephen. ¹¹ (The inscription dedicated to Heribaldus appearing in Fig. 5, and probably dating from the seventeenth century, indicates his place of burial.) The crypt of St. Stephen is very likely a part of the crypts built by Conrad. ¹² These enlargements of his to the monastery were completed in 859, when on Epiphany Day amidst considerable ceremony the body of St. Germain was translated, owing to the pious interest of Charles the Bald, to the position where the tomb still remains (f on plan). ¹³

The only damage of moment that appears to have come to the crypts was that wrought during the Protestant uprising, in 1567. Earlier attacks on the city by the Normans ¹⁴ and by the English in 1359, left the abbey untouched. ¹⁵ And while the abbey has suffered often from fire there is no evidence from the crypts that they were damaged. ¹⁶ But in the Huguenot pillage of 1567 little, we are told, escaped destruction; the tombs were broken open, the reliquaries seized for their gold, silver, and precious stones, the altars and images destroyed, the church set fire to so that neither cover, glass, iron, nor lead remained; only the walls were standing. ¹⁷ Repairs were not undertaken before 1629. ¹⁸ When the crypts were reached beneath the *débris* it appears, however, that save for movable objects matters stood very much in their erstwhile condition. In order to ascertain exactly what may have happened to the holy relics the monks of the abbey requested Dom Séguier, Bishop of Meaux and formerly Bishop of Auxerre, to make a detailed inventory. Bishop Séguier made two investigations, in 1634 and 1636. ¹⁹ His search revealed, according to his report, that the troubles of 1567 had left the tombs and their contents intact, that only the gold and silver reliquaries with their relics were missing. This he was able to say after making a comparison of the positions of the tombs and their sacred contents and the inscriptions painted on the walls containing the names of those buried beneath with the account given by Hericus, a monk of the abbey, of those buried in the crypts in his time (second half of the ninth century), wherein are given the positions of their tombs. The passage from Hericus refers to the ceremony of translation of 865 of the relics of the bishops and other saints from their former position in the church. ²⁰ Bishop Séguier states that his

10. *Gesta Episcoporum Autissiodorensium* in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, scriptorum, XIII*, Hanover, 1881, p. 398. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194.

11. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194 and note (a); Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 562.

12. In view of the time that would be required to build such a structure and the preparations made for it: monks were sent as far as Arles and Marseille for marbles. Cf. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, p. 285. De Lasteyrie (*op. cit.*, p. 809) gives the dates of the crypts as 850-859; Leclerc (*op. cit.*, p. 10), as 843-859.

13. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, p. 287. Leclerc, *op. cit.*, p. 2, mentions "an old manuscript in the library of M. Petau" which speaks of Conrad's additions.

14. Leclerc, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; Davau, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The period of Norman devasta-

tions in the vicinity extends from 887 to 911. The writers cited above can give no evidence for Norman damage to the abbey.

15. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

16. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Davau, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 141, 142; Maltre, *op. cit.*, p. 323. According to Henry (*op. cit.*, p. 528) the Revolution, also, brought no damage to the crypts.

17. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 404, 415, n. 1, and 557.

18. Davau, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

19. Cf. the *Procès Verbaux* drawn up by Séguier; given in Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 556 ff.

20. Hericus in *AA. SS.*, pp. 290-291. Cf. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 199-200, and Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

findings and the account of Hericus are in entire agreement²¹ (it being understood that Séguier and other later writers on the crypts mention also personages buried there after Hericus' time).

V.-B. Henry in his history of the abbey (1853) gives a description of the crypts and their sepulchers, basing it upon the description of Séguier and that of Dom Fournier (ed. 1848), a Benedictine of the abbey.²² From these accounts and that of Hericus, it is to be seen that six episcopal tombs lie beneath our frescoed bishops. These tombs are those of Sts. Fraternus (c. 450), Allodius (c. 452), Censurius (c. 482), Ursus (c. 508), Abbo (c. 857-859), and Christianus—seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-seventh bishops of Auxerre respectively.²³ Christianus is not mentioned in Hericus' account, being still alive in 865. The figures of the two bearded bishops occur over the first three tombs of these bishops, the two unbearded figures over the tombs of the second three. Dom Séguier mentions that at the time of his visit in 1636 he saw painted portraits with accompanying inscriptions in Latin and old French—which, as will be explained below, were executed after the Carolingian period—over all the six tombs, with the exception that over Christianus' tomb only his name is distinguishable, says Séguier, in the remains of the fresco destroyed by the Huguenots. The position here of Christianus' tomb is questionable, however. There is no recorded contemporary evidence for the position of his tomb in the crypts and the inscription deciphered by Séguier as giving his name is not dependable.²⁴ Be that as it may, it seems that our four "portraits" represent four from among the five or six bishops who are buried beneath them. More than this one cannot say, for in view of the lack of particularizing features in the portraits no correspondence can be made with the identities of any of the entombed bishops.²⁵

Presumably the portraits noted by Séguier were done at the time of a complete decoration of the crypts by the grand-prior Pierre Pesselière, that is, between 1544, when Pesselière came into office, and 1567, year of the Huguenot destructions.²⁶ Thus the figures of our four bishops would have been found beneath these portraits or possibly beneath paintings of other periods covered by them.²⁷ In any event the effigies seen by Séguier

21. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 569-570. Séguier is not clear in his description of the location of the tombs. He uses such terms as "a little further back," "on another wall," while he places the tomb of St. Loup opposite those of Romanus and Theodosius in the chapel of St.-Germain itself, where as Hericus gives it along with those of Fraternus, Censurius, Gregory, and Desiderius—i. e., on the north of the chapel of St.-Germain. Nevertheless, Séguier states that his findings are in entire accord with the account of Hericus, which he quotes in translation. He concludes that with the exceptions of the remains of Desiderius (Didier), Romanus, Aunarius, Maurice, Eugenia, Thibaut, Urban, and Tiburtius the relics remain in the tombs and the tombs remain in their original positions.

22. Dominique D. Fournier, *Description des Saintes Grottes de l'Abbaye royale de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, Auxerre, 1714. Re-edited in 1780 and 1848. This work was inaccessible to me. It is said to give a very exact description of the crypts and their contents. (Cf. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 428.)

23. I follow here the chronology of Lebeuf (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 109 ff). There is some question as to the exact dates of these early bishops and as to the priority of Fraternus or Allodius. Cf. on this question generally L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1910, vol. II.

24. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 201, states that Séguier did not find an epitaph for Christianus, but in the *Procès Verbaux* Séguier's statement is as given here. (Cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 568). Lebeuf, *id.*, says that the name and portrait of Christianus were painted over the tomb in 1655.

25. Since it is not known how old these six bishops were when they died there is no possibility of identifying any of them by age with the bearded or unbearded figures. Cf. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 195. For other burials in the crypts up to about the year 960 see Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 576.

26. For the paintings due to Pesselière see Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 374, n. 2, 420; Maurice Prou, *Inscriptions carolingiennes des cryptes de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre*, in *Gazette archéologique*, 13th year, 1888, p. 300.

27. Prou, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

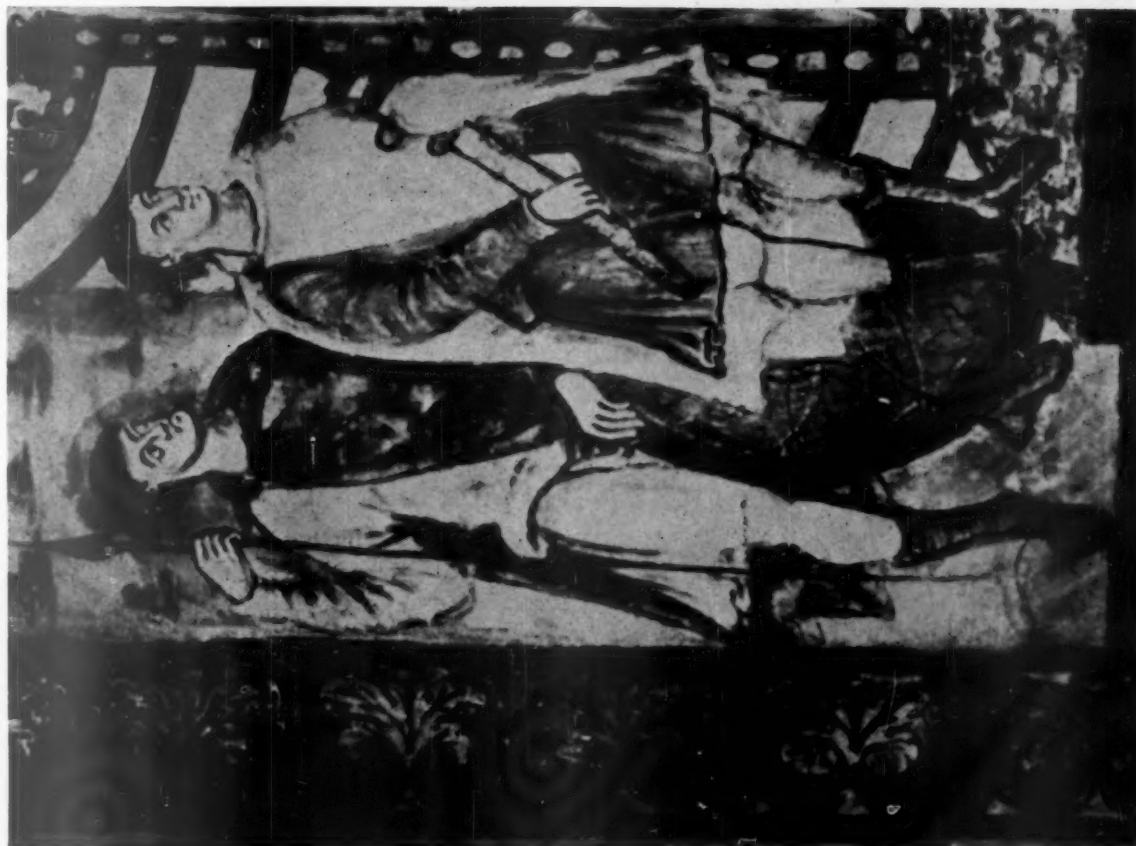


FIG. 9

Rome, Vatican Library: Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. Details of Folios 1 r. and 256 v.



FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

Rome, Vatican Library: *Bible of St. Paul's* f. l. m. Details of Folios 231 v., 3 v., 31 v.

were not of Carolingian date, as he mentions the portrait of Heribaldus painted over his tomb, showing, as is explained above, that it was painted over the ninth century scene of the Stoning of St. Stephen and, like all the other portraits of Séguier's mention, of late date.²⁸

The final decorations as seen to-day were done in 1655,²⁹ and these, which are similar in iconography to the paintings mentioned by Séguier, are apparently a continuation of the original decorative scheme. That this scheme included epitaphs over the episcopal tombs is more than likely. These inscriptions were present before the time of Raoul Glaber, who went over them with fresh paint during his visit to the abbey, about 1002. Maurice Prou, who made a cursory study of the inscriptions of the crypts, believes that some of them (unfortunately not those over the tombs discussed above) date, in form, at least, from the period when the crypts were completed: 859.³⁰ The St. Stephen scenes themselves are said to have been found under inscriptions the earliest of which dated from the tenth century.³¹

From the foregoing account, incomplete as it must necessarily be, the earliest date for our frescoes would appear to be 859. The abbey possessed a crypt dedicated to St. Stephen in or before 857, but as this crypt was in all probability a part of those finished in 859 and as frescoes would be placed on the walls only towards the end of the work, the earlier date is questionable. But the figures of the bishops point to a somewhat later dating, since the personages they were probably intended to represent were not buried in the crypts until 865. Further, if Christianus' tomb is among the six, if indeed he is represented among our frescoed bishops, these would be dated still later, since Christianus' death did not occur until 871 or 872.³² Since there is no indication from style that our frescoes may be of different dates the general period for them all would be from 865 to some time within the tenth century, if we may rely on the inscriptions which were found over the St. Stephen scenes as being of that date.

It is to be recognized at once that the style of these paintings is similar to the miniatures done at the time of Charles the Bald.³³ The style of the figures, their types, costumes, and gestures recall strongly the miniatures of a number of manuscripts executed for or associated with this king, the group of works ordinarily ascribed to the school of Corbie but now identified by A. M. Friend, Jr., as products of the school of the royal abbey of St.-Denis.³⁴ The outstanding feature of the school of St.-Denis is its eclecticism, its miniatures showing a combination of the previous styles of Carolingian illumination. The school was founded by Charles the Bald, who became secular abbot of the monastery of St.-Denis in 867.

28. That the portraits Séguier speaks of are later than the Carolingian period is further attested in the instances of the portraits of Bishop Optatus (530-532); two of his presbyters, Sanctinus and Memorinus; Marianus, confessor; and Gerranus, bishop (909-914), which cannot have dated before the end of the thirteenth century as Séguier saw them in the chapel of Ste.-Maxime built in that period. Cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 564-565 and Tillet, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

29. For the paintings of 1655 see Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 199, n. (b), and p. 201; M. Quantin, *Cartulaire général de L'Yonne*, Auxerre, 1854, p. 9 and Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

30. Prou, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-303, gives an account of Glaber's visit to the abbey and his work with its inscriptions. An inscription dedicated to Fraternus which, in Prou's opinion, dates from the thirteenth century obscures another inscription on the left side of the arcade preceding the tomb of St. Germain; this latter inscription Prou thinks dates very likely from the ninth century.

31. De Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 809.

32. Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 201; Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

33. As was pointed out in de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 810.

34. A. M. Friend, Jr., *Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St.-Denis*, in *Art Studies*, I (1923), pp. 67 ff.

It was this event, we may infer, that caused him to place his library—whose diversity of style as regards the illustration and illumination of the books caused, in Friend's opinion, the eclectic trend of the abbey's scriptorium—at the disposal of the artists of the abbey. The chief manuscripts of the school date from 867 to 877, the year of Charles' death.

From among the manuscripts of this group four concern us particularly in view of the close similarities of their miniatures with the frescoes. The four manuscripts are: Charles' Bible, in the monastery of St. Paul's f. l. m., in Rome; his Gospels, called the Gospels of St.-Emmeran, or the Codex Aureus, in the State Library at Munich; the Sacramentary of Metz (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 1141), and the so-called Gospel of Ste.-Aure, or the Célestins' Gospel (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 1171).³⁵

The frescoes are furnished with more numerous analogies of style by the Bible of St. Paul's, because of its wealth of historiated pages. The scene of St. Stephen among his accusers (Figs. 3, 4) being the best preserved of any of the frescoes gives the best notion consequently of their figure style. The general appearance of the figures of the Jews in this scene is that of the two soldiers from the dedication page of the Bible of St. Paul's (Fig. 9); the costumes, the somewhat nervous stance of the figures, and the forceful drawing are alike. A striking similarity appears between the head of the Jew to the extreme right in the group of the accusers and the figure to the extreme right of the group before Moses in the scene of the Ark of the Covenant from the manuscript (Fig. 13). In this instance the two heads are alike both as to type and technique. Each is of a rather bullet-like shape, with the jaw thrust forward and a bit twisted to one side.³⁶ In each of the two heads appears the same technical convention of a heavy shadow on the jaw and cheek and on the side of the nose to produce a loosely rugged representation. The same type of head is further illustrated very clearly by the examples of St. Luke from the Bible of St. Paul's (Fig. 10), and St. Gregory the Great from MS. 1141 (Fig. 14), where the shadows are lighter and the nose is shaded by a soft line, refinements which it is scarcely permissible to see in the frescoes on account of the extent of their dilapidation.

In the scene of the Trial (Figs. 1, 2) St. Stephen appears as beardless, while in that showing him among his accusers (Figs. 3, 4) he appears at first glance as bearded and he has the suggestion of a beard in the Stoning scene (Figs. 5, 6). The bearded effect, however, is due to the technical feature of a deep shadow under the chin with a high light on the upper part, and when the surface painting is worn, as it is here, the modeling of the face is readily enough altered to appear as bearded. Similarly, it is difficult to say whether some of the Jews are bearded or not. In the miniatures of the Bible of St. Paul's, which are well preserved, some of the heads which have no beards appear as though they had, owing to the same juxtaposition of a heavy shadow and a high-light.³⁷ Moreover, the iconography of St. Stephen invariably shows him to be represented as beardless.

For the figure of St. Stephen analogies do not readily offer themselves. This is principally owing to the fact that the painting of the head is damaged in the three scenes in

35. H. Janitschek, *Die trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 102, places this manuscript in the school of Corbie, which Mr. Friend has taken over for St.-Denis.

36. Many heads of this type occur in MS. 1141. Cf. A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. CXXXII.

37. Cf. particularly the figure of Christ on folio 115 v.



FIG. 14

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: MS. lat. 1141. Folios 3 r. and 2 v.



FIG. 15



FIG. 16—Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal: So-called Gospel of Ste.-Aure (MS. 1171). Detail of Folio 108



FIG. 17—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Gospel of Lothaire (MS. lat. 266). Detail of Folio 2 v.

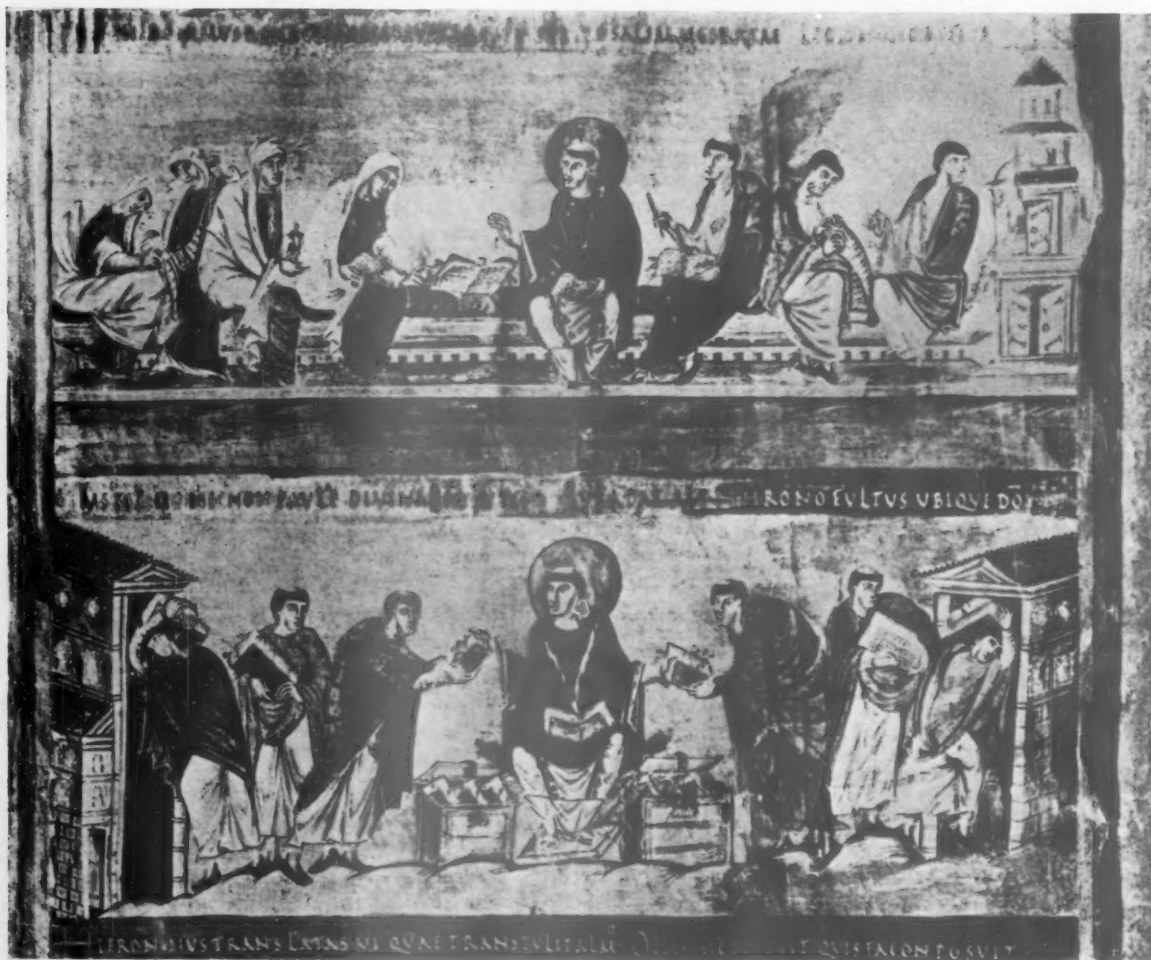


FIG. 18—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: First Bible of Charles the Bald (MS. lat. 1). Detail of Folio 3 v.

which he appears; more so in the first and third scenes than in the second, making somewhat doubtful the supposedly common type originally used for all three heads.³⁸

The Bible of St. Paul's offers perhaps the closest parallels in illumination for the general appearance of the head of St. Stephen as it is seen in the three scenes. Thus the type used for St. Jerome in the Bible (Fig. 14) is similar to that in the scene of the accusers (Figs. 3, 4). For the St. Stephen head of the Trial scene (Figs. 1, 2) no close parallel is forthcoming, owing to the extent to which it is damaged. (The artist of the *relevé* seems to have drawn in the features more completely than the state of the original painting warrants). However, as there is no reason to suppose that the original appearance of the damaged heads differed in respect to style and features from that of the better preserved heads we may reasonably assume that the type of head used for St. Stephen appeared originally very much like the type noted above for St. Jerome in the Bible of St. Paul's (Fig. 12). Likewise, it is difficult to offer analogies for the heads of the beardless bishops since they are nearly obliterated. The shape of their outline is like that of the St. Stephen in the scene of the Trial.

The bearded heads of the other two bishops and of the High Priest and the figure standing behind him in the Trial scene are too far destroyed, again, for their character to be clearly apparent, but their general shape indicates the type of head used for St. Mark in the so-called Gospel of Ste.-Aure (Fig. 16). The same comparison appears to hold for the two bearded heads of the stoning figures, in which the features are fairly well preserved but in which the modeling is largely lost. Several examples from the Bible of St. Paul's also suggest themselves as of the same type (Fig. 11).

The two archbishops of MS. 1141, standing to either side of a king, whom Mr. Friend has shown to be in all probability Clovis in a commemorative rôle for the coronation of Charles the Bald as king of Lorraine at Metz in 869, are very clearly reflected by the four monumental bishops of the frescoes (Fig. 15 and Figs. 7, 8.)³⁹ It is notable that the gestures of the hands of the archbishops are practically repeated by the two unbearded bishops.

The costumes of the frescoed figures are, of course, too common at this time to be of significance in themselves as points of attribution. The garb worn here by the Jews, consisting of the short tunic, the chlamys, and buskins is universal at this period. The manner in which the costumes are handled is much more significant. The figures of the Jews, being better preserved, are here, again, of more value than the others. From the comparison made above between them and the two soldiers (Fig. 9) it will be noticed how the tunic is caught up over the hip with a fold in the same fashion in both instances. The folds to either side of the leg have very much the same arrangement and flow while the folds of the chlamys are similarly disposed in the two works. (These features can be seen more justly in the original painting, Fig. 3.)

Several of the characteristics of style and technique that have been mentioned are also to be found in certain miniatures of the school of Tours. Thus the Vivien Bible (Paris,

38. There are extremely few instances in Carolingian illumination of scenes from the Acts of the Apostles and as few representations of deacons to which the figure of St. Stephen may be referred for comparison. But his appearance is so like that of the bishops, save for the chasuble, that the comparisons for them will also serve

for him. The figure of St. Stephen occurring in the Sacramentary of Drogo (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 9428) shows precisely the same details of costume as in these scenes. Cf. Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVIII.

39. A. M. Friend, Jr., *Two Manuscripts of The School of St.-Denis*, in *Speculum*, I (January, 1926), pp. 59 ff.

Bibl. nat., MS. lat. 1) and the Gospel of Lothaire (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS. lat. 266) exhibit figures and a technical treatment of great similarity to the frescoed figures. The head of the symbol for St. Matthew, for example (Fig. 17), from the Gospel of Lothaire and the heads of St. Jerome and the monks surrounding him from the Vivien Bible (Fig. 18) possess very much the same particulars of shape, features and technique that have been described with reference to the head of one of the group before Moses from the Bible of St. Paul's (Fig. 13) and the head of the Jew in the fresco (Fig. 4). Similarly, the bishops from the Vivien Bible (Fig. 19) appear closely akin to those painted on the walls of the crypt of St.-Germain.

It is from this class of Tours miniatures, however, that St.-Denis so largely derived its figure style. Whole pages of the Vivien Bible were copied in those of the Bible of St. Paul's,⁴⁰ an indication of which can be seen in the two excerpts from these Bibles in Figs. 18 and 12. At this point the question arises: does the style of the frescoes come more directly from that of Tours or St.-Denis? To answer this question in favor of Tours, in view of the comparisons made above, its style would have to be shown to be close indeed to the manner of the frescoes. But a scrutiny of this style in Tours manuscripts will show that it does not resemble that of the frescoes either so precisely or in so many particularities as does the style of St.-Denis. Thus, as illustrated above, the affinity of the frescoed head types to St.-Denis miniatures is not so closely duplicated by Tours examples. This distinction is further attested in the Tours mannerism of the somewhat aquiline noses of its figures. The noses of the figures in St.-Denis work and in the frescoes are, on the contrary, usually straight. In certain instances in the frescoes the tip of the nose is flattened, as in the case of some of the Jews (Fig. 3), and St.-Denis miniatures show now and again a bent form to the nose (Fig. 9), but in neither case do we have the well-defined aquiline type of Tours illumination (Fig. 18). Also, the jaws of Tours' figures are generally longer and of a wider curve than those of St.-Denis and the frescoes, and this feature combined with the aquiline nose gives the Tours face a typical and distinctive form. Considering the indebtedness of St.-Denis work to that of Tours it is to be expected that the head forms of the former would approach very closely at times those of the latter (cf. Figs. 9, 18). But in addition to the differences just brought out, the drawing style of Tours appears definitely harder and of sharper outline than that of St.-Denis and the frescoes. The latter works possess in common a sketchier and more *malerish* treatment, a characteristic that is greatly in favor of the alignment of our mural paintings with St.-Denis illumination. From the consideration of ornament also, as will be explained below, Tours appears the less likely alternative. These objections to a direct derivation of the style of the frescoes from that of Tours are given weight by the early dating of the Tours manuscripts, about 855, or earlier.⁴¹

All of the ornamental features of the frescoes are common in St.-Denis illumination, some of them being derived from Tours. These features are: the banded borders enframing the bishops, which here have a larger number of bands than is usual in the manuscripts, the wavy bands behind the bishops, and the flowers which occur in the foregrounds of the St. Stephen scenes. The elements of the remaining *motifs* of ornament occur too widely

40. A. M. Friend, Jr., in *Art Studies*, I (1923), p. 72.

41. The latest dates at which the Vivien Bible and the

Gospel of Lothaire could have been done are 851 and 855, the years, respectively, of the death of Vivien and Lothaire.



FIG. 19—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: First Bible of Charles the Bald (MS. lat. 1). Detail of Dedication Page, Folio 423



FIG. 20—Munich, State Library: Codex Aureus. Detail of Border of Folio 88 v.

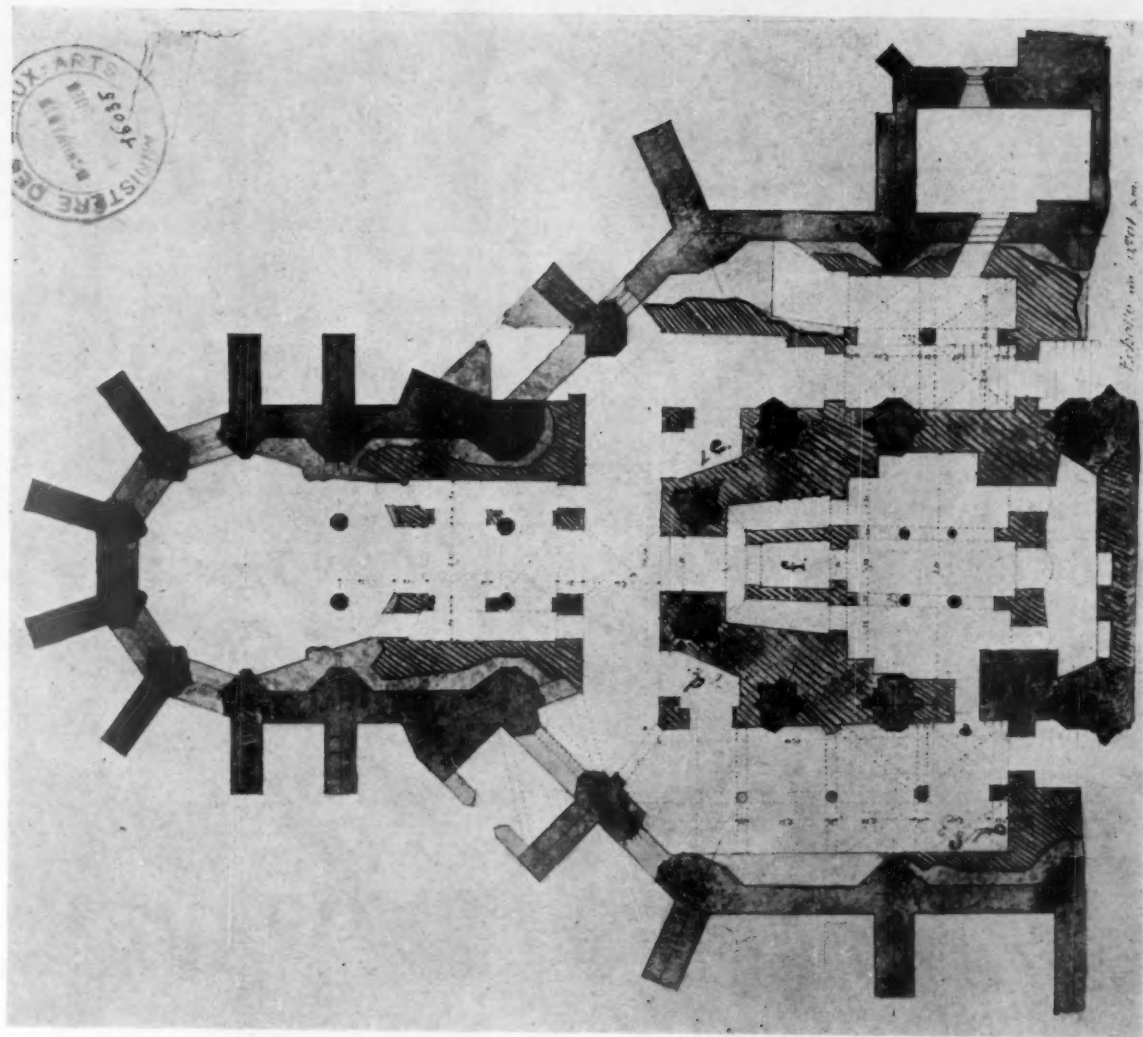


FIG. 21—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Plan of Crypt by Yperman

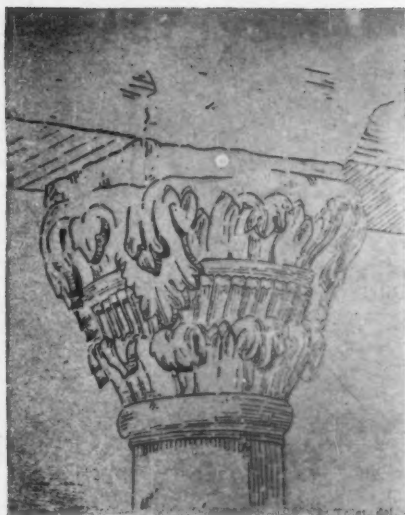


FIG. 22—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Carolingian Capital in Crypt (Drawing by Tillet)



FIG. 23—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Detail of border of Fresco (Drawing and Photograph)



FIG. 24—Rome, Vatican Library: Bible of St. Paul's f. l. m. Detail of Border on Folio 4 v.



FIG. 25—Auxerre, Abbey of St.-Germain: Details of Frescoes in Crypt (Drawing by Yperman)

in the art of the period to be of special import. The arrangement of the members of the Corinthianesque capital (Fig. 25) finds perhaps its closest analogy in the sculptured capital of the crypt (Fig. 22). The Ionic capitals of the Trial scene appear too undifferentiated and generally used to be of any aid to ascription. But the *motif* of the acanthus border below the scene of St. Stephen among his accusers is almost precisely duplicated in one instance in the border of the Codex Aureus (Figs. 20, 23). The Bible of St. Paul's furnishes perhaps the closest analogy we have in illumination for the leaf ornament of the arches (Fig. 24). It is to be added that in the technical treatment of ornament the style of St.-Denis miniatures in its use of high-light and shadow offers the closest parallels to the frescoes.

From the above discussion it seems indisputable that the true connection of these frescoes lies with the miniatures of the school of St.-Denis. The connections with Charles the Bald here suggest themselves in an intermediary rôle, since he was, on the one hand, the lay-abbot of St.-Denis and the virtual private owner of its scriptorium, while, on the other hand, he was intimately associated with the Abbey of St.-Germain d'Auxerre. His prominent part on the occasions of the two translations of the body of St. Germain have already been noted. His donations to the abbey were many and important,⁴² his residence there frequent,⁴³ and his close personal relation with it is further evident in the person of his son Lothaire, whom Charles sent to the abbey school under the tutelage of Hericus⁴⁴ and who later became abbot.⁴⁵ It is also noteworthy that it was Charles who granted the abbey to his uncle Conrad. Thus had it not been for the action of Charles in the first place the Carolingian crypts might never have been built.⁴⁶

That the frescoes can be dated during Charles' lifetime seems highly probable. Their closest analogies in style have been seen to lie with the Bible of St. Paul's, which dates before 869, and with Charles' Gospels, which are dated 870 by inscription.⁴⁷ Unless one wishes to make the Abbey of St.-Germain the artistic originator of the eclectic St.-Denis school beginning in 867, the basis of its illumination style, rather than the reverse (an assumption which the history of Carolingian illumination makes most unlikely), the frescoes cannot date from the time of the completion of the crypts in 859, nor from the time of the translation of relics in 865. Therefore, in view of their similarity to St.-Denis miniatures one would expect them to date not long after 870 and likely enough before the death of Charles the Bald in 877.

42. Quantin, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 91, 93; Lebeuf, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 466.

43. See Lebeuf, *op. cit.*; Henry, *op. cit.*; Davau, *op. cit.*; E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1887; *passim*.

44. Davau, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 23, n. 1.

45. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Dümmler, *idem*.

46. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Leclerc, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

47. A. M. Friend, Jr., in *Art Studies*, I (1923), p. 71.

A CHAPTER IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY ICONOGRAPHY: VERONA

BY EVELYN SANDBERG VAVALÀ

THE schools of painting in North Italy in the fourteenth century have each their distinct personality and history. The unraveling of the strands of influence, derivation, and interchange enhances the interest of their varied production, which, one must confess, is but too apt to remain on a qualitative level far inferior to that of the more important groups of Central Italy. There are two diverse aspects from which one may approach these primitive masters, the iconographic and the stylistic: material and manner, object and presentation; and we may note at the outset that iconographic connections and affinities do not always run parallel to stylistic relations, of which paradox the Veronese group, whose origins we now seek to elucidate, is a most apt illustration. And let it not be objected that iconographic considerations are of minor importance in this new century. The real break, the effectual cessation of vital contact between the artists and the thought of the people is not before but after the trecento. In this period the artist still faithfully reflects a stream of thought, a tradition which is at once conceptual and pictographic, and indeed one may add that religious iconography in Italy presents at this moment a *local* diversity and color which it lacked in the centuries preceding, and which it is about to lose in the approaching Renaissance. Dugento iconography has a singularly homogeneous, if transitional character. Its tendency can be summed up in the expression, "the nationalization (and to some extent the Westernization) of the Byzantine formulæ." But trecento iconography is more complex, and varies from center to center, though its elements are still reducible to a few very simple lowest terms—the Byzantine residuum, the imports from the Romanesque and Gothic iconographies of the transalpine countries, the original and national Italian factor, which admits in itself a considerable provincial diversity.

In the attempt to trace in outline¹ the evolution of Verona's slight but eminently delightful pictorial output from its beginnings to the dawn of the Renaissance I passed over almost in silence the peculiarities of her local iconography; this was due in part to a relative lack of apposite material (for nothing is more obvious than the monotony of the subject matter of Veronese trecento painting, its poverty, its endless reiteration of the limited theme of the Virgin and Child, with or without saints and donors), and in part to the necessity of brevity and to a wish to premise to any discussion a more extensive research in the output of the neighboring centers. It is the scope of the present essay to supplement this omission in the light of material not then available; and just as in the province of stylistic consideration we held that Verona had a definite, if modest, individuality, so in the field of iconography, we shall find her moving in a line which is peculiar to

1. E. Sandberg Vavalà *La pittura veronese del trecento e del primo quattrocento*, Verona, 1926.

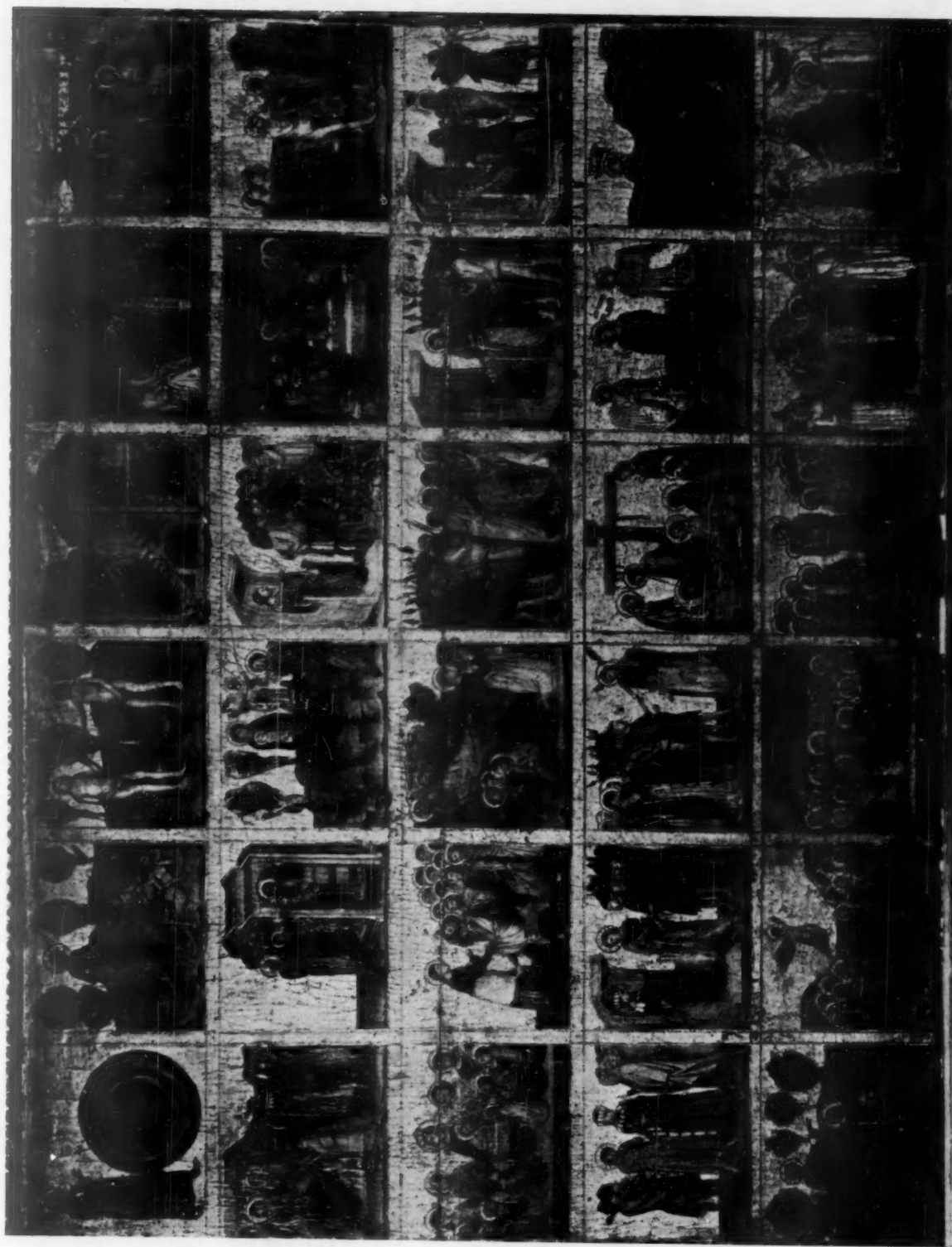


FIG. 1—Verona, Museo Civico: Ancona from the Bottega of Turone



FIG. 2—Brussels, Musée Royal: Twelve Scenes by Turone



FIG. 3—Florence, Private Collection: *Eight Scenes by Martino da Verona*

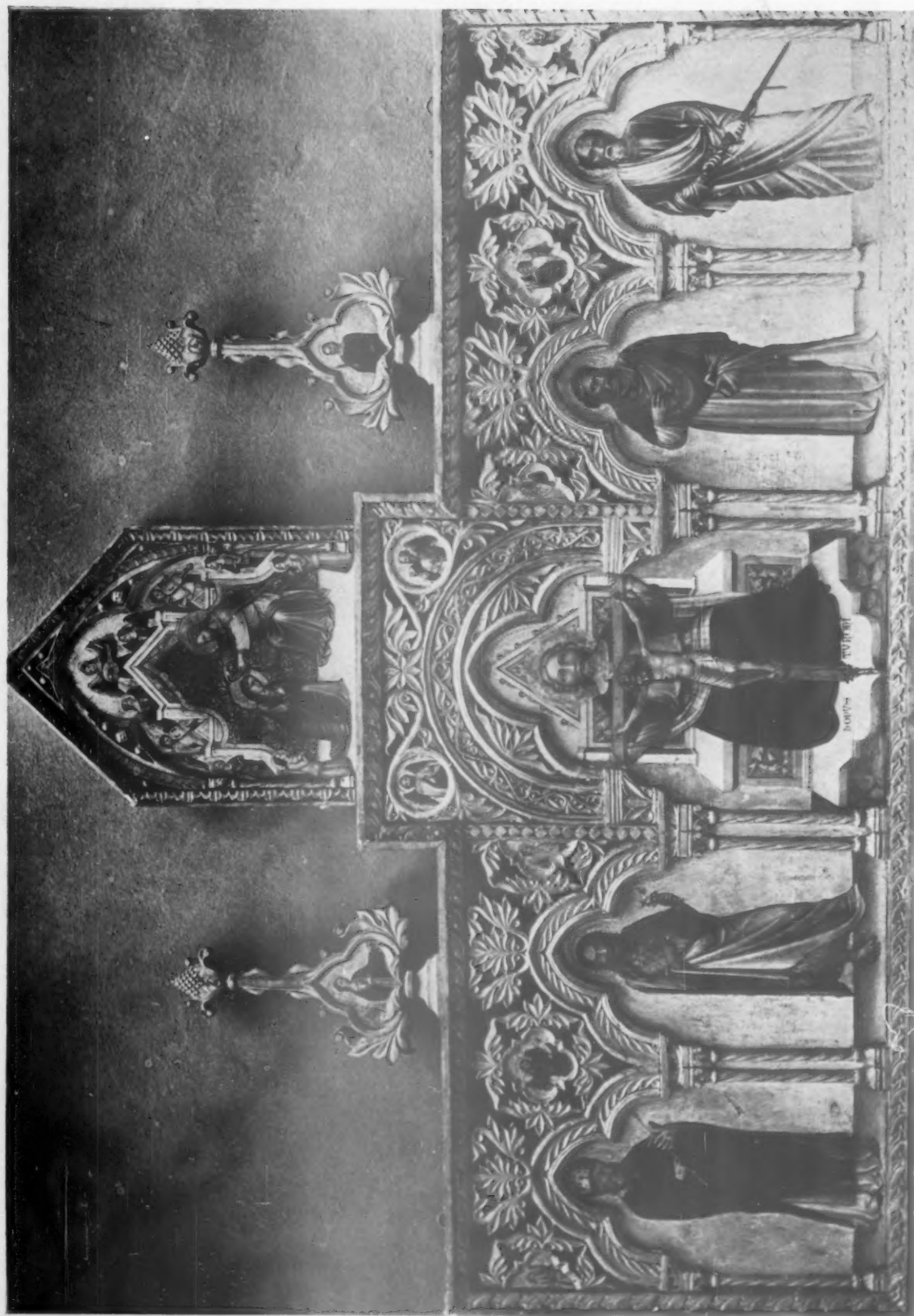


FIG. 4—Verona, Museo Civico: Polyptych by Turone. 1360

herself, distinct from, and by no means parallel to, that followed by the surrounding schools of Lombardy, Bologna, Padua, and Venice.

I propose to base my observations mainly on four important narrative representations of the Lives of Christ and the Virgin.

(I) The ancona with thirty-six Bible scenes in the Museo Civico of Verona (Fig. 1), already published by me in 1926² and before by Hans Semper,³ who indeed submitted it to a detailed but not very conclusive iconographic analysis.

(II) A similar series of twelve scenes, now arbitrarily divided into two panels in the Musée Royal of Brussels, hitherto unpublished (Fig. 2).

(III) The apposite scenes among the illustrations of the seventeen *corali* of the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona, which I recently examined from a stylistic standpoint in the pages of *Dedalo*.⁴

(IV) A set of eight scenes in a private collection at Florence (Fig. 3) of certain Veronese provenance.

And since all iconographic conclusions must be based *a priori* on stylistic diagnosis, we must prefix to the iconographic examination some observations on the date and origin of these several works which are to serve us as bases.

The thirty-six scenes in the Museum of Verona (No. 362) have been already referred to the mid-trecento by Semper, and by the present writer and their true Veronese character has been established by their relation to local works in fresco. An increased knowledge of the style of Maestro Turone, almost the only historic panel painter of the period in Verona, who signed the important altarpiece No. 355 at Verona (see Fig. 4) and to whom I have recently attributed the directive part in the above-mentioned series of *corali*, leads me to now see in this ancona at least an approximation to his manner. It may be tentatively accepted as a product of his very flourishing *bottega*.

The similarity of the smaller series at Brussels is immediately obvious to anyone who is familiar with the Verona panel. We recognize the same somewhat elementary sense of structure, of composition, of spacing; the same rounded, plastic but slack and fiberless figure style; the same facial types and drapery and gestures. Nay, we may descend even further to the *minutiae* of ornament and technique, and note in both series the identical method of dividing the compartments by a double line of *punteggiatura*, the same simple nimbs with rays and dotted edges. At Brussels the panels pass for works of the school of Giotto on account of their compositional resemblance to the frescoes at Padua, and an inscription on the back of one of the panels which gives them to the year 1302 has served to raise the question as to what could be their relation to these classic productions if they were really executed before the date of the latter. But the date 1302 is not tenable either on stylistic or on iconographic grounds, nor is it possible to envisage these mediocre productions in the light of an emanation from the actual environment of Giotto. They are not truly Giottesque and obviously not by any Florentine or Paduan follower, whereas everything points to the Veronese group in general and to Maestro Turone in particular.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 110. See also *A fourteenth century Veronese triptych* in *Burlington Magazine*, LIII, 1928.

3. *Eine Bildtafel vom anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts*

im Museo Civico zu Verona in Madonna Verona, 1907, p. 129.

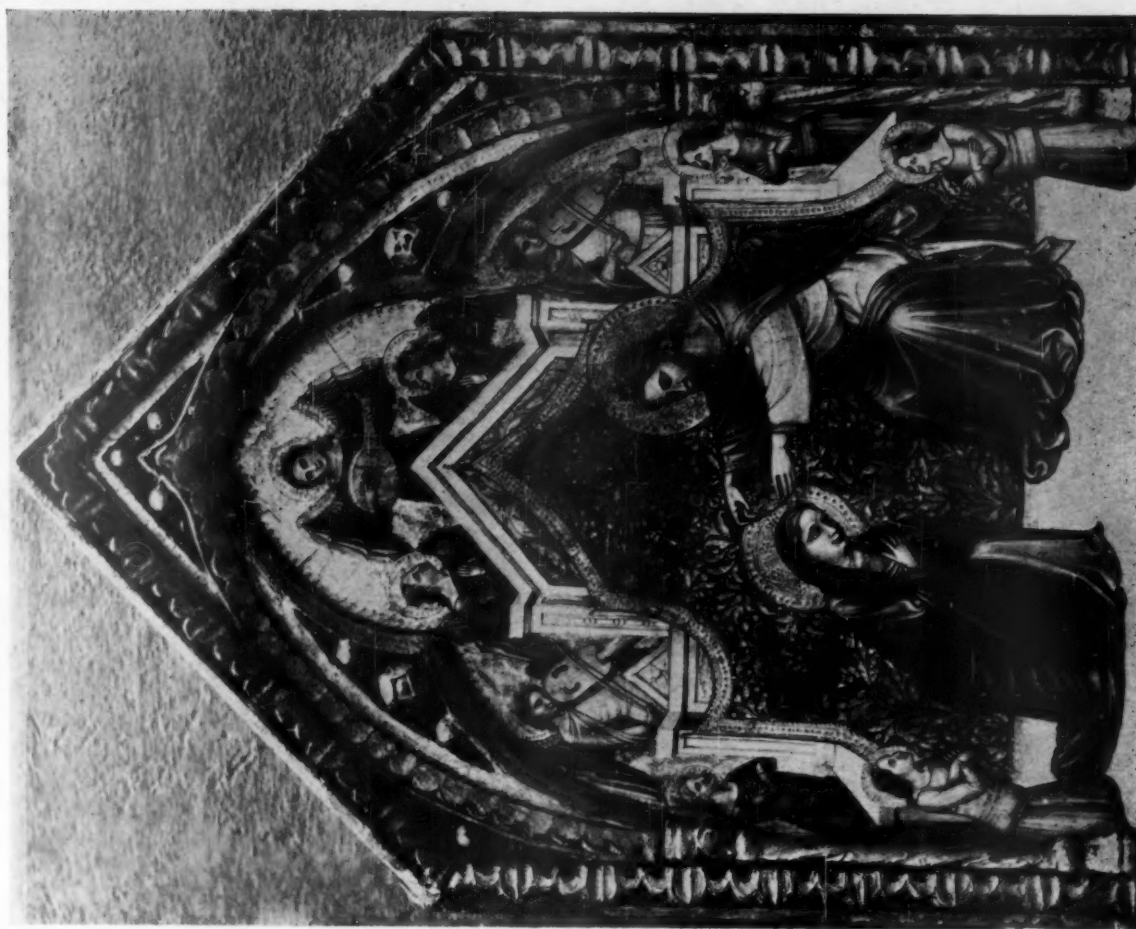
4. *Maestro Turone Miniature*, in *Dedalo*, X, 1929, p. 15.

Conceded this point, the relation between panel and frescoes becomes obvious as mere compositional imitation carried out after a not inconsiderable interval, during which, as we shall find, there had been important iconographic modifications in certain well-worn formulae. As we proceed with our analysis we shall find our anonymous master borrowing scenes and motives. He is typically Veronese in his manner and as far from being essentially Giottesque as the majority of his fellow-countrymen; but he has clearly studied the frescoes at Padua at first hand, and his relation to the artist who did No. 362 at Verona is so close as to raise a possibility that we are dealing with products of a single artistic entity. Since the series at Verona is founded in part for its iconography on the Giottesque tradition, and since in general the Brussels formula, where it corresponds, is intermediate between the Giottesque original at Padua and the formula of the Verona ancona, we may borrow a hint from this iconographic consideration and deduce that the Brussels panels are earlier, if anything, than the kindred work which has remained in their place of production — conclusion borne out by study of the style itself. The Brussels panels, moreover, are still more closely connected with the signed work of Turone, to whose *milieu* we have already assigned the series at Verona. Is it possible that Turone himself was the author of one or both series? In the case of the Brussels series I think it highly probable. Let us confront certain figures of the Brussels gospel scenes with others of his signed altarpiece.

Joachim in the first scene at Brussels (Fig. 17) is easily recognizable in St. Paul and still more in St. Peter of the signed example (Fig. 4). The tiny figure of a Virgin Martyr (Fig. 5) on one of the finials of the altarpiece reveals to us the typical Turonian cast of feature, which we may trace without difficulty in the various scenes at Brussels. A parallel may be established between the drawing of the angels in the Coronation (Fig. 6) with the Kings in the Brussels Adoration of the Magi (see Fig. 41). A clear relation can be established between the methods of treating figures and drapery in both paintings, but the movement is freer in the altarpiece, the monumentality of the figure is slightly diminished, the stylization of the drapery more accomplished — deductions which may serve us for a chronological conclusion, that the Brussels panel must be, if Turone's, a slightly earlier production than the altarpiece, which is dated 1360, a conclusion which, as we shall find, has its iconographic confirmation.

Given the difference in dimensions and matter, the altarpiece might well yield us less comparative material than, for instance, the miniatures of the Veronese *corali*, which we have already endeavored to demonstrate to be largely executed by Turone. We may note here the parallel between St. Peter (Fig. 8) in a miniature and Joseph who stands by Mary in the Brussels Adoration, between the half-length Virgin and Child (Fig. 9) in another miniature and the Virgin of that same composition, and finally between the priest who expels Joachim from the temple at Brussels (see Fig. 17) and the foremost apostle in the Call of Peter and Andrew at Verona (Fig. 7). Other instances of stylistic parallels will suggest themselves to us in the course of the subsequent iconographic confrontation.

This third group of material, the miniatures in the seventeen *corali*, has already been referred to the same bottega at a slightly later period, and we shall not reiterate our arguments. We have, then, three closely connected monuments, all probably executed within a brief period, which we can safely identify as the third quarter of the fourteenth century; and this same close stylistic connection must be allowed to determine to some extent the validity and range of our subsequent deductions.



FIGS. 5, 6—Verona, Museo Civico: Details of Polyptych by Turone



FIGS. 7, 8, 9—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: Miniatures by the Bottega of Turone



FIG. 10—Florence, Private Collection: *Annunciation*, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 11—Verona, S. Stefano: *Annunciation*, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 12—*Florence, Private Collection: Marriage of the Virgin,*
by Martino da Verona



FIG. 13—*Verona, S. Fermo:*
Detail of Fresco Decoration,
by Martino da Verona

The fourth group of material is distinct and considerably later. The eight scenes of the Lives of the Virgin and of Christ now at Florence were certainly executed some thirty years after the last of the Veronese *corali*. They may well belong to the opening quattrocento, though they are still clearly trecentesque in feeling and tradition, but in this case we may refine upon our attribution. It is, I think, possible to clinch the general diagnosis with a particular ascription. These eight charming panels, whose clear and flowery tints are as gay, as delightful a feast for the eye as one might expect from a Veronese artist, are to be referred to that Martino da Verona, active at least from 1396 to 1413, who is the last trecentist of his city and whose modest art links the style of Altichiero to that of the Gothic Stefano. It is only necessary to return to his Annunciation at S. Stefano (Fig. 10) (I refer my readers to my former line of argument for the acceptance of this work as Martino's⁵) to see that the little panels (Fig. 11) of identical composition are by the same master, and we may gain, if we will, additional security for this hypothesis if we take a detail from Martino's signed frescoes in S. Fermo at Verona for comparison with the Marriage of the Virgin in the panel series (Figs. 12, 13).

Martino, hitherto known simply as a fresco painter and indeed in this respect entirely typical of his city and epoch, thus enters into the sparse ranks of Veronese trecento panel painters—and with unexpected qualities of charm and color far surpassing that of his frescoes, which, if still pleasing, do not rival for sheer limpidity and gay harmony the numerous frescoes of the mid-fourteenth century at Verona. In the same private collection at Florence there is another panel picture which may confidently be referred to the same master, a full-length Madonna and Child (Fig. 14), which for its charming simplicity, its pleasant line and pattern, I here illustrate in juxtaposition with a fresco painting of the same subject in S. Anastasia at Verona (Fig. 15) already referred by me⁶ to the earliest known phase of Martino's activity round the year 1390.

With this preface we may pass to our main inquiry, and let us anticipate its most important conclusions, so that the tedious details of its course may not distract us from its general trend. Veronese iconography, as still scantily known to us, is inspired by Giotto's frescoes at Padua. It is singularly free from any Byzantine residuum in contrast to the contemporary groups of Padua and Venice. The Veronese are, strangely enough, more faithful to Giotto than the local Paduan masters themselves. This point I hope to make more clear, when I have an opportunity to write of certain important Paduan iconographic series of the trecento—the frescoes of Guariento in the Museo Civico and his polyptych in the Czernin gallery at Vienna (1344) and the frescoes of Giusto in the Baptistery. Guariento's iconography is a mixture of the Giottesque and the Veneto-Byzantine. Giusto's is a compound of the Giottesque and the Florentine, which, iconographically speaking, by no means always coincide. In contrast to this complexity of origin the trecento iconography of Venice is an almost pure Byzantine product. Bologna's (again I hope to fill in the outline in a future publication) is a play on two themes, the Byzantine and the transalpine Gothic; and in some minor aspects it reflects incidental contacts between Bologna and Venice.

The principal episodes of the story of Joachim and Anna are to be found in the panels at Brussels repeated with a varying degree of exactitude, from the frescoes of Giotto in the

5. *La pittura veronese*, p. 232.

6. *Idem.*, p. 241.

Arena Chapel. The only possible conclusion is that the Veronese *anonimo* responsible for them had visited and studied these great examples. We shall find him borrowing ideas and *motifs* and even whole compositions, but the fact that on other occasions he departs from the Giottesque tradition prevents us from dismissing his handiwork as mere reproduction, and as we trace him, wherever the road he follows coincides with that taken by his great predecessor, we may indulge in a certain wonder that the formal borrowings, so precise and so definite, were accompanied by no spiritual, even by no stylistic inspiration. He remains a true provincial, steeped in his petty local atmosphere and in no way better than his fellow townsmen.

Joachim Driven from the Temple opens both series, the master's and the imitator's. Obviously, here the Veronese (Fig. 16) has studied Giotto (Fig. 17), and has copied from him even while he has sought to improve and to modernize. Coarser, less correct and less careful, we recognize Giotto's artificial *scenario*, with its Byzantinizing character, mass for mass and detail for detail, with the sole omission of the enclosing parapet. The principal figures are also clearly borrowed from Giotto, but the painter of the Brussels panel has avoided that archaic Byzantine separation of the action, and instead of the second priest confronting the kneeling devotee, he repeats, even more imperiously, the act of ejection of Joachim—an attempt at unification of the drama, which, marred as it is by this clumsy and tiresome reiteration, cannot be considered an improvement. It is striking to find not only Giotto in 1306 but even the Veronese of half a century later giving to the priests their quaint Byzantine headdresses.

The noble episodes of the Return and Vision of Joachim are omitted by the Veronese painter. We find him hard again on the tracks of his forerunner in the Sacrifice of Joachim (Figs. 18, 19) where the lines of his landscape and the altar are frankly borrowed. He avoids the classic attitude of the *proskynese* adopted by Giotto, adds a second onlooker and cumpers the foreground with a greater number of animals. These are changes of no importance, but we may glean an evidence of the tendency of his period from the modification in the action of the angel, who in the fresco at Padua enters majestically erect and at Brussels plunges in heady flight. In like manner the angel who announces the birth of Christ to the shepherds enters, as a rule, on the earth in representations of the *dugento*, and flies down in those made after 1300, and almost contemporaneously Gabriel abandons the standing posture in the Annunciation, not, it is true, immediately for the posture of flight, but, in harmony with a spirit of increased veneration for the Virgin, for that of homage, and with rare exceptions it is only as the quattrocento advances that Gabriel also is represented hovering on clouds before the *Annunciata*.

The Annunciation to Anna forms a complete contrast to the foregoing episode in its un-Giottesque character. The scene at Brussels takes place in the garden (Fig. 21); that at Padua in the house of Anna (Fig. 20). One might at most trace a general parallel in the figures. But it is clear that the Veronese followed a distinct iconographic tradition, and, departing from his august model for the formula, he leaves him also for the details, so that there is absolutely no relation between his Gothic architecture with its balconies of local character and the abstract classicism of the Giottesque construction.

He returns obviously to a strict imitation in the Meeting of Joachim and Anna (Fig. 23) where Giotto's noble group (Fig. 22) is repeated without spirit or refinement. He has



FIG. 14—Florence, Private Collection: *Madonna and Child*, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 15—Verona, S. Anastasia: *Madonna and Child with Saints and Donors*, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 16—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Joachim Expelled from the Temple*, by Giotto



FIG. 17—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Joachim Expelled from the Temple*, by Turone



FIG. 18—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Joachim's Sacrifice*, by Giotto



FIG. 19—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Joachim's Sacrifice*, by Turone



FIG. 20—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Annunciation to Anna*, by Giotto



FIG. 21—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Annunciation to Anna*, by Turone



FIG. 22—Padua, Arena Chapel: Meeting of Joachim and Anna, by Giotto



FIG. 23—Brussels, Musée Royal: Meeting of Joachim and Anna, by Turone



FIG. 24—Padua, Arena Chapel: Birth of Mary, by Giotto



FIG. 25—Brussels, Musée Royal: Birth of Mary, by Turone



FIG. 26—Strassburg, Gallery: Birth of Mary, by Veronese Painter



FIG. 27—Florence, Private Collection: Birth of Mary, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 28—Padua, Arena Chapel:
Presentation of Mary, by Giotto



FIG. 29—Brussels, Musée Royal:
Presentation of Mary, by Turone

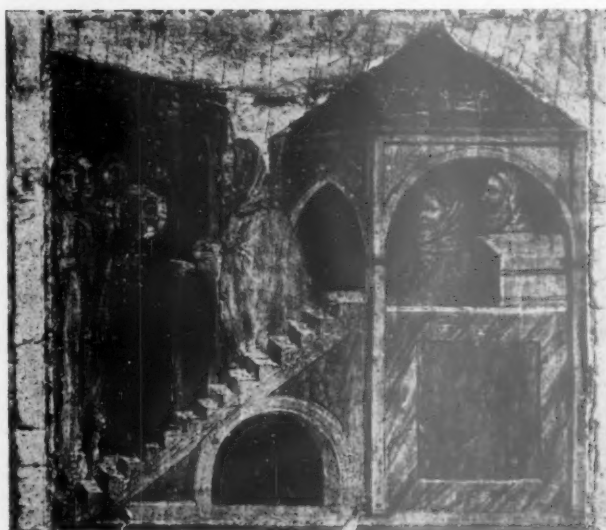


FIG. 30—Verona, Museo Civico:
Presentation of Mary, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 31—Florence, Private Collection:
Presentation of Mary, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 32—Verona, Museo Civico: *Mary
in the Temple*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 33—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare:
Journey to Bethlehem, Bottega of Turone

flinched from closing in his whole prospect with the massive gateway, and has inserted in the corner a very delightful glimpse of mediaeval *campanili*, but the logic of the grouping has escaped him, and the figures stand pointlessly before the city wall instead of issuing from the gateway as in the fresco of the master.

It is with this scene that we first encounter Martino da Verona. His version (see first scene in Fig. 3a) is still reminiscent of Giotto though further from the Paduan prototype than the earlier example at Brussels. The great doorway with its heavy bastions is still recognizable—though it no longer occupies the whole of the space available. Joachim's massive figure is still in general Giottesque, and the women are placed in the doorway as with Giotto, but we miss the direct inspiration of the great master's tenderly dramatic sentiment; the aged pair gaze intently but do not embrace. In the stretch of country which now fills the left half of the picture we see two gesticulating rustics, and the servant, who constitutes yet another element of Giottesque origin, is issuing, one knows not how, from a barely suggested defile in the hillside.

The compositions hitherto examined are of rare occurrence. In the next scene, the Birth of Mary, we have on the other hand a favorite subject for the Italian primitive. The imitation of Giotto is but relative, and may be noticed chiefly in the gesture of Anna; but Giotto (Fig. 24) is still archaic, Byzantine, and dugentesque in the succession of the action, giving us the infant Mary twice over, while his Veronese imitator (Fig. 25), rejecting this now old-fashioned complication, relegates the infant to the bath group in the foreground and transforms the motive of Anna's gesture of eagerness (with a certain indifferent naïvety) to her reception of the gifts which the attendants offer to her. He has not retained even the double compartments of the Giottesque architectural construction. Two later examples enable us to follow the destinies of this scene in the iconography of Verona. A small panel at Strasburg (Fig. 27) executed, it would seem, to judge from its Altichierian architecture, in the last quarter of the century is nearer to Giotto than the panel at Brussels. The composition is reversed from right to left. The action is again single but the choice has fallen on the more important moment of the presentation of the child to the mother.

Martino da Verona (Fig. 27), whose composition is of still later date, has followed the lead of the Brussels artist, placing the infant in the bath scene only. The second attendant, who hitherto has been found at Anna's bedside, now joins the bath group in the foreground, where she is seated spinning. A fourth maiden watches wondering in the doorway.

The Presentation of Mary in the Temple is common to all the four series before us. The imprint of Giotto's composition (Fig. 29) survives unmistakably in the three Veronese imitations, and, strangely enough, is most evident in the latest, in the version, that is to say, of Martino (Fig. 31), which not only, as also the panel at Brussels, gives us the servant straining under the weight of the heavy basket, but does not omit the flanking figures in the right-hand corner of the picture.

The Brussels panel (Fig. 29) is directly founded on Giotto's as regards its architecture. The scene in No. 362 at Verona (Fig. 30) is more puerile, less clearly based on the model at Padua, giving evidence of disregard not uncommon in this painter for relations of figures and ambient, with the priest neither on nor behind the staircase and his fellows placed, one hardly follows how, in the inadequate elevation of the little temple.

To this artist we owe an unusual interlude in the recital—a scene very rare in the art of any period—Mary praying in a chamber of the temple, while her maiden companions are busy either spinning or reading (Fig. 32).

The Veronese masters have no space for the incidents of the Betrothal. Martino alone gives us the Marriage of Mary and Joseph in a composition which has but a very faint and generic resemblance to the fresco of Giotto (see Fig. 12).

Nor, strangely enough, do the lengthy cycles at Brussels and Verona include the paramount scene of the Annunciation; and Martino's versions here and in the various frescoes which he has left us in the churches of his native city, have little or no direct connection with Giotto's composition. We may, however, note his position as regards the march of evolution in a theme which, like this, has on account of its widespread popularity, a clearly marked chronological development. We are at the moment when the sitting posture of the Virgin has become an alternative (a rare alternative) to the kneeling posture. Giotto shows her kneeling, and is in this, as in very few other elements, in advance of his generation. Martino uses the seated Virgin in the panel series (Fig. 10), at S. Stefano (Fig. 11), and in the triumphal arch of S. Zeno; and he uses the kneeling Virgin in the triumphal arch of the church of the SS. Trinità.⁷

We may cull from a miniature in the Veronese *corali* another infrequent episode, Joseph accompanying the Virgin to Bethlehem (Fig. 33)—not as in primitive iconography, with the ass and the servant, and, save for the absence of the babe, following the formula of the Flight into Egypt, but on foot and with a tender gesture of the old man who extends his left arm as a support for her weariness.

The scene of the Nativity, common to all the panel series, and found also in a pair of miniatures, offers us a clear means of gauging the lapse of half a century between Giotto and the earliest of the Veronese paintings. Giotto's Nativity (Fig. 34), if distinctly more advanced than Duccio's, is nevertheless still archaic in its setting. Giotto is akin to the Pisan sculptors in his clearly expressed maternal ardor. But the Virgin is still extended on the mattress of the dugento (which is, however, slightly changed in outline from oval to rectangular, as is characteristic after Giotto for half a century at Florence), and Joseph still cowers in his immemorial somnolent attitude. A rarer trait is the presence of the handmaids in a scene which does not include the bath group. At Brussels (Fig. 36) and Verona (Fig. 37), in the miniatures, and with Martino we have the typical Nativity of the full trecento, transformed in essence to a scene of Adoration of the Bambino Gesù. Mary, no longer extended in human weakness, kneels in the foreground in the two earlier examples, which retain a flavor of the now vanished archaic model in the babe in the crib beneath the shed, warmed by the breath of ox and ass, in the plunging angel, and in the shepherds at the moment of arrival. In these two closely parallel compositions Joseph kneels opposite Mary. In Martino's later but less advanced example he is still seated in the background (Fig. 35). The compositions⁸ of the miniaturists (Figs. 38, 39) are closely akin to Martino's,

7. For descriptions of these and other works of Martino see *La pittura veronese*; for the Annunciation at SS. Trinità, p. 247 and fig. 105; for that at S. Zeno, pp. 249-250.

8. The curious phenomenon of the parallelism of

illustrations in this group of *corali* has been described elsewhere. The eighteen examples consist of nine pairs in which it is generally easy to distinguish a "model" and a slightly later and sometimes slightly more elaborate "replica." (See article cited in note 4 above.)



FIG. 34—Padua, Arena Chapel:
Nativity, by Giotto



FIG. 35—Florence, Private Collection:
Nativity, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 36—Brussels, Musée Royal:
Nativity, by Turone



FIG. 37—Verona, Museo Civico:
Nativity, Bottega of Turone



FIGS. 38, 39—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: Nativity, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 40—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Adoration of the Magi*, by Giotto



FIG. 41—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Adoration of the Magi*, by Turone



FIG. 42—Verona, Museo Civico: *Adoration of the Magi*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 43—Padua, Capella di S. Giorgio: *Adoration of the Magi*, by Altichiero



FIGS. 44, 45—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: *Adoration of the Magi*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 46—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Flight into Egypt*, by Giotto



FIG. 47—Verona, Museo Civico: *Flight into Egypt*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 48—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Presentation of Christ*, by Giotto



FIG. 49—Verona, Museo Civico: *Presentation of Christ*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 50—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Massacre of the Innocents*, by Giotto



FIG. 51—Verona, Museo Civico: *Massacre of the Innocents*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 52—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Christ in the Temple*, by Giotto



FIG. 53—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Christ in the Temple*, by Turone

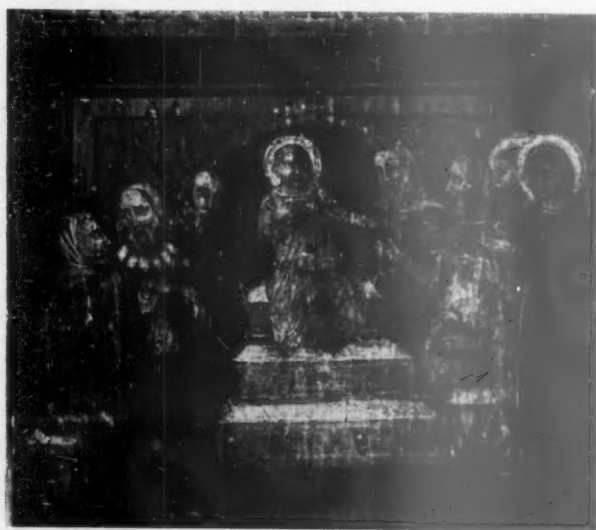


FIG. 54—Verona, Museo Civico: *Christ in the Temple*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 55—Florence, Private Collection: *Christ in the Temple*, by Martino da Verona



FIG. 56—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Baptism of Christ*, by Giotto



FIG. 57—Verona, Museo Civico: *Baptism of Christ*, Bottega of Turone

so closely, indeed, as to suggest that Martino either knew the miniatures or derived his middle group from a common model.

The existence of the kneeling Madonna in the Nativity at Brussels is, in my opinion, a certain contradiction to the date, 1302, inscribed behind one of these panels. Between Mary extended on her mattress and Mary kneeling there are intermediate stages, in which she sits by the crib or nurses the Infant. The schools of Italy pass over these phases with varying rapidity, and successive modes overlap and alternate, but a considerable interval is necessary in whatever center to arrive at this ultimate method, which was to remain in vogue not only in the full Gothic and early Renaissance but was to provide the basis for the compositions of the great masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Adoration of the Magi shows no such clear delimitation between forms current in the dugento and those of the trecento and opening quattrocento. Giotto (Fig. 40), it is true, retains the angel at the Madonna's elbow, a detail which belongs to an old and now rare tradition. The kneeling Magus, with doffed crown, who embraces the feet of the Child is the full-blown form in the composition, and if Giotto as an exception omits the motive of the second King pointing out the star to his younger fellow it is not because this well-worn detail of Western origin has not yet entered into Italian iconography.

The various Veronese examples offer us little material for comment, save the strict correspondence, as in the case of the Nativity just treated, between the nearly related cycles at Brussels (Fig. 41) and Verona (Fig. 42). These two versions offer us an occasion to check our former conclusion as to the close stylistic relation between these two series.

The Flight into Egypt, depicted only in No. 262 at Verona (Fig. 47) can also be dismissed with a brief sentence. Giotto's fresco (Fig. 46) is unusual in giving us Joseph and the servant together before the *cortège* and in the figures which follow. The Veronese has omitted the servant altogether, and his version shows no special knowledge of, or relation to, Giotto's but it contains no unusual elements.

He is equally far from Giotto in his Presentation (Fig. 49), which is considerably irregular in the absence of Anna, in the unsymmetrical arrangement of the figures and the clumsy attempt to locate them in an inadequate chapel. Giotto's version (Fig. 48), on the other hand, is in all, save the plunging angel, a continuance of the undeviating tradition of the Middle Ages in Italy and Byzantium.

Equally detached from Giotto (Fig. 50) is the only Veronese version of the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 51) with the seated Herod, in itself, however, by no means an uncommon *motif*. We regain a more comprehensive view of our material in the Christ in the Temple, which is common to the three chief series, and clearly reminiscent of Giotto (Fig. 52) in one and all of them. The kindred versions of Brussels and Verona (Figs. 53, 54) differ merely in the placing of the anxious parents, and Martino (Fig. 55) has achieved an equilibrium by the interpolation of two additional standing doctors. The arched interior, obviously Giottesque in the example at Brussels, is generalized in the later compositions but in this relatively uncommon episode it is clear that all three artists depended on their Paduan prototype. The Baptism in No. 362 at Verona (Fig. 57) belongs to the few compositions in which the artist seems distinctly to have borrowed from Giotto (Fig. 56), but this scene has by the fourteenth century reached such a relative stability that we need not accord to the resemblance too great importance.

The painter of the series at Verona omits the Marriage at Cana, which is, however, included in the Brussels series (Fig. 59), where it follows the Paduan model (Fig. 58) in almost every particular of figure and scenery, and, allowing for the omission of the two servitors in the middle foreground, it is Giotto's model that has been used in the delightful miniatures of Maestro Turone in the Biblioteca Capitolare (Figs. 60, 61) with a slight simplification of the architecture. The same *corali* provide us also with a truly Giottesque Christ in the Cleansing of the Temple (Figs. 62, 63,) and we may note in passing from these miniatures a very rare episode, the attempted stoning of Christ in the Temple by the Jews which, naturally, has no Giottesque foundation (Fig. 64).

It is both interesting and instructive to glance next at a fundamentally un-Giottesque, and in fact, anti-Giottesque composition—the Raising of Lazarus. Giotto is true to the Oriental, the Byzantine tradition of Lazarus swathed as a mummy issuing from the rock tomb supported by two assistants (Fig. 65). The Brussels painter (Fig. 66) certainly could not avoid the influence of Giotto's dramatic presentment. He has directly borrowed the swathed figure of Lazarus and the three men nearest him. Indeed, but for the absence of the lads with the stone slab in the foreground his scene corresponds figure by figure with that of Giotto. But Lazarus issues from a stone sarcophagus, and this is Western, Romanesque, transalpine—a tradition already (and this is significant) established at Verona, however, at an unusually early date. This feature is still more strange in a work which, stylistically speaking, is Verona's most Byzantinizing painting, one of the two thirteenth century frescoes in S. Zeno (Fig. 68), where the arrangement of the rest of the figures has no relation to that of our trecentists.

Martino (Fig. 67), in the opening quattrocento, has followed in the wake of his predecessors at Brussels. There are considerable modifications in detail—Lazarus no longer swathed, and Jerusalem in the background—but the parallel *proskynese* of Martha and Mary still goes back to the model of the Arena fresco. Here, then, we have a case of the commingling of distinct iconographic traditions, and chance has preserved to us the link in the chain of causation in that very rare fragment in S. Zeno.

The events of the close of Christ's life and ministry do not occur in the Brussels series nor in the series executed by Martino. We can pass very briefly over such episodes as are common to the painter of the ancona No. 362 at Verona and Giotto with a view to establishing where, if at all, the former is dependant on the latter.⁹ The Last Supper (Fig. 70) in the Verona series is more developed, later, more Westernized than Giotto's. The rectangular table, the circle of apostles are in common, but Giotto (Fig. 69) retains the Byzantine position for the Saviour, and the Byzantine action for Christ and Judas dipping in the dish together, whereas the Veronese gives the typical Western form with Christ communicating with Judas. Again the influence from beyond the Alps prevails over the example of Giotto.

The Foot Washing, on the other hand, is more archaic at Verona (Fig. 72) than with Giotto (Fig. 71): Christ stands, and the apostles are grouped in front of Him and not in a

9. From this point onwards I have already frequently made use of No. 362 as iconographic material in my brief

treatment of the iconography of the Passion in *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929. See various analytical tables, etc.



FIG. 58—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Marriage at Cana*, by Giotto



FIG. 59—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Marriage at Cana*, by Turone



FIGS. 60, 61—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: *Marriage at Cana*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 62—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Cleansing of the Temple*, by Giotto



FIG. 63—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: *Cleansing of the Temple*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 64—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare:
Jews Attempt to Stone Christ, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 65—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Raising of Lazarus, by Giotto*



FIG. 66—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Raising of Lazarus, by Turone*



FIG. 67—Florence, Private Collection: *Raising of Lazarus, by Martino da Verona*



FIG. 68—Verona, S. Zeno: *Raising of Lazarus. Fresco. XIII Century*



FIG. 69—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Last Supper*, by Giotto



FIG. 70—Verona, Museo Civico: *Last Supper*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 71—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Washing of Feet*, by Giotto



FIG. 72—Verona, Museo Civico: *Washing of Feet*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 73—Padua, Arena Chapel: *The Betrayal*, by Giotto



FIG. 74—Verona, Museo Civico: *The Betrayal*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 75—Padua, Arena Chapel: Trial before Caiphas, by Giotto



FIG. 76—Padua, Arena Chapel: The Derision, by Giotto



FIG. 77—Verona, Museo Civico: Trial before Caiphas, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 78—Verona, Museo Civico: Trial before Pilate, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 79—Verona, Museo Civico: Pilate Presents Christ to the Jews, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 80—Verona, Museo Civico: The Flagellation Bottega of Turone

circle. The characteristic action of the apostles who loosen their sandals (Byzantine) is lacking. Again we have a Western tradition, if an already discarded one.

For the Agony our artist had no model at Padua. He has used a very common formula: Christ at prayer and the disciples in two groups of three and eight (Fig. 85).

His Betrayal (Fig. 74) is without appreciable Giottesque reminiscence (cf. Fig. 73), but as in the case of the Baptism we have to deal with a but slightly variable material.

His choice of, and manner of dealing with, the Trial Scenes (Figs. 77-80) contrast to Giotto's (Figs. 75, 76). The former gives us the uncommon episode of Pilate presenting Christ to the people and chooses the Flagellation instead of the Derision (as Giotto), which is at once equivalent to saying that his repertory is more Western and more typically Italian, whereas Giotto, with the Derision and no Flagellation, is still Byzantinizing. If the Way to Calvary (Fig. 82) by the Veronese is iconographically equivalent to Giotto's (Fig. 81), it has no trace of direct compositional derivation, and neither version is otherwise than normal for its epoch. The Crucifixion is conspicuous by its absence in this series, so much so that one wonders what is the reason. The Deposition is omitted by both Giotto and our little master. Both have given us the Pietà (Figs. 83, 84), but there is no trace of relation between the formulae adopted. The Veronese has included a scene of Limbo (Fig. 86), which Giotto omits; and while Giotto has chosen to illustrate the Resurrection by the *Noli me Tangere* (Fig. 87), the author of our panels at Verona has not only used the Resurrection proper (Fig. 88), of Western derivation, but a distinctly Western form of it, with coupled adoring angels. He includes also a *Noli me Tangere* without relation to Giotto's (Fig. 89). The *corali* here contribute the far more common episode of the Maries at the sepulcher (Fig. 90).

We return to a real contact with Giotto in the scene of the Ascension, with the Christ rising in profile and the kneeling groups of apostles (Fig. 92). But the panel does not include the traditional descending angels used by Giotto (Fig. 91), nor the chorus in Heaven, which is one of Giotto's innovations. That this formula was scarcely established in Verona is evident also from the miniatures of the *corali* (Figs. 93, 94).

We have also a distinct flavor of Giotto's composition (Fig. 95) in the various Veronese scenes of Pentecost. The author of No. 362 in the museum (Fig. 96) includes Mary in the circle of seated figures, but Turone has given us the Giottesque arrangement in all its simplicity in the *corali* (Figs. 97, 98).

We need not dwell on the twin compositions of the Death of Mary at Verona and Brussels (Figs. 100, 101), except to note yet again the close stylistic and formal analogy between them. And we can dismiss as equally extraneous to our object—i. e., the estimate of Giotto's ascendancy—the closing scenes of the Veronese series, the Coronation of Mary (Fig. 102) and the Last Judgment (Fig. 103).

The enumeration completed, let us now attempt to draw together whatever seems decisive in this examination. Taking the various series one by one we find them all in some degree Giottesque, but more specially the one in the Brussels Museum.

The twelve scenes of this sequence are obviously frank and conscious imitations of a part of the fresco narrative at Padua, and where the imitator departs from the model it is as a rule significant. We may classify his compositions in this wise: There is clear imitation of Giotto in seven scenes out of twelve—Expulsion and Sacrifice of Joachim, Meeting of

Joachim and Anna, Presentation of Mary, Marriage of Cana, Christ in the Temple, Lazarus (as regards the figures but not the iconographic formula). An eighth, the Death of Mary, finds no parallel at Padua. In the remaining four we have one case—Annunciation to Anna—of deliberate divergence for which we can advance no reason, and the other three scenes—Nativity of Mary and of Jesus, and Adoration of the Magi—are all compositions repeatedly represented, and thus subject to continual modification, and in all three our Veronese painter has kept abreast of his age, and, abandoning Giotto's model which was already as good as discarded, he has given us forms current half a century later.

No. 362 at Verona has a smaller number of scenes which might be said to be definitely Giottesque, either in actual scene-building or in iconographic content, and in none of these is the imitation as immediate as in the case of the Brussels panels. We feel no need to postulate the author's being personally acquainted with the Arena frescoes, and we think this more generalized relation justifies our attribution of the whole panel to the *bottega* of the artist who did the Brussels series. Of fairly definite imitations we may enumerate the following: Presentation of Mary, Christ in the Temple, Baptism, Ascension and Pentecost (except for the presence of Mary). In other cases we can merely say that the formulae are in general similar: Flight into Egypt, Betrayal, and Way to Calvary. The artist has definitely drawn from an un-Giottesque source for the Foot Washing, Last Supper, Pietà, choice of Trial Scenes, Resurrection, and the presence of Mary in the Pentecost, and this source is always transalpine. Like the artist of the Brussels series he uses the newer modes for the Nativity and the Adoration. This series, then, is the product of an assimilative process. Time has blended the clarity of the impression created by Giotto's great epic. Its reminiscences are lost in a general wave of Westernization.

The scenes of the *corali* represent much the same phase of the mingling of currents. Most clearly Giottesque are the Cleansing of the Temple, the Cana, the Ascension, and the Pentecost. Similarly evolved towards late fourteenth century methods are the Nativity, Adoration, and Maries at the Sepulcher; and as I have already pointed out on another occasion, the miniaturists in certain scenes, not illustrated in this article, have naïvely united local color to antique tradition and have given us parables which are fine examples of Northernizing *genre* scenes, and scenes of healing where Christ the healer in classic costume is quaintly contrasted with an up-to-date citizen of Verona under the rule of the Scaligers (Fig. 99).

Martino da Verona at the opening of the quattrocento offers us no further advance in iconographic development. Nay, on the whole, he is more traditional than the painters of the *corali*, and not only so but more Giottesque. Among his eight compositions we may apply this description to four: the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, the Presentation of Mary, the Christ in the Temple, and the Lazarus (with the same reserve as in the case of the Brussels composition). The Nativity of Christ and the Nativity of Mary are naturally characteristic of the full trecento development. The Annunciation and the Marriage of Mary are divergent.

It must be borne in mind that the four series here studied belong to a closely limited local production, and the whole Giottesque trend may be the well-nigh casual result of personal impression received by the author of the earliest series, whom we believe to be Turone. But the fact remains (though its full significance can only be felt when other



FIG. 81—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Way to Calvary*, by Giotto



FIG. 82—Verona, Museo Civico: *Way to Calvary*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 83—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Pietà* by Giotto



FIG. 84—Verona, Museo Civico: *Pietà* Bottega of Turone



FIG. 85—Verona, Museo Civico: *Agony in the Garden*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 86—Verona, Museo Civico: *Descent into Limbo*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 87—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Noli Me Tangere*, by Giotto



FIG. 88—Verona, Museo Civico: *Resurrection* Bottega of Turone



FIG. 89—Verona, Museo Civico: *Noli Me Tangere*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 90—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare: *The Maries at the Sepulcher*, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 91—Padua, Arena Chapel: *Ascension* by Giotto



FIG. 92—Verona, Museo Civico: *Ascension* Bottega of Turone



FIGS. 93, 94—Verona, *Biblioteca Capitolare*: *Ascension*, *Bottega of Turone*

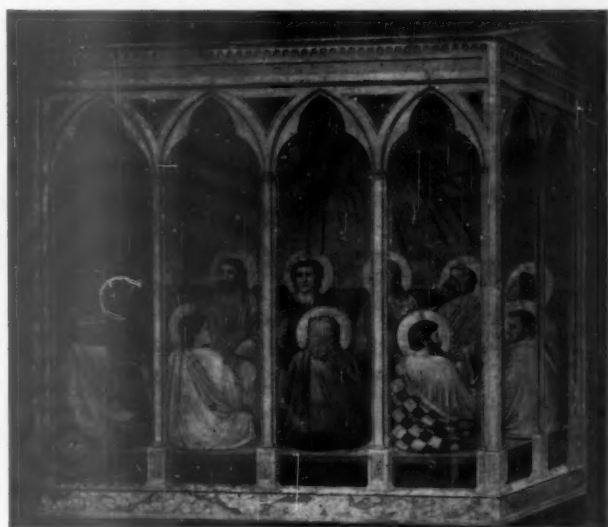
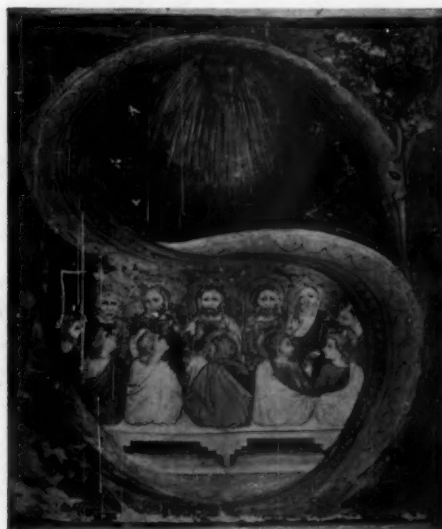


FIG. 95—Padua, *Arena Chapel*: *Pentecost* by Giotto



FIG. 96—Verona, *Museo Civico*: *Pentecost* *Bottega of Turone*



FIGS. 97, 98—Verona, *Biblioteca Capitolare*: *Pentecost*, *Bottega of Turone*



FIG. 99—Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare:
Healing of the Blind Man, Bottega of Turone



FIG. 100—Verona, Museo Civico: *Death of Mary, Bottega of Turone*



FIG. 101—Brussels, Musée Royal: *Death of Mary, by Turone*



FIG. 102—Verona, Museo Civico: *Coronation of the Virgin, Bottega of Turone*



FIG. 103—Verona, Museo Civico: *Last Judgment, Bottega of Turone*

contemporary groups have been submitted in their turn to a rigorous analysis), that neither in Padua itself, the site of that marvelous decoration, nor in Giotto's native Florence did he find so close an imitator of his compositions and formulae as was the Veronese author of the Brussels panel. Strange, then, that it carried with it almost no influence on style and no echo of spiritual tendency.

The conflicting current, that is to say, the incoming transalpine influence, needs no special explanation. It is natural in Verona at the mouth of the Brennero; but it is not peculiar to her either in kind or degree. More surprising and more significant is the lack of Byzantine leaning, when we remember how Byzantine still was even Guariento in the Czernin pala of 1344. And in that I read a hint of explanation for the quality of Verona's pictorial activity in the period, characterized as it is by a technical slackness and superficiality, compensated, it is true, by a rare sense of color and a pure, sensuous delight in a rather facile type of beauty and an undoubted breath of poetical romance. Verona was among the art centers of Italy that never went to school to Byzantium. I have elsewhere¹⁰ illustrated the all too lamentable remains of her dugento production, curious rather than noteworthy. Altichiero alone, by native genius and by the virtue of a wider educational horizon, rises above the technical incapacity and towers like a giant above his puny compatriots, and holds his own as the first master of the North Italian trecento.

And since we have been led to the name which alone redeems all the Veronese trecento from mediocrity, let us close this inquiry with a brief examination into Altichiero's iconographic position. The frescoes in the Chapel of S. Giorgio at Padua include illustrations of the more popular episodes of the life of Christ: the Annunciation, with the Virgin seated and the angel kneeling, typical of the epoch (last quarter of the fourteenth century); the Nativity, which has here been entirely transformed into an Adoration of the Shepherds and which, somewhat unusually, gives the Virgin seated with the Babe on her lap much as in the Adoration of the Magi which follows. This next scene (Fig. 43) has become in its turn a vast pageant spectacle, a courtly reception. Altichiero has borrowed from Giotto the idea of the attendant angel, adding a second one, and these two gracious figures and the dignified Joseph with his tall staff serve as a bodyguard to the queenly Virgin. The rest of the spacious composition is built up by the Kings, their courtiers and varied train of grooms and animals. This is already the full quattrociento Adoration as it was to be portrayed by Stefano da Verona, by Gentile da Fabriano, by Bartolo di Fredi, etc. There is less innovation and more simplicity in the remaining scenes, of the Flight and the Presentation, but Altichiero's turn for *genre* episodes is to be found in the former in the action of the servant who stops to drink by the wayside, and in the second his love of supernumerary figures is evident, in the group of stately portrait figures to whom the prophetess Anna, still traditional in her open scroll and gesture, turns to address herself. The complete mastery of the treatment of a rich and spacious interior in which the actors move with liberty seems to remove this last scene, even more than its fellows, from the primitive compositions we have hitherto studied. Altichiero is in this respect a proven master, and a precursor, nay, an equal of the first quattrocenists. A glance at the later but far less progressive representations by Martino, which belong to at least a quarter of a

10. See article in course of publication in *Art Studies—Mediaeval painting at Verona*.

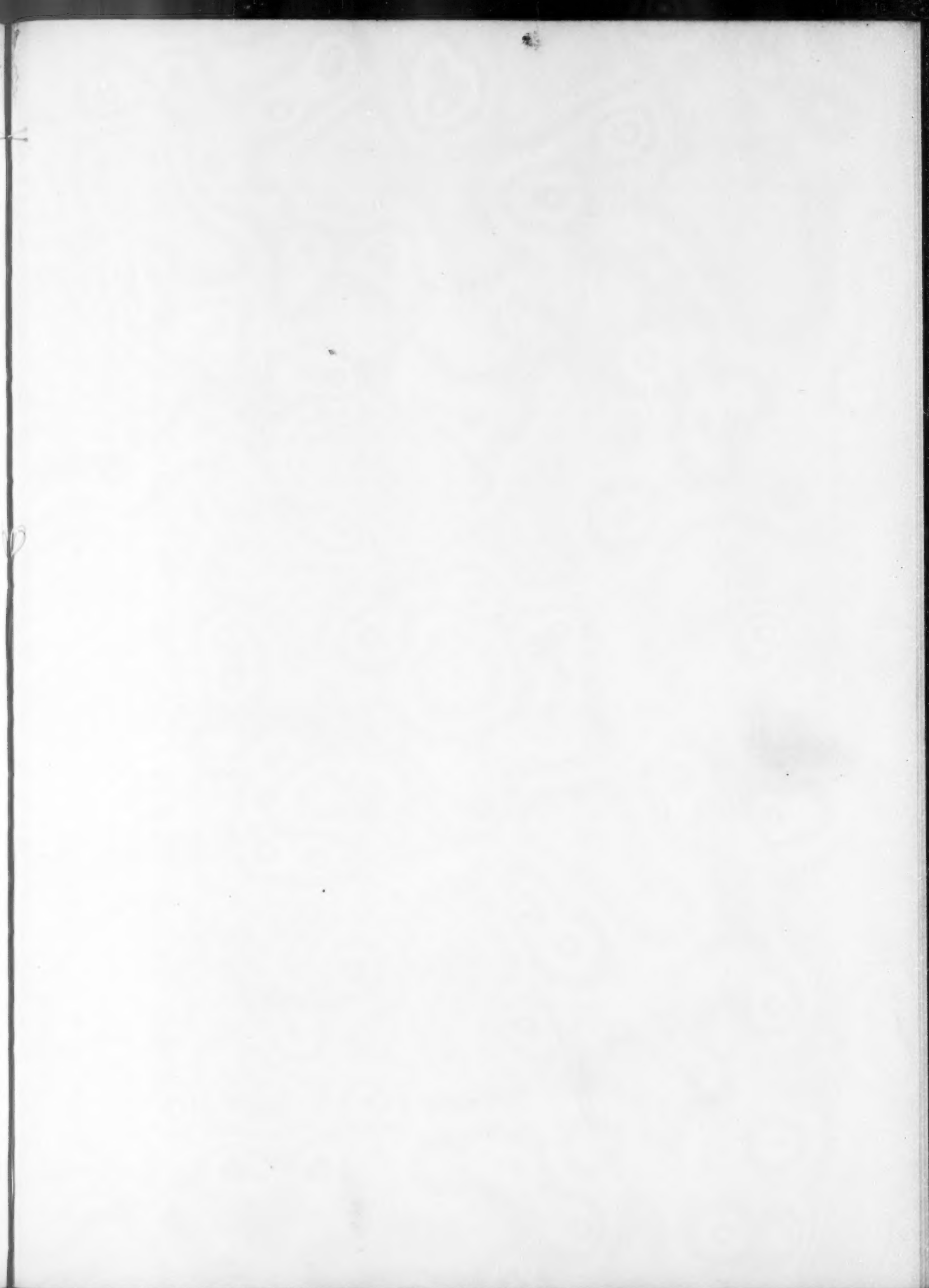
century later, will suffice to throw into relief the superior degree of evolution of Altichiero, the traveled, the emancipated, over Martino the stay-at-home, the tradition-bound Veronese, and this not merely for Altichiero's consummate scenographic ability but even as regards his iconographic qualities. And we may draw hence a quaint paradox. Altichiero, the one Veronese of whom we can say with certainty that he studied Giotto and knew how to appreciate and assimilate certain of his stylistic and technical qualities, is nevertheless totally un-Giottesque in his iconography (for the angels in the Adoration are the only possible *motif* which he may have borrowed), while his fellow townsmen whom we have studied, including even that close copyist who executed the Brussels panels, remain curiously blind to the innate spirituality and to the technical character of what they formally reproduced.

Altichiero's mediocre imitator Jacopo, active also in Padua, but Veronese by birth and training, is, by chance it would seem, more Giottesque than his master. He gives us an Annunciation and a combined Nativity-Adoration of the Magi still more advanced towards the garrulity of excessive popularization which is Altichiero's chief tendency. But where he lacks an immediate model in his master's performances he falls back on the Arena chapel, and reproduces verbatim the formulae, nay, even the costume and attitudes of the Giottesque Ascension and Pentecost.

With the works of Altichiero and of Jacopo we have followed the story of Veronese iconography into alien territory, and we are able to propound the somewhat paradoxical theory that it did not become more but less Giottesque for the new contact with its source of inspiration. Verona then is, iconographically speaking (and this reservation is most necessary) a true Giottesque province. Giotto's predominance is only contested by natural infiltrations of transalpine influence. In the art of Altichiero, however, the Giottesque strain is much weakened, and here we may claim for Verona, in virtue of this master's exceedingly advanced choreographical Adoration a leading part in one of the most vital and important iconographical processes of the Italian trecento—the transformation of the simple archiac formulae into great populous spectacular "procession scenes," of choreographic complication, and the popularization of others (which do not lend themselves to the same processes) by the addition of *motifs* of *genre*. Under this heading we might have indicated the noted Crucifixions of Altichiero, where the pathos of the central episode is overlaid by distracting supernumerary figures, but the transformation of the Crucifixion in this direction is of older date, beginning, as we have elsewhere traced out,¹¹ with the Pisani and Cimabue. The parallel elaboration of the theme of the Calvary is also pre-Altichierian (we may cite Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco at Assisi, and for a similar effect in the numerous trial scenes, the frescoes in S. Maria in Donna Regina at Naples).

Tender humanity and intimacy on the one hand, and spectacular pageantry on the other—these are the most definite contributions of Italy to Christian iconography. The first belongs already to the dugento and is especially characteristic of the Central Italian schools in that and in the succeeding centuries, while the second is, it would seem to a very large extent, a North Italian product.

11. See *La croce dipinta italiana*, p. 49.



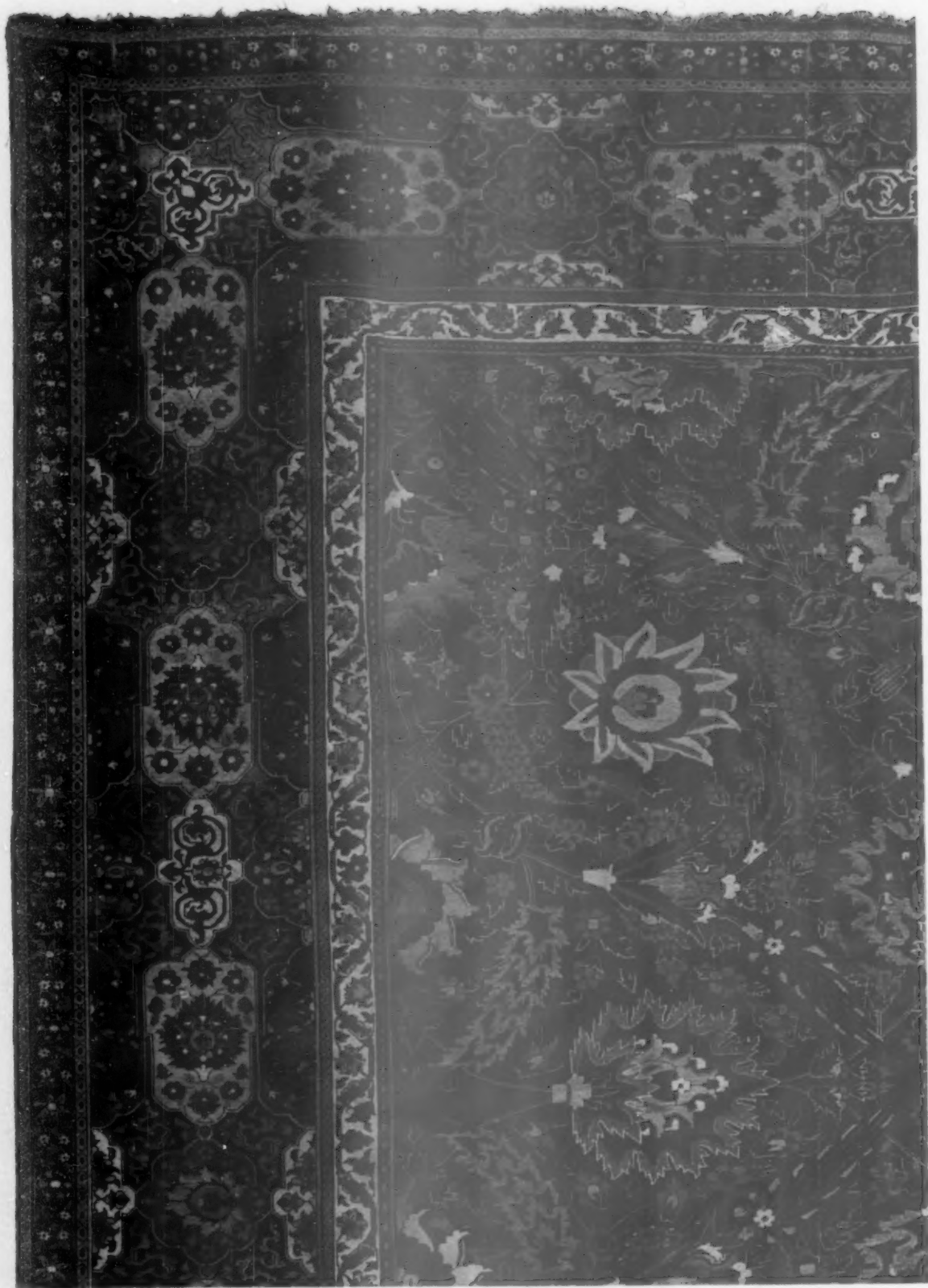


FIG. 1—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Morgan Collection: XVI Century Indian Carpet with Floral Design
Detail of Facsimile Reproduction by Max Jaffe. Furnished through the Courtesy of Anton Schroll & Co., Vienna
and Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, from *Alt-Orientalische Teppiche*, by F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald

REVIEWS

OLD ORIENTAL CARPETS. Vol. II. By Friedrich Sarre and Hermann Trenkwald. English Translation by A. F. Kendrick. Issued by the Austrian Museum for Art and Industry. Anton Schroll & Co., Vienna, and Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1929.

The publication of the second volume of *Old Oriental Carpets* completes a work of genuine magnificence and of real importance to the history of art. Few more sumptuous books have appeared and still fewer that combine scientific competence with luxury. These two volumes (for my review of the first volume see *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1926, pp. 164 ff.) present in the best possible illustrations practically all the finest existing carpets and give a thoughtful discussion of the character of the designs with technical notes of a thoroughness and detail that have not previously been attempted, and a brief historical outline that in a few pages summarizes the early development of carpets more soundly and more clearly than any statement that has yet been formulated. The carpets presented are of such commanding beauty that they must compel the admiration of all with any genuine interest in art; the plates will for many years be an inexhaustible source of inspiration for designers and, more important still, a command of the history of the subject is by these volumes immeasurably advanced.

The study of carpets is peculiarly difficult. There is an almost total lack of historical records; relatively few examples of the highest class have survived, and those that we have are scattered in a dozen different parts of the world.

Only four or five public collections make any serious pretence to being systematic or complete and the few private collections are quite as scattered and much less accessible. Now, however, the supreme and characteristic examples of the art are presented with such beauty and fidelity that they are satisfactory substitutes for the originals, and there is hardly a question that could be asked of the actual material that cannot be answered by a proper study of these two volumes.

There is a sense in which the book marks the close of one epoch in the study of carpets and the beginning of another. As Dr. Sarre modestly says: "The problem is still a long way short of solution" (p. 8). With this new work added to the still very valuable even if much less perfect material of the older publication we may now expect a series of intensive studies on specific problems that will ultimately make possible the final survey that is to-day out of the question.

Inasmuch as the primary purpose of this work is the adequate presentation of the "monuments" themselves, it is by the plates that it must first be judged. So judged, this volume, like its predecessor, is an immediate and impressive success. The only existing rivals to the best plates in the second volume are Mr. Jaffe's own plates in the first volume. All other color reproductions of carpets

are still immeasurably outclassed. Some of the finest plates seem almost to pass beyond the limits of the craft and occasionally perhaps to somewhat flatter the original.

Such brilliant results are accomplished only by using the finest possible process, the color collotype (not, as inadvertently stated in the review of the first volume, an offset process). But the most mechanically perfect processes are by themselves quite ineffective and can give most appalling results. Only when used with exceptional skill and experience, only when each step is managed leisurely and with exquisite care can the best results be expected. So perfect are these plates that many of them will permit a magnification to five and even seven diameters, and occasionally even ten, a valuable feature because it makes possible the examination of critical details of such fineness that ordinary color reproductions miss them entirely. To get the fullest benefit and enjoyment from the plates they should be studied with Zeiss surgical spectacles with a magnification of two or three diameters. With such an equipment, one seems to be examining the actual fabric itself and one gets a truer idea of the colors than by the unaided eye. Compared to the originals at London, Milan, and Paris, the dark blues of pls. 20, 23, 32, and 40 seem blacker than the blues on the carpets but this is because of the relatively small area exposed. With a slight magnification the tone takes on exactly the shade of the original.

The success of the plates is the more admirable because of the great difficulties in the necessary work of correction. That this has been almost perfectly done has been established by a recent comparison of 24 of the plates, either in final proof or in the published state, with the originals. Naturally slight differences appear but these do not always prove that a fault lies in the color plating. The carpets as now hung are often in a less perfect light than when the plate was made and are surrounded by varying reflections that slightly alter the tonal impression. One thing still seems to elude the most perfect photo-mechanical process, that is the sparkle, or luster, which is so important to the effect of the finest carpets.

To mention the successful plates would be practically to rewrite the table of contents. Four plates only seem to show deficiencies. The Graf carpet itself seems more beautiful than the reproduction (pl. 3), and Dr. Erdmann notes that in the original the yellow seems a little more golden, both the red and blue are somewhat lighter, and the animals in the second row are, in the original, in ivory with traces of rose, whereas the plate makes them decidedly rose. He notes also that in pl. 9 the greens are slightly too yellow. In the Peytel carpet (pl. 40) the delicious green and turquoise glints are wanting.

The plate of the Williams tree carpet (pl. 13) is a little disappointing; partly because of the inevitable wide and dazzling white margin, the impressiveness and grandeur of the original are greatly diminished. Several of the plates show on the margins trifling unassimilated color fringes,

theoretically a mark of less than perfect registration, but it is difficult to find any corresponding blemish in any other part of the plate.

The monochrome plates are, on the whole, remarkably good. The failures are few and unimportant, the most conspicuous being the animal carpet belonging to Mr. Rockefeller in which the marked contrast between the red field and the green border is not rendered at all, being merged, like most of the details, in a blackish smudge. Probably the carpet could not have been satisfactorily reproduced, and the attempt to render it was probably due to some eleventh hour necessity. The contrasts in the Metropolitan animal carpet (pl. 38) are a little weak, but the Altman silk carpets (pls. 41, 42) the Milan and Ardabil carpets (pls. 22, 18) and the Rothschild hunting carpet (pl. 24), all difficult problems, are finer than anything of the kind that has yet been done. The presentation of intricate color values, the quality of the texture, and occasionally even something of the elusive luster are rendered with a sensitiveness that is beyond praise.

There is one serious defect which deprives these plates of the finality that they otherwise deserve. The majority of the most important carpets illustrated in color are so soiled that their true character is somewhat concealed. In the review of the first volume (*The Art Bulletin*, loc. cit.) it was stated that, inasmuch as the American Ardabil carpet and the Sarre animal carpet had both been successfully washed, there was no longer any excuse for making a plate of a dirty carpet. Apparently, probably because of divided responsibility, no attention was paid to this warning. The result is that ultimately a great deal of the work in this volume will have to be done over again.

That old carpets, even those composed of silk and wool, can be successfully washed is no longer open to argument. Carpets of nearly every type, not merely of the sixteenth century but also of the fifteenth, such as the Spanish carpet in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and some in the collection of Mr. George Hewitt Myers, have been washed with brilliantly successful results. At the Metropolitan Museum the washing of the Morgan Indian carpets, (cf. Fig. 1) and of the compartment carpet, the latter extremely difficult because of the repairs, gave results that were as gratifying as they were surprising. Despite the abundance of conclusive evidence on this matter, none of the carpets reproduced in color were washed for the purpose and several of the finest are in consequence seriously disfigured. The Milan carpet, bright as it shows in the plate (pl. 22), is none the less loaded with dirt. The back of it shows yellow, blues, and reds of a purity, brilliance, and mellowness equaled in very few carpets. The Rothschild carpet also (pl. 24) is so soiled that despite the color plate, it is almost impossible to make out some of the design in the outer border. It is now, however, the owner's intention to wash this piece. No carpet illustrated in the volume is in more serious need of cleaning than the Ardabil (pls. 19, 20). The splendor of the American pendant when washed quite astonished experienced observers, and a comparison of the Victoria and Albert piece with some of its own fragments that remained after the reparation and that have now been washed, shows that several of the most important tones are modified by dirt by not less than a dozen distinguishable shades. The dirt has given the red a disagreeable

lavender tint, although when clean it is a lustrous light crimson. A beautiful coppery orange is so obscured it has been entirely overlooked in the description. The natural white wool is called in the description a "drab gray." The yellow which in the Victoria and Albert piece is a dead buff, shows in the washed pieces a clear, fresh golden tone; the greens and blues have been lightened by several tones and a blackish green which forms the background has been shown to be, for the most part, lustrous blue. All of the dinginess and distorted tonality of the Victoria and Albert piece is reproduced with exquisite fidelity in the color plate.

It is indeed melancholy that a bushel of dirt should be allowed to hide the sparkling light that lies in all great early carpets, to disarrange the balance of tones devised by master artists and to frustrate their aesthetic intent. But this dirt not only kills the precious luster; it also conceals facts and retards investigation. The exact tone of each color may be an essential diagnostic feature that may prove as useful in the ultimate classification as the technique or the design. The differences between certain tones compounded of the same materials, as, for example, the madder red, are sufficient for practiced dyers familiar with Persian conditions to identify the exact locality of the manufacture of a carpet, and exporters who have extensive repairs to make are careful to send a carpet back to the precise place from which it came to be sure that the repaired areas will match perfectly the original weaving. An apparatus has been invented which makes it possible to give an exact numerical equivalent to various shades but it would of course be impossible to give any dependable information from a dirty carpet.

That color plating dirty carpets may lead to erroneous conclusions which concern the history of carpets is shown in Dr. Sarre's comparison of the Mackay carpet and the Berlin pendant: "Compared with the carpet in America that in Berlin is fresher in color, the white ground in the middle is brighter, the red in the central panel is more brilliant and the dark blue border is deeper" (pl. 27). That the coloring of a pair of carpets could really be so different is highly improbable. They must be of the same brew and out of the same dye pot. The reason for the apparent discrepancy is that the Mackay piece is badly soiled. It had more than fifteen years of rather hard house wear in a modern industrial city before it came into Mr. Mackay's possession and probably has not been washed since the days of Shah Tahmasp.

The failure to wash great carpets is sometimes excused on the basis of the old barber's fable, actually advanced by one museum curator, that water takes the natural oil out of the wool and hence destroys the luster. But it is an elementary fact that the wool for carpets is washed many times, even as many as fifty washings being known in the province of Khorasan, where the especially soft and lustrous wool is partly due to this water washing. The dirt of centuries, that acquired in modern times containing traces of ammonia and sulphuric acid, is never innocent or inert, but is always working in the direction of destruction. It is excusable to leave a carpet unwashed only when there are large areas of restored pile of dubious dye that have been matched to the soiled colors instead of to the original tones. Otherwise, there is no question as to which is the

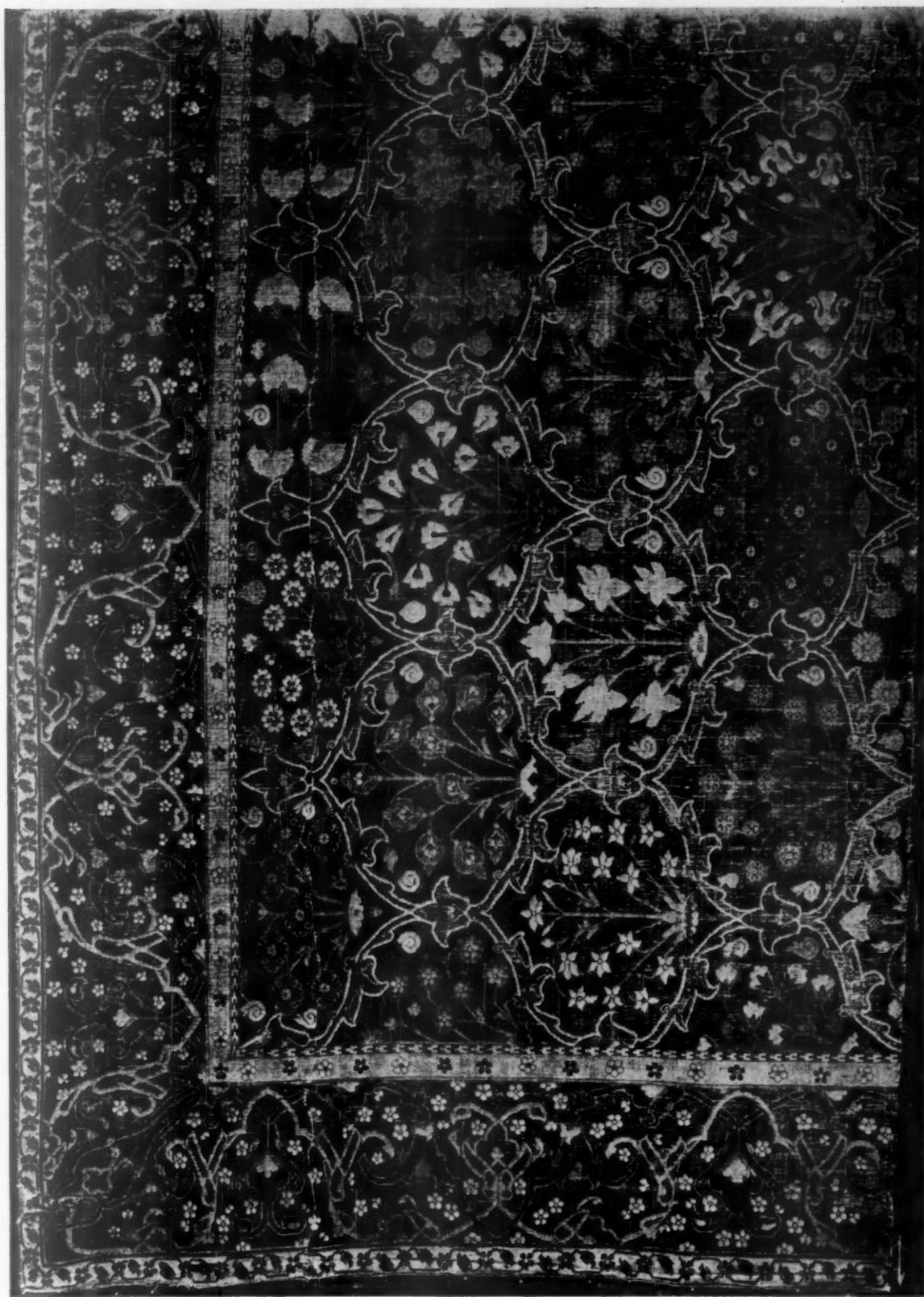
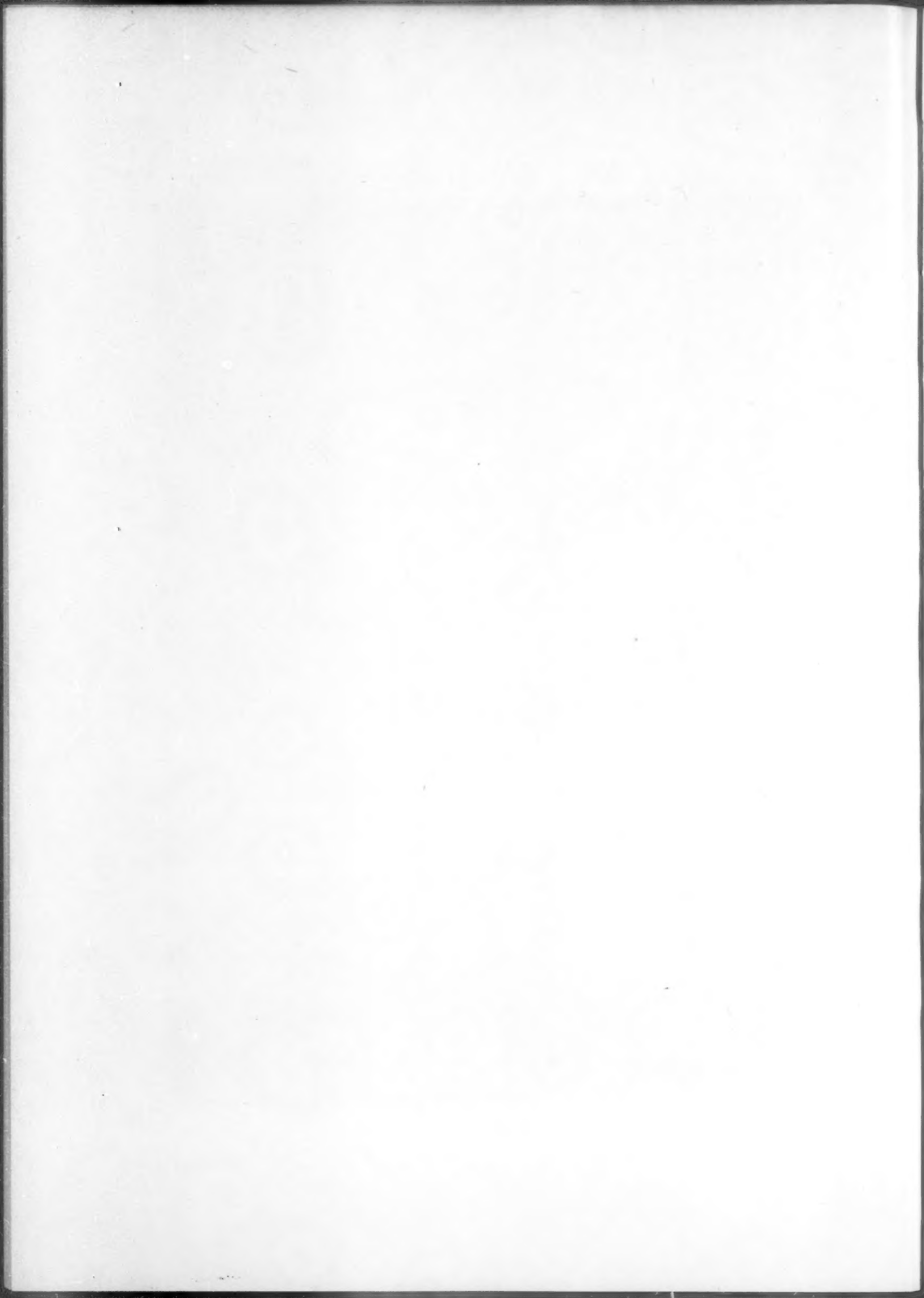


FIG. 2—Berlin, Private Ownership: Floral Stem Carpet



conservative procedure. Not to wash is reckless. This is one case where caution is imprudent.

With the authors' selection of nine-tenths of the examples to be illustrated no one could quarrel. A very few important pieces are missing, but there is always a reason. There would be no justification for reproducing in color more than one carpet of a closely related series or carpets well presented in color in other publications. Thus, Mrs. Rockefeller McCormick's vase carpet, which is soon to be published with color plates by Jaffe, the superb Northwest Persia medallion and hunting carpet of Rosenbord Castle and the Lamm-Myers dragon piece, both of which are so beautifully reproduced by Martin, are all quite properly omitted. Long trips to take plates of single carpets, like the Lobanov-Rostowsky piece in the Hermitage Museum, would have been economically unwarrantable. In other instances desirable pieces were omitted because of the owner's reluctance. Not only are all the outstanding familiar masterpieces, with the exceptions noted, reproduced, but a considerable number of important examples are here given adequately for the first time, such as the Milan hunting carpet (pl. 22), the Rothschild hunting carpet (pls. 25, 26), the Poldi Pezzoli tree and animal carpet (pl. 30), the magnificent carpet from the church of Mantes in the Louvre (pl. 31), the Baker animal carpet (pl. 34), the Van Pannwitz rug (pl. 36), and a number of others. Moreover, there are important carpets shown that are scarcely known even to specialists, such as the Rockefeller Polonoise (pl. 43) and a few surprising pieces like the arabesque fragment recently acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (pl. 9) and the important early Persian prayer carpet (pl. 50).

Differences of opinion are inevitable in regard to borderline cases in the selection. The choices most apt to be questioned are the rather unattractive and uninformative dragon carpet in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (pl. 4), the small arabesque carpet (pl. 11), the animal carpet in pl. 28, while the late Herat flower carpet (pl. 54) might have sufficed in monochrome, permitting a color plate of some more important piece, such as the beautiful blue vase carpet in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum or the tree carpet fragment in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. The selection of some of the pieces of late date for reproduction is to be justified on the ground that it is desirable to have adequate plates of these less important examples that complete the history of the art and give valuable material for the study of the evolution of pattern and technique without which the earlier and finer pieces cannot be fully understood.

Dr. Sarre has prepared a wise and illuminating text, thoroughly well documented, bringing in some valuable new material and giving a more satisfactory and systematic exposition of familiar facts than they have previously received. He supplements Dr. Trenkwald's discussion of the principles of carpet ornamentation with a history of the art and in other ways enriches the first volume, with comments on pieces there illustrated, and in one or two cases he supplies corrections of attributions. Dr. Sarre has wisely chosen to write a conservative text, for in such a monumental publication, where the factual material is of primary and permanent value, controversies certain to be of temporary interest would be inappropriate. Where controversial issues are touched upon he presents both sides

in a liberal and tolerant spirit; he modestly refrains from urging his own opinions; he announces changes of his own views in an exemplary spirit and is throughout characteristically generous to all his colleagues. Once more we are reminded of how profound and permanent Dr. Sarre's contribution to the study of Mohammedan art has been, and how all future studies must in part rest on the foundations laid by his pioneer labors.

Dr. Sarre attempts very little in the way of classification, ascribing Persian carpets only to Northwest Persia or to Central Persia. While the classification of Persian carpets is a problem still to be solved, a little more progress has perhaps been made than the text reflects. Can we not ascribe certain pieces such as those in pls. 28, 37, 51, 52, and 54 to eastern Persia, and the silk carpets such as those in pls. 39, 40, 41, and 42, to Kashan or possibly Natanz?

Dr. Sarre's merging of the Northwest Persia carpet in pl. 5 and the similar carpet in the Williams collection with the dragon carpets is, however, open to question. He says: "The relationship of this carpet with the so-called Armenian animal carpets is obvious (pl. 5), and on p. 16 he argues that this group is derivative from the dragon carpets and also the work of Armenians, as is indicated, in his opinion, by the presence of crosses. Aside from the difference in pattern and in many essential details, such as the scheme of the inner border and guard stripe, the two groups are marked by a difference in color tone and by a different technique. The carpet in pl. 5 is on a cotton warp and weft, whereas the dragon carpets are always on a wool foundation. The former is thinner, more pliable, and has a softer and more lustrous wool. These rugs, as shown by their close similarity in pattern, color, and technique to certain later derivatives, the provenance of which is approximately known, probably coming from the Karadagh region, are woven by a people whose religious life would be inadequately symbolized by the Christian cross. The real derivatives of the dragon carpets are the rugs of the Gohar, Lydig, and inscribed Kaiser Friederich type, the so-called blue Kubas and a huge class of carpets with large palmettes (cf. my *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets*, Art Club of Chicago, 1926, no. 34, and H. Jacoby, *Eine Sammlung orientalischer Teppiche*).

Dr. Sarre is quite right in holding that it is not yet proven that Joshaghan Ghali is the home of the vase carpets, though it is clear that they were woven there from the time of Shah Abbas. The modern carpets that come closest to the original vase carpets and that are nearer to them than any other modern carpets are to any old models, have been woven in Kurdistan in the vicinity of Bidjar and Garous (cf. my *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition* . . . cited above, no. 23). Old residents of Joshaghan Ghali, however, explain the resemblance of the rugs of Garous to the vase carpet types on the ground that there was a considerable migration from Joshaghan Ghali to the region of Garous in the middle of the eighteenth century. Perhaps investigations now under way in Persia will settle this problem.

In discussing the provenance of the dragon carpets and a group which he thinks derivative, Dr. Sarre raises a question of method and evidence more important than the specific problem under consideration. In reference to the dragon carpets he says (p. 16): "The frequent introduc-

tion of Christian crosses by itself renders the theory well worthy of credence, that the makers were Christians, and presumably Armenian Christians of the district in question." And on the next page, Dr. Sarre uses the same argument for assigning to Armenian authorship the group of rugs of which pl. 5 is an example. If the principle be accepted, and it has already been endorsed or advanced by Armenag Sakisian in *La Syrie*, for December, 1928, and repeated by Mr. Kendrick in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* for June, 1929, it will cause havoc in rug attributions. It must therefore be examined with some care.

Bréhier, in *L'art chrétien* (p. 3), has given an impressive warning against this appeal to the cross, showing how ubiquitous the device was in widely scattered pre-Christian civilizations. In carpets it is omnipresent. It appears, large and small, simple and complex, in all sorts of Turcoman rugs and is so frequent in Beloochistan rugs that American dealers have been wont to call them "Christian Beloochistans," though they could never have been profaned by Christian hands until they reached centers of trade. Similarly, the Varamin khilims, produced by a most ungodly tribe, are often found with a field design composed wholly of true Christian crosses and the same is true of many rugs woven by some of the Kurdish groups that are reputed to have taken a special relish in massacring Armenians. Perfectly drawn Christian crosses, set in panels and often very ecclesiastical in appearance are common in various Shiraz and Kashgai rugs where Christian symbolism is out of the question. Eighteenth and nineteenth century so called Samarkands frequently carry elaborate crosses, to say nothing of many early western Asia Minor rugs, such as the so-called Holbeins (cf. figs. 83, 84 in Bode-Kuhnel, English Translation). In 1925 there appeared in the New York auction market an Indian carpet with the eight Buddhist symbols clearly drawn in the border, yet in the field at regular intervals were small white crosses (for an unsatisfactory illustration cf. the *V. and L. Benguiat Collection of Oriental Carpets*, American Art Association, 1925, no 39). A seventeenth century Persian carpet (Shustar?) now in the collection of Mrs. W. H. Crocker of San Francisco shows crosses in the border (cf. Bode-Kuhnel, English Translation, fig. 25). Cases could be multiplied. If crosses in carpets warrant an inference as to the race and religion of the weavers, what should we infer from the fact that the upper zone of the Mihrab in the Mausoleum of the pious and orthodox Sultan Bars Bey (Cairo, 1447) consists of seven small panels each containing seven perfect "true Christian crosses"?

The true explanation of the cross in most carpets is not far to seek. It is an obvious figure, congenial to the weaving technique. When not purely geometrical, it is a simplified or clumsy rendition of a four petaled blossom. In a number of carpets, for example, the Mackay carpet (pl. 27), that in pl. 5, the Lamm-Meyers fragment, and the Williams compartment and tree carpet the design appears in several phases of its evolution from the naturalistic to the geometrical form. Thus, in the Mackay carpet the inner side of the main border carries a series of small rosettes with radial lines indicating stamens, but in some instances these lines are reduced to a perfectly drawn Christian cross. One is to the right of the lateral apex of the medallion, another to the right and opposite the lower

apex. That the so-called cross is only a vestigial blossom is clearly shown by a figure in a rug of the Kuba type now in the possession of A. S. Drey of Munich. Although it is only a simple cross it is enclosed between two curved wavy lines, an obvious survival of the common Persian design of a rosette between leaves. In another Kuba carpet belonging to L. Bernheime of Munich the "cross" appears again, but in every case a rudimentary calyx is drawn in between the arms of the cross, showing that the cross was meant to be petals. A. Fabri, Director of the Az State Museum in Baku, whose knowledge of Caucasus carpets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is probably unrivalled, gives it as his emphatic opinion that the numerous cross forms so common in all types of Caucasus rugs are either purely geometrical or are vestigial flower forms. In no case, he holds, can they have symbolic meaning.

This does not mean that a Christian cross can never appear with symbolic meaning in a carpet nor that a Christian weaver never placed a cross on his weaving. A fifteenth century Spanish carpet (Fig. 4) recently found in a Spanish convent and now in the possession of Mr. Loewi of Venice gives an indubitable example of Christian crosses in a carpet. These crosses and their arrangement bear very little resemblance to the ambiguous figures seen in the carpets in question. But they are closely paralleled in the embroidered carpets of the Kozolof finds, now datable in the first century B. C.! Christian authorship cannot be inferred from the presence of crosses without confirmatory evidence. The Cairene carpets bear crosses that do seem to indicate Christian, that is, Coptic, authorship because in form and regularity of distribution they are precisely like those on Coptic altar screens and other Coptic ecclesiastical furniture where the symbolic intent is natural and obvious. No such confirmation of the crosses in the cases under discussion has yet been offered.

The best case for a Christian cross in a carpet of the Kuba type is to be found in a nineteenth century piece of very crude design that recently came into the Cairo market from the monastery of Etschmiadzin. This shows a few large crosses on the butts of a row of very coarse leaf palmettes disposed along the central axis. These might easily be an unimportant concession to a special order, as were the Jewish inscriptions on seventeenth and eighteenth century Turkish prayer rugs. But it is doubtful whether even these are intentional crosses, for in the Williams tree carpet (pl. 13) in the butt of the same broad leaf palmette is a cross, although in this more detailed rendition there is a rosette at the junction. In view of the exceedingly coarse and crude drawing of the Etschmiadzin piece, where every element is utterly simplified, it would be quite natural for the rosette to be omitted and the cross would then be nothing but a vestigial remnant of an earlier, more complex pattern.

The argument from crosses would lead to assigning to Armenian authorship such a variety of carpets that the ascription would be almost meaningless, and even if it were decided that all these crosses did prove that all these various kinds of carpets were physically fabricated by Armenian Christians, this would indicate nothing about the cultural provenance of the carpet as a work of art, which is, after all, the only matter of real interest.

It is not easy to see on what grounds Dr. Sarre assigns such early dates to the dragon carpets, for example, fifteenth century for the Graf carpet (pl. 3) and sixteenth for the carpet on pl. 4. In discussing the problem (p. 15) Dr. Sarre's arguments are justifications for a late dating in comparison with Dr. Martin's attributions to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so that he does not support his own dating which still seems rather early. He cites (p. 15) the relations to the patterns on the mosaic faience tile at Ardabil, but such kinship does not prove contemporaneity. The brocades and some of the carpets of the seventeenth century follow these tile patterns far more closely than do the dragon carpets. We cannot justify an early dating for these carpets on the ground of the style because the style is really ambiguous and fluid. The same design will be apparently at two different stages of evolution in a single carpet. Thus, as Dr. Sarre points out, "the ducks at the upper end of the Graf carpet have gone further in conventionalisation than the lower ones" (pl. 3). The apparent primitiveness of the pattern has been the major reason for assigning these carpets to an early date but, as Dr. Sarre himself says, we have here a peasant art (p. 15), and peasant art usually looks primitive regardless of date. Mr. Kendrick is quite right in repeating a former warning (*Handwoven Carpets*, p. 14) against dating carpets on the basis of the archaism of the design (pl. 2, note).

We have several dates for the dragon carpets. The Michael carpet published by Sakisian (*Syria*, December, 1928) is dated 1890. The Gohar carpet, as Sakisian has shown, is dated 1699-1700, and the Hussein Bek carpet belonging to Mr. Myers is dated 1682. The latter is a Kurdish copy of a dragon carpet and probably of a fairly early type, as is shown by the clarity of the animal drawing. It is significant that the Kurds have a habit of copying contemporary carpets. A Kuba carpet of the rosette and halo pattern technically identical with the dragon carpets in the Beghian collection in London is dated 1717. The Jackling carpet in which the animals are clearly drawn has a border almost identical with the late Gohar piece, and many pieces with the dragons have borders identical with other Caucasus rugs which carry dates of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Finally, all the closest antecedents of the dragon carpet designs in Persian carpets, and they are very close indeed, are in the rugs of the seventeenth or, at best, the late sixteenth century.

Early seventeenth century would be a more conservative dating for the Graf piece, and it would be difficult to justify in detail a date before the end of the eighteenth century for the carpet in pl. 4.

Later dating might be urged for several other pieces also. Instead of the attribution to the sixteenth century, a very good argument could be made for a seventeenth century dating for both the Leipzig carpet (pl. 10) and, as Mr. Kendrick notes, for the exquisite vase carpet fragment (pl. 8—our Fig. 2).

In discussing the two dated carpets, the Milan hunting carpet (pl. 22) and the Ardabil carpet (pl. 18), Dr. Sarre comes to the conclusion that the figures given do not represent the termination of the weaving. He considers the date of the Ardabil carpet, which is at the top of the rug, as the year in which the cartoon was completed and

weaving commenced, and assumes that, therefore, the piece would not have been finished for several years. In the case of the Milan carpet, where the date is in the center, he believes that the completion of the work also was quite a bit later and that the cartoon was proportionately earlier than the figures given. The basic assumption in this discussion seems to be in error. It rests partly on the theory that the weaving of great carpets required many years. As a matter of fact, there is no reason to suppose that it was a very long process. There is internal evidence that both the Milan and the Ardabil carpets were made by several weavers working together, rather than by a single weaver. Judging by contemporary experience, the Milan carpet could have been woven in a single year and the Ardabil in a little less than three. Kendrick and Tattersall estimate that with a full crew of eight working the Ardabil would have been finished in three years (*Handwoven Carpets*, p. 19), but according to the most recent figures this seems a little high, and eight seems more than could profitably work simultaneously. The latter estimates are based on detailed figures of actual work supplied through the kindness of Dr. Heinrich Jacoby by Mr. Wolfinger, superintendent in Tabriz of the Persische Teppiche Gesellschaft, and it agrees with the estimates of other practical weavers. The estimates were made with due regard to fineness of weave and intricacy of pattern, as well as dimensions. There is no reason to suppose that the weavers of the sixteenth century were any slower or any less competent and industrious than those of to-day. In the case of the Ardabil carpet there is a second difficulty in Dr. Sarre's argument, for the top of the carpet where the date is inserted represents not the beginning, but the end, of the weaving. The carpet could have been finished within a few months of the time the inscription was woven. In both cases, therefore, it seems practically certain that the figure does record the year in which the carpet was completed.

In discussing the disputed date of the Milan carpet Dr. Sarre modestly disclaims all arbitral authority. Nevertheless, he does give preference to the reading of the second figure as a 4 rather than as a 2, a view sponsored by Herr Sebastian Beck and Professor Ernst Herzfeld, who reject the obvious reading 929 (1521-2) in favor of their reading of 949 (1542-3). In total disregard of the opinion of a considerable group of leading European scholars and of numerous European educated Persians and ignoring the arguments set forth in my article in *Dedalo*, 1928, and the warning given there that dates woven in carpets present special peculiarities, Herr Beck writes with a curt dogmatism: "According to the illustration before me, the second figure can only be read as a 4" (pl. 22). Herr Beck offers no argument whatever in support of his reading and the only argument offered by Professor Herzfeld, in conversation, is that the prong of the 2 terminates at a higher level than the top of the shank, thus turning the figure into a 4, but this principle is not only without documentary support, it is contrary to 4's drawn that way in manuscripts where the figure is confirmed by writing. Neither Herr Beck nor Professor Herzfeld has examined the carpet nor do they acknowledge the peculiar kind of deflections, mutilations, and irrelevant excrescences which letters and figures undergo in knotted weaving, when the inscription is not an organic part of the design following the full car-

toon of a special calligrapher. Since the publication of the *Dedalo* article the reading of the figure as 2 has been repeatedly confirmed. It is now endorsed by an overwhelming preponderance of thoroughly qualified scholars. The majority of them hold that the reading 4 is impossible, a few see the possibility of a problem and acknowledge a resemblance to certain 4's, but even they insist that the resemblance to a 2 is decidedly greater than to a 4. The entire problem of the date and the inscription will be discussed at length with many illustrations in a monograph on the carpet to be published by the Oxford University Press this autumn. It should, however, be said now that an examination of the inscription from the back of the carpet is decisive for reading the second figure as 2.

There are a number of trifling errors that always creep into a book of this sort, written as it is about examples in seven different countries. They should, perhaps, for the sake of the record be noted. The tapestry *Polonaise* (pl. 46) does not belong in Chicago but is still in the possession of P. W. French and Company. Since the text was prepared the Williams carpets have been removed to the Pennsylvania Museum. On pl. 29 "Countess Bearn" should be called "Countess Behague." The Mackay carpet (pl. 27) is not published for the first time but appeared in color in the *International Studio* in 1923. It was not lent by an American for the coronation of Edward VII but by Duveen Brothers, and did not come into the possession of Marsden Perry until several years later. While Jacoby did publish the first sustained argument against the Armenian hypothesis and on behalf of a Caucasus provenance for the dragon carpets in 1925, they were earlier published as from Kuba both in the *International Studio* in 1922 and in *Arts and Decorations* in 1923.

The calligraphic evidence amply warrants placing the Fustat pile fragment now in the Arabic Museum in Cairo well before the end of the first millennium instead of after (p. 11). The dating of the Fustat piece is of some importance, for while it is not a true knotted pile fabric but only a cup-loop stitch, a sort of coarse woolen velvet, it was probably made in imitation of true pile carpets and may be regarded as one indication of the time of their appearance in the western Muhammadan world.

It is not clear that we should look to the great capitals as centers of weaving (pp. 19 f.). In fact, Tabriz is the only capital which we can be sure from unambiguous documentary evidence was a center of carpet weaving. The other weaving centers that are specifically mentioned are Hamadan, Shustar, Amol, Tus, Sabzewar, Herat, Kashan, Kerman, and Joshaghan Ghali. Carpet weaving establishments could not, and did not, follow the court. Are not the conditions around Kazvin (p. 20) too unfavorable for carpet weaving for any important looms ever to have been established there?

The statement (pp. 17 f.) that "small flowering plants of the most varied kind covering the free spaces . . . [are] never shown without their roots and the patch of earth may be regarded as a specific feature of the art of the beginning of the 17th century" is a little puzzling. Does this not precisely describe the plant forms in the Altman silk animal carpet (pl. 39) which Dr. Sarre attributes to the middle of the sixteenth century, to say nothing of the Austrian hunting carpet? (I, pls. 1-4.)

Speaking of the vases in the vase carpets, Dr. Sarre says: "There can be no doubt that these are meant for Chinese porcelain vases painted in colors" (p. 16). But there is a great deal of evidence now in hand that they are really derived from the classical vases such as appear in Coptic textiles and Syrian and Palestinian mosaics as early as the sixth and seventh centuries. They appear in Mesopotamian textiles of the tenth century in almost the identical form in which they are found in some of the carpets and, while every link in the chain has not yet been forged, the series is unusually complete. This might be of some interest as showing the persistence of certain western influences in the art of western Asia, although, of course, the vase was originally an oriental *motif*, if not Egyptian (cf. vases from some of the wall paintings at Thebes, eighteenth dynasty).

Dr. Sarre does not venture far on the treacherous waters of aesthetic appraisal, and perhaps wisely, for standards of judgment are still in the process of formation, but he does raise a very interesting problem by affirming (p. 22) that the animal carpet in the Metropolitan Museum (II, pl. 38) is as important as the so-called Emperor carpet and its pendant (Fig. 3) in Vienna (I, pls. 6-8). A careful comparison of the two pieces will hardly sustain this judgment. The Metropolitan carpet and its pendant are of extraordinary beauty, distinction, and originality. They are not easily overpraised. Nevertheless, as Aristotle affirmed, magnitude is an essential quality of great aesthetic effect, and the difference between the two pairs of carpets is not measured merely by the far greater size of the "Emperor" Vienna pieces, but also by the fact that such a size presents both a problem and an opportunity fully apprehended by the Vienna carpets, which are organized on the basis of a scheme far more subtle and profound than the smaller pair of carpets, superb though they are. For the same reason, the Persians prefer Firdausi to Omar Khayam. The higher rank, if comparisons are to be made, must be awarded to the greater problem, which involves the greater triumph.

Sigmund Troll follows the important work he did on the technique of carpet weaving in the first volume with a very useful summary and table on the technique of the pieces in both volumes. The full value of such a table can hardly be appraised until it has been extensively used, but even a preliminary examination of it gives very helpful results. It would have been a convenience if the drawings of the knots in the first volume could have been repeated in the second.

Mr. Troll and Dr. Fleming both find the loose knotting on the back of the Swedish carpet in pl. 2 exceptional but while the practice is not common, it is found very frequently in so-called vase carpets, many fragments being known with thick masses of loose brown thread knotted in at the back. Probably both there and on some of the Coptic flat stitch carpets they were intended to provide resilience both for comfort and for increased durability.

Troll's very helpful drawings illustrating pattern arrangements are, unfortunately, few in this volume. A pattern analysis of the stem arrangements in a carpet like the Ardabil, a difficult undertaking, would have been of considerable value.

The important technical details of the individual carpets are unevenly well done. Differences in method and

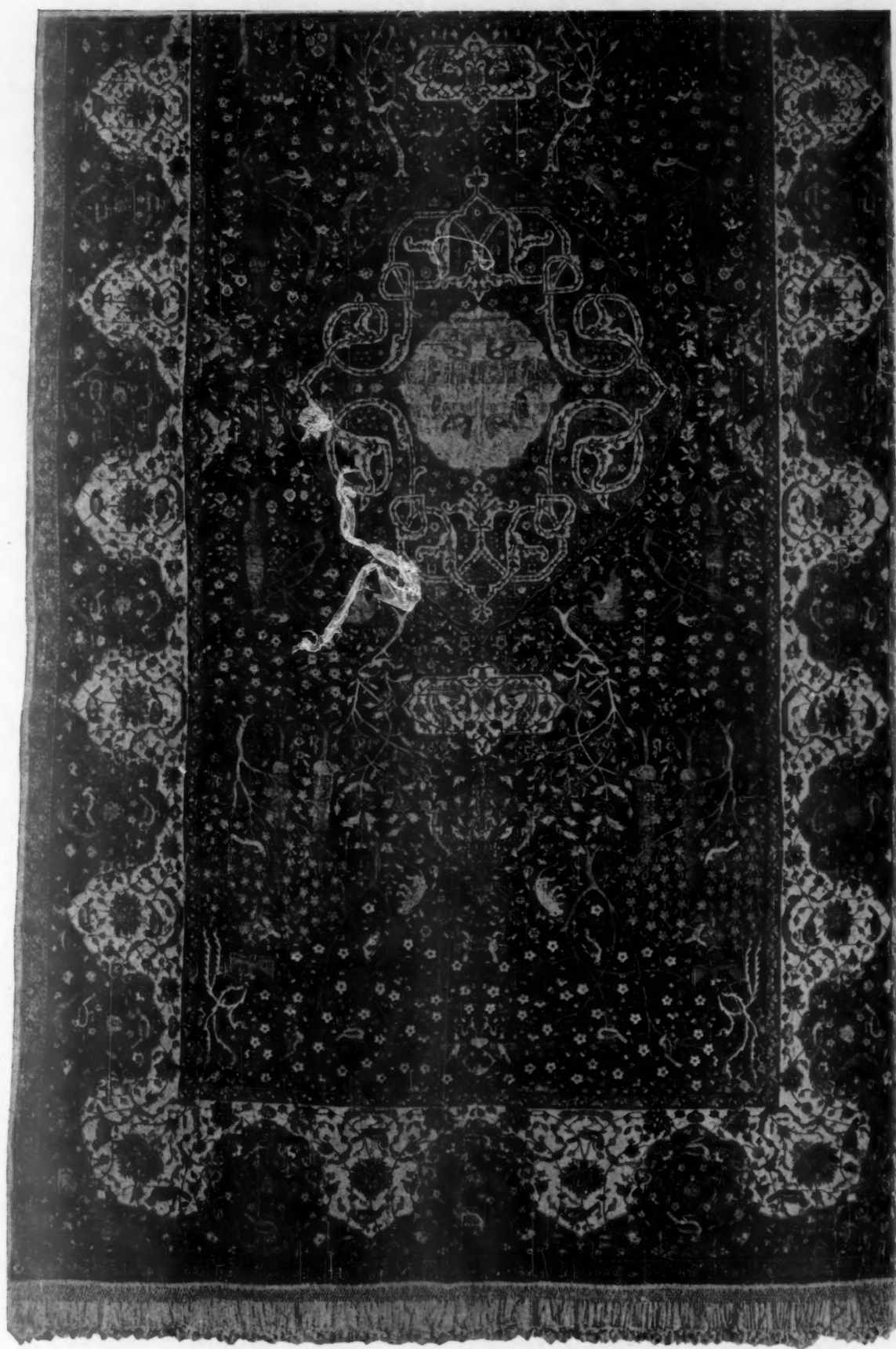


FIG. 3—Vienna, Schwarzenberg Collection: *Persian Garden Carpet*

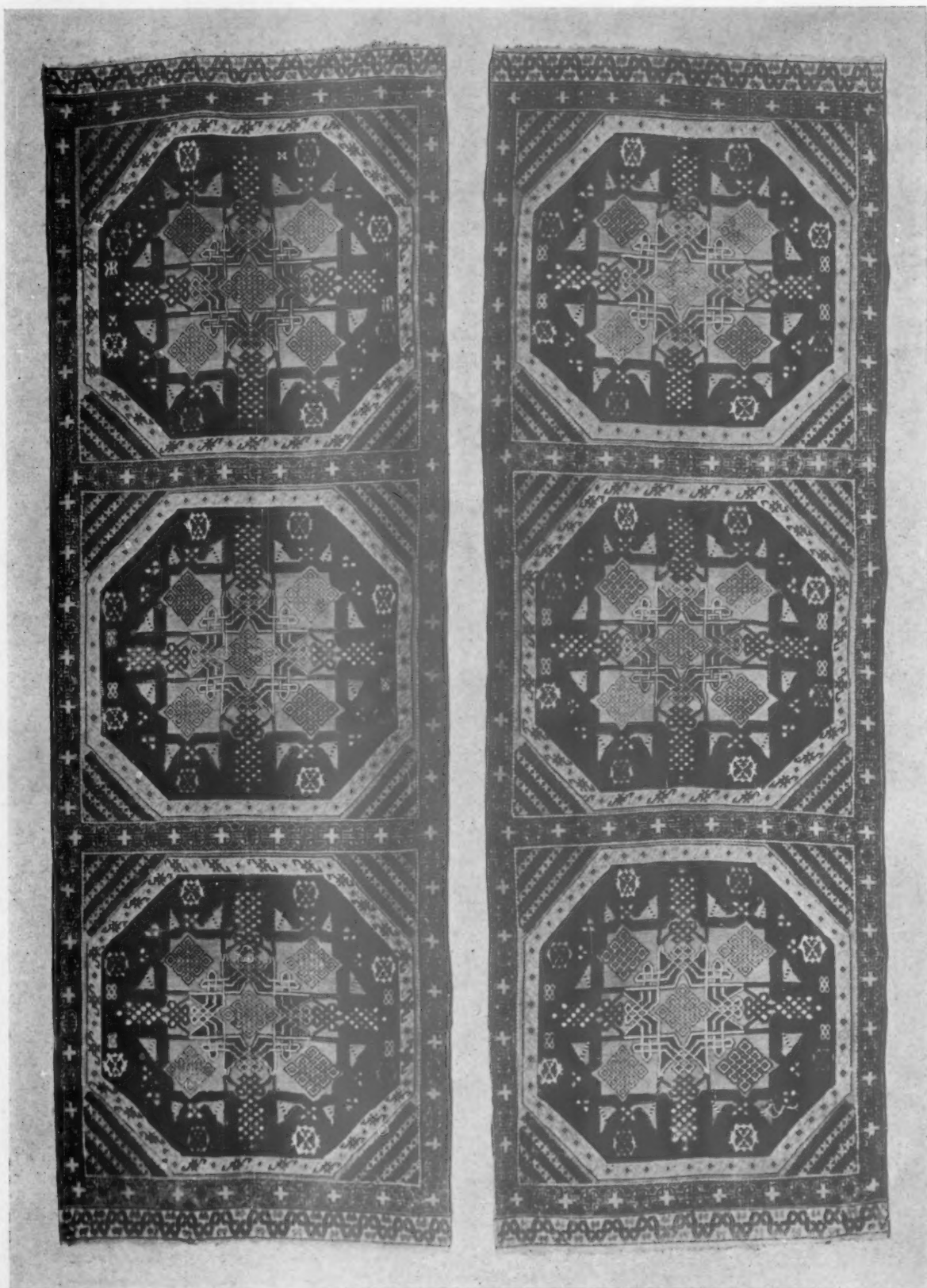


FIG. 4—Venice, Property of Mr. Loewi: XV Century Spanish Carpet
with Christian Crosses in the Design

experience were, of course, inevitable where the observations were taken by six different people. The resulting lack of uniformity in the records is in some cases disturbing. The method of the insertion of the wefts is well given by most of the European observers but, except for the Boston Museum carpet, this data is omitted in the American reports. There are five types of numerical measurements given: dimensions, number of warps, number of wefts, number of knots in each direction, and total knotting per square unit. No English equivalents for the dimensions are given, and there are no English equivalents given in the very useful summary table. The English equivalents for the warp and weft figures are often omitted, the figure for the total knotting is missing in many cases, and the English equivalent for it is lacking in more than a third of the instances. Of course, it is possible to make the calculation of the knotting and to translate centimeters into inches but where the book is being used by English and American students who are accustomed to thinking in feet and inches and whose records are in these terms, this is a handicap.

A number of the observations are a little surprising and scholars are certain to feel the need of confirmation. There are some slight oversights, such as the neglect to mention the use of cotton in the pile of the Metropolitan compartment carpet, and some of the observations are clearly in error, such as Dr. Dimand's report of wool wefts in the Mackay carpet and the Metropolitan compartment carpet. Counts of the knotting of a number of the pieces show more or less unimportant divergencies, perhaps in some instances due to variations in the weaving. A count ten times repeated with a double-barreled microscope of the Altman Indian fragment showed 2248 knots to the square inch as against Dr. Dimand's figure of 2550. The Peytel carpet in the Louvre seems to have more knots to the square inch, and the Milan hunting carpet slightly less than the figures given. Mr. Tattersall is quite the last person to be challenged in a matter of this sort, yet repeated counts of the American pendant to the Ardabil have given uniformly a much higher figure than Mr. Tattersall reports for the London piece. It is conceivable that the pendant which was despoiled to make the Victoria and Albert piece perfect was the more closely woven of the two and therefore in some sense the first or preferred weaving. Such a possibility calls for a rechecking of the count of both pieces and an examination of the relative fineness of weave of other pairs of carpets.

The reports of the state of preservation of the carpets suffer somewhat from a lack of consistently defined standard and in a few instances they are decidedly misleading. Dr. Dimand reports of the Williams tree carpet (pl. 13) "Pile much worn. Repairs in many places especially near the bottom." But no mention is made of the fact that the carpet has been cut down by forty-four per cent and that the proportions have thereby been changed, a serious matter since format is a valuable item in identification and classification as well as an essential factor in artistic merit. The original length of this carpet was approximately 760 centimeters (about 19 feet) and the width 339 centimeters (about 9 feet, 2 inches) approximately a two-to-one proportion; whereas the carpet as it stands is 525 centimeters long (about 13 feet) to 359 wide (9 feet, 2 inches), a proportion of less than one and a half to one. The

top border as the piece is now composed is really a part of the left border, and the bottom border came originally from the right border. Nor were these parts really interchangeable. Approximately 230 centimeters (5 feet, 11 inches) of the inner border have been used to replace the missing parts of the outer border at the lower end. These serious alterations do not prevent the carpet from ranking as one of the most superb textiles ever wrought, but it is important to know that the original design showed two more full repeats, giving a total of ten cypress tress instead of six, and that with this increase the border was in much better proportion to the field. A careful reconstruction of mutilated carpets is essential to an accurate understanding of the history of the art.

Similarly, the Metropolitan compartment carpet is reported (pl. 14) as in a good state of preservation although "sewn together in several places in the border." No mention is made of the fact that this carpet is scarcely half its original size and that this reduction also changes the proportion of the border to the field and alters the character of the field itself, which was originally a full repeat wider and very much longer, providing a far more satisfactory design. Incontrovertible evidence of the original dimensions is to be found in the Lyons piece, 810 centimeters long (26 feet, 8 inches) by 415 centimeters wide (10 feet, 10 inches). The Lyons piece is the exact pendant of the Metropolitan piece and not, as the text says, "a very similar carpet, which, however, is not so well drawn" (description, pl. 14).

Dr. Erdmann's descriptions of the designs of the carpets represent in some instances an advance in clarity over the first volume though it must be said that a fully satisfactory technique of description has not yet been perfected. There are one or two slips. The outer border of the Williams tree carpet (pl. 13) is described as light green, although it is white, and the listing of colors sometimes breaks off with an unsatisfactory "etc." (pl. 5), and in other places is vague (pl. 4), while in many places, pl. 10 for example, the colors are given with greatest fullness and precision. The difficult task of fully identifying the flowers and animals in the carpets is not attempted here, yet it should not be postponed much longer.

Dr. Erdmann's bibliography, while specifically disclaiming completeness, is the most extensive and adequate that has yet been published. It even includes work of only slight interest or merit. It gives approximately 220 titles and is exceptionally accurate. There are, however, a few regrettable omissions, the most important of which are discussions of carpets in works on other subjects, as, for example, Herzfeld's brief but excellent reference to early carpets in his *Am Tor von Asien*. A number of articles in American periodicals are omitted, some of which are of value, but, for the most part, these appeared during or immediately after the war so that they are difficult of access in Europe. Some of the early catalogues of the American Art Association which illustrated important carpets are also not listed.

The translation by Mr. Kendrick reads much more easily than that of the first volume though it sometimes wavers between an excessive and awkward literalness and a natural idiomatic rendering. Controversial points are properly translated with strictest accuracy. Dr. Beck's

statement about the Milan carpet is given precisely although in the French edition it is translated erroneously. There are various small blemishes. An ornament that consists of "inflorescences and umbels" (pl. 17) will startle most American readers. A serious objection is sure to be made to the translation of many of the captions. When Dr. Sarre writes "*Medallionteppich*" he is employing the established term "Medallion Carpet." Mr. Kendrick's transformation of this into "Carpet with Central Panel" is clumsy and unnecessary. "Carpet with Central Panel, Floral Stems and Animals" will hardly become the accepted designation for the Baker hunting carpet, the Van Pannwitz animal carpet or the Altman animal carpet. The spellings are only partly consistent with the British Academy list, no principle of variation being apparent.

The physical make-up of the book, at once sumptuous and practical, is in every way adequate. Trifling deficiencies in the first volume have been remedied, and scholars will note with gratitude that the binding is sufficiently rugged for long and hard use.

To judge such a work by its own qualities of excellences, to state divergencies of opinion, or to list deficiencies has nothing in common with disparagement, which in such circumstance would be odious. Criticism and debate are the life of intellectual progress, and controversy often leads to discovery. The publishers and authors of these two volumes have courageously aimed at perfection. If they have fallen short of the unattainable they have none the less come nearer than any similar undertaking, have clarified and advanced the ideal itself, set a standard that will benefit every similar enterprise, brought honor to themselves, and rendered exemplary service to art and scholarship.

Arthur Upham Pope

DAEDALUS AND THESPIAS: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE ANCIENT DRAMATIC POETS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF GREECE. Vol. I, *Architecture and Topography*. By Walter Miller. New York, Macmillan, 1929.

This is a work of vast labor and care and greatly to the credit of American classical scholarship. The task involved has been played with from time to time by other scholars; but Professor Miller is the first to attempt a thorough investigation and presentation of the Greek and Roman dramatists' numerous, but very sporadic, references to the arts and crafts. The magnitude of the undertaking is well shown in the extent of this first volume, which is devoted to architecture and topography. The text fills upwards of 300 large and closely packed pages. Two other volumes—on sculpture and on painting and ceramics—are forthcoming. The completed work should be of great service to students of art and literature; to the future commentator on the dramatists it will be indispensable.

The quality of the photography shown in some fifty illustrations of monuments and scenes is particularly good. Not only has the proper angle of view been almost invariably chosen, but the photographer has patiently awaited the moment that brings the most happy blending of light and shadow. The large size of the pictures displays

many fine details. Especially striking is a photograph taken from the architrave of the Parthenon of the ruins of the old temple of Athena. But why have not the plates been numbered? The caption "facing page so-and-so" is surely a trifle awkward.

One who has read the ancient dramatists with an eye to their literary charm alone is not impressed by any sense of their devotion to the material arts. A recent writer has gone so far as to say that they were quite blind to their merits. After reading a few pages of *Daedalus and Thespias*, one conceives the idea that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides must have been so thoroughly steeped in the principles of architectural art that they were unable to restrain themselves from obtruding their references to the art of building, here, there, and everywhere, on the attention of the spectator or reader. All this bears clear evidence to the downright methods of Professor Miller; seemingly, not the slightest allusion to the subject in question has escaped his eye.

For the convenience of the readers of our age—the most ignorant of Greek since the Renaissance—the author has been kind enough to translate all Greek passages. He trusts that we may be able to worry through the Latin unaided. The citations, be they long or short, are accompanied by a full running commentary which illumines them with the brilliant searchlight of archaeological and classical scholarship. The reader is thus brought closer to the original conception of architectural art and to the reality of topography than he is ever likely to be through the reading of handbooks on these subjects.

It would be absurd to complain of a few inevitable errors in a work so pretentious. Naturally enough, it required the toil of many years to collect, sift, and classify the enormous bulk of material; and the difficulties attending the business of bringing the whole up to date at the moment of printing should be patent to every reader. Professor Miller has done extremely well in this respect.

The true value to scholars of *Daedalus and Thespias* will not be fully appreciated till the publication of Vol. III, for which there is promised a complete index and series of references.

A. D. Fraser

THE NEGRO IN GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION: A STUDY OF THE ETHIOPIAN TYPE. By Grace Hadley Beardsley. xii, 145 pp.; 24 figs. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929.

Professor D. M. Robinson, of The Johns Hopkins University, has for many years been interested in ancient representations of the negro peoples, and his private collection of antiques contains an unusual number of negroid figures. He recently deputed to Miss Beardsley the task of studying the race as viewed by the ancients; the results of her investigation are embodied in this small, but interesting and valuable, monograph. It appears at a timely moment, when various questions concerned with the arts, crafts, and music of colored folk are being popularly exploited.

The Greek and Roman writers supply little information regarding the black races. Memnon and Andromeda, whom legend associated with the Ethiopians, are frankly blond—

a feature rightly explained by Miss Beardsley (p. 8) as due to their representing the dominant class, ruling black-skinned subjects. Herodotus mentions the occurrence in Xerxes' army of woolly-haired African Ethiopians and straight-haired Ethiopians from Asia. Miss Beardsley does not pass judgment on the ethnological question here involved. But in all probability the straight-haired blacks belonged to the eastern borders of the Persian Empire, and would thus be of Dravidian rather than negroid stock.

There are only very slight traces of the Ethiopian in Minoan art, and the author thinks that the negro was unknown, except at second hand, to the Cretan artists. Sir Arthur Evans thinks differently; but perhaps it is a trifle early in the day to attempt to decide the question. More evidence will undoubtedly come to light. On the testimony of vase paintings, Miss Beardsley concludes that black slaves were imported into Greece as early as the sixth century, but that the negro remained a good deal of a curiosity in the Greek world. She takes issue sharply with those who think that they see caricatures in many of the plastic representations of the race, choosing to regard the latter as faithful reproductions of specific types of individuals. Miss Beardsley's verdict on the status of the negro slave would suggest that she considers his position in the household as not unlike that of the court jester. The colored slave in Greece is never depicted as performing menial tasks. The Romans, however, were not always so considerate.

Miss Beardsley has not attempted to assemble a complete catalogue of all surviving ancient representations of the negro. Such a task would be very onerous and not necessarily fruitful. Her list comprises 289 examples, running from Middle Minoan III to the second century A. D. The illustrative material, while not altogether sumptuous, portrays the main types of the Ethiopian from the point of view both of art and ethnology. It would have lent an added interest to the work if Miss Beardsley had found time to examine the latter element. Some of the heads (e. g., fig. 14, where progenism rather than prognathism is pronounced) seem to manifest strong tribal peculiarities.

Male and female negroid heads are often difficult to differentiate. The author has here shown much acumen in her identifications. She is also successful in proving that the potter Charinus was the maker of a mold from which were made seven extant impressions occurring on Janiform heads. The model must have been famous in antiquity. Miss Beardsley's suggestion of the disparity of color to account for the paucity of negro statues in white marble is, one feels, not very convincing in view of our knowledge of the almost universal use of paint. In the study of a negro statuette in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 16), attention might well have been drawn to the archaistic treatment of the fabric of the loin cloth, a feature which would place it very late in the Hellenistic age.

It is not easy to understand the alleged reason for one of the compliments paid by the author to the artist of the famous barbarian head in the British Museum (fig. 13): "Even the rendering of the wavy hair, difficult in a material which must be cast from a mould, gave him no difficulty" (p. 76). Everything here was surely in the artist's favor. The inclusion in the book of this example—

a Berber with no obvious negroid characteristics—is perhaps of doubtful wisdom. The author, in her estimate of Alexandrian art, seems inclined to place too implicit a faith in Guy Dickins (pp. 77 ff.). Had this young scholar survived the War, it is altogether likely that he would, ere this, have modified the extreme views that he outlined in *Hellenistic Sculpture*.

The reviewer has noticed eight or ten typographical errors, fortunately slight. Several words are inconsistently spelled. In stating the height of various *objets d'art* it might have been well to follow consistently either the Anglo-Saxon or the metric system.

But the book is a sound piece of work, free from pedantry and an obtrusive display of learning. The author's knowledge is largely gained at first hand, and the tone of her writing is authoritative throughout.

A. D. Fraser

LEONARDO UND SEIN KREIS. By Wilhelm Suida. Munich, Bruckmann, 1929.

LEONARDO DA VINCI: DER KUNSTLER UND SEIN WERK. By Edmund Hildebrandt. Berlin, Grote'sche, 1927.

Professor Hildebrandt's book on Leonardo is a book for the layman or beginning student. Conventional in its method, it tries to convey the Leonardo spirit rather than be scientifically expertizing or stimulating in historical ideas. Feeling unable to speak for Leonardo himself, the author lets Goethe do it, although Goethe in his rhapsody on the Last Supper wrote only from Raphael Morgen's engraving of it. Aside from several mistakes in the attribution of drawings, Professor Hildebrandt insists that the London Madonna of the Rocks shows no sign of Leonardo's hand, and that the Flora is an indisputable original, despite the fact that it is discussed among the doubtful works.

Wilhelm Suida, on the other hand, is far more stimulating although very inaccurate and generous. Much new material in connection with Leonardo is published, especially among the photographs. The influence of Leonardo on Rubens is shown in a new and interesting way. Next to The Fall, an embroidery of the sixteenth century ("Vermutlich nach Leonardo") now in the Musée Cluny, Paris, is a close-up photograph of Adam and Eve in The Fall by Rubens in The Hague. A differentiation is made between the side panels of the London Madonna of the Rocks: the angel playing the violin is said to be after Leonardo's design, whereas the angel playing the lute is definitely given to Ambrogio de' Predis.

But The Madonna with the Carnation (Alte Pinakothek), the drawing of the Madonna's head (Louvre), The Madonna and Child in the Dreyfus collection (Paris) are all three attributed to Leonardo, primarily on the basis of the Madonna's brooch which appears in the Benois Madonna (Hermitage). In the first place, it might be said that in no two pictures is the brooch exactly the same; in the second place, it would be just such an object of minor importance that a follower or imitator would lay hold of.

The Annunciation in the Uffizi is also definitely given to the young Leonardo. Even the presence of the pen drawing at Oxford which is a study for the angel's right

arm and the Silver Point drawing in the Louvre, a possible study for the angel's drapery, do not guarantee that Leonardo himself designed the picture. Anyone in the Verocchio workshop who had seen the two drawings could very easily have made good use of them.

The Madonna of the Castle (whereabouts unmentioned) and The Lady with the Ermine (Czartoryski Museum, Krakau) are also definitely given to Leonardo: the former on the basis of The Madonna of the Cat drawing in the Uffizi, and the latter chiefly on the basis of Isabella d'Este's letter to Cecilia Gallerani and her answer. Bernardo Bellinciani, the court poet, is also quoted to support the latter picture's originality, "*per che ascolta e non favella.*" In the *Burlington Magazine*, 1907, mention is made of the fact that both Leonardo and Lodovico il Moro liked

ermine, and the Greek word for the animal, γαλέη, or γαλή, might be construed as a play on the name Gallerani.

A good amount of space is devoted to the followers and imitators of Leonardo. Here the author in some detail makes the difference between Leonardo and his followers, clear, not only in technic, but in spirit as well.

These two books are at different poles in the literature of the history of art. Where the one shows a lack of taste, the other shows a poorly trained eye. Where the former reveals an author with his facts and values not too well in hand, the latter shows an unscientific attitude, a tendency to let the merest suggestion of Leonardo stand as evidence of an original masterpiece. Yet the keen critic will find the latter book the more valuable.

Jerrold Holmes



